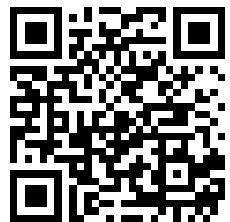
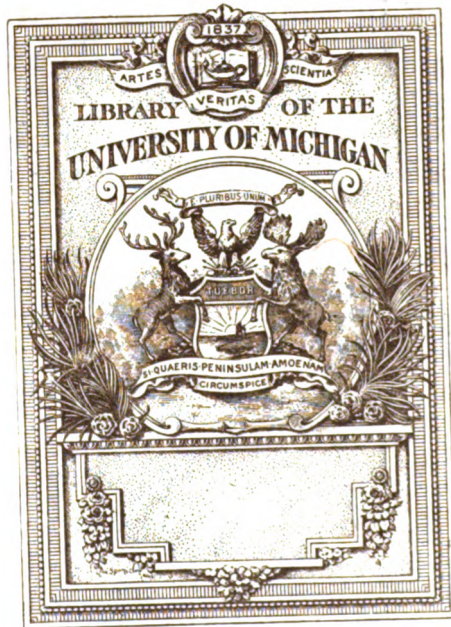

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the coopération of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
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HENRY R. LANG
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HUGO A. RENNERT
HUGH A. SMITH

and of

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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OSSERVAZIONI E DUBBI CONCERNENTI LA STORIA DELLE ROMANZE SPAGNUOLE

COME mai “delle romanze”, mentre la lingua spagnuola dice “los romances”, “el romance”, in genere mascolino? — Mette conto di cercare dove, quando, e in che modo la metamorfosi si sia prodotta.

Essa avvenne sicuramente nella Francia; e si può anche stabilire con grande verosimiglianza chi ne sia stato l'autore. Rilevo dal *Dictionnaire Général* che il vocabolo appare col genere suo originario nell'edizione postuma, uscita nel 1606, del *Thresor de la langue françoise* di Jean Nicot; ma trentun anno dopo eccolo adoperato come femminile dal Corneille nella prefazione del *Cid*, in un esempio che il *Dictionnaire* medesimo cita: “Je vous donne, en faveur de la Chimène de l'histoire, les deux romances que je vous ai promises”; e in un altro, significativo per gli occhi soltanto, dove la promessa era stata fatta: “Deux romances espagnoles, que je vous donnerai ensuite de cet avertissement”.¹ Precisamente dal Corneille dovette, secondo me, essere determinato l'uso posteriore. Celebre l'uomo; celebre l'opera; e s'aggiunge la circostanza che due “romanze” venivano qui propriamente messe per la prima volta sotto gli occhi del pubblico francese, sicchè vocabolo e cosa si trovavano strettamente associati. S'intende che, a differenza di quel che segue per solito nei casi analoghi,² il Corneille, esperto di spagnuolo e per l'appunto in questo suo dramma seguace di un drammaturgo d'oltre

¹ Il Littré ignora il mascolino; e per il femminile non risale più addietro del D'Alembert e del Marmontel.

² Si veda nel “*Traité de la formation de la langue française*”, premesso al *Dictionnaire Général*, il § 550.

i Pirenei, agì, mosso da un retto sentimento della lingua sua propria, con piena cognizione di causa. *Romance* in francese, più che mai accanto a *roman* memore sempre nel derivato *romancier* della terminazione originaria, aveva l'aria di un sostantivo femminile; e femminile si volle che fosse. Agendo scientemente da grammatico, il Corneille agì in pari tempo inscientemente da storico e trattatista delle letterature; chè egli venne a fornire un termine per designare un genere di composizione dotato di caratteristiche speciali. Più ancora dei francesi ne hanno approfittato per questo rispetto i tedeschi; e insieme con loro ne approfittiamo noi pure. Un tedesco dicendo "die Romanze", un italiano dicendo "la romanza", pensa e fa pensare a una composizione epico-lirica. Vi pensa, fino a che si rimane nel dominio della poesia; chè, se ci si trasporta in quello della musica, l'elemento epico s'affretta ad esulare e s'arriva perfino ad avere delle "romanze senza parole". Qui non resta più neppur l'ombra di ciò che costituì la ragione prima del vocabolo. O non designava l'avverbio "romanice" una maniera speciale di parlare, e quindi anzitutto un parlare? A un'alterazione continua sono soggetti i suoni nella favella: quanto più profonde, per tormento degli etimologi, e quel che è peggio, indisciplinate e indisciplinabili, sono le alterazioni e metamorfosi dei significati!

Ma il concetto che è suscitato in noi dalla parola *romanza* differisce da quello che *romance* desta nella mente spagnuola. Il nostro è a buon conto, più determinato ed angusto. Se i "romances" sono epico-lirici per la massima parte, ce n'è pur sempre un numero ragguardevole di contenuto religioso, didattico, satirico, e ce n'è dei soggettivamente erotici, e però lirici, senza mescolanza alcuna di narrazione. Segue pertanto, e fa meraviglia a prima giunta, che delle caratteristiche essenziali agli occhi dei non spagnuoli, non dicano nulla le definizioni dei vocabolari indigeni, principiando da quello dell'"Accademia" e dalla sua prima edizione, colle "autoridades", che porta, t. V (1737), p. 634: "Composicion de la Poesia Española, en que se observan alternativamente los mismos assonantes, en todos los segundos y quartos versos de cada copla de las que le componen." E queste medesime parole continuano a ripetersi e dall'Accademia e dagli altri lessicografi, solo sostituendo dopo "assonantes" "en todos los versos pares". Sicchè l'idea che si affaccia e che s'impone al pensiero spagnuolo è quella di un tipo

ritmico, a quel modo che tipi ritmici, rigidi taluni, altri variabili, sono designati a noi dai vocaboli *sonetto*, *sestina*, *serventese*, *ballata*, *canzone*. Nel *romance* sono variabili e restano indeterminate affatto le dimensioni, salvo l'essere contenute dentro confini relativamente modesti, che nessuno potrebbe precisare. Si confrontino, per esempio, nel *Romancero general* del Durán, tomo X e XVI della *Biblioteca de autores españoles* Rivadeneyra, i numeri (non prendo a caso) 3, 4, 1445, 1446, 1453, e i numeri 377, 355, 354; quest'ultimo un vero gigante in tutta la razza.³

Elemento costitutivo fondamentale del modulo prevalente a segno da essere l'unico che voglia essere considerato, è un gruppo ottosillabico, dagli uni, e in antico e modernamente, riguardato come verso; dagli altri come semplice emistichio. Vide le cose nella prima maniera Juan del Encina nel trattatello di arte poetica — *El arte de trovar* o *Arte de poesia castellana* — premesso fino dall'edizione principe del 1496⁴ al suo *Canzoniere*⁵; le aveva rappresentate nell'altra Antonio de Lebrija nel l. 2°, cap VIII, di quella sua mirabile *Gramatica*, che era venuta alla luce quattro anni innanzi;⁶ sicchè, secondo la terminologia allora in uso presso i volgari, per Juan del Encina si trovava essere “pié” ciò che per l'altro non ne costituiva che una metà. Modernamente la teorica del verso lungo fu rimessa a galla da Jacob Grimm;⁷ ma che essa abbia conseguito il predominio nonostante che l'idea opposta abbia avuto propugnatore auto-

³ Cfr. più oltre, p. 35.

⁴ Me ne fa sicuro il prezioso *Ensayo de una Biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos* del Gallardo e di coloro che ne ordinarono, accrebbero e pubblicarono i materiali, Madrid, 1863-89; t. II (1866), col. 821. Cfr., a p. 7, n. 1, Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesia heroico-popular castellana*, Barcelona, 1874; un'opera capitale a cui sarà da riferirsi a ogni poco.

⁵ Il trattatello è stato ristampato per intero dal Menéndez y Pelayo nel t. V, Madrid, 1894, della *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, p. 30-47. Il passo che qui è da vedere sta a p. 44; ed è riportato anche dal Milá nel libro e nella pagina indicati dianzi.

⁶ Una *Reproduction photographique* della rarissima *édition princeps*, grossolanamente contraffatta nel secolo XVIII, è stata pubblicata con ottimo pensiero da E. Walberg: *Antonio de Lebrija, Gramatica castellana*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1909. Tutta la parte attinente alla poesia era stata accolta nel tomo citato della *Antol. de poet. lír.* dal Menéndez y Pelayo, p. 48-71. Si veda qui, per ciò che ora c'interessa, p. 65; e può bastare il Milá, p. 6.

⁷ Proemio alla *Silva de romances viejos*, Vienna, 1815. Milá, p. 27; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XI, 92.

revolissimo Ferdinando Wolf,⁸ è opera del Milá y Fontanals.⁹ Se la questione non venisse a complicarsi con quella della divisione del "romance" in strofe, che ha fatto capolino nella definizione dell'Accademia e della quale si dovrà dire qualche cosa altrove, la differenza, per chi dalla superficie scenda nel fondo ed applichi i criteri generali della ritmica e della musica, sarebbe di assai minore rilievo che non ne abbia l'aria. Per sè stessa appaga di più la concezione di Antonio de Lebrija, il quale del resto, scrivendo che "El tetrametro iambico que llaman los latinos octonario & nuestros poetas pie de romances, tiene regularmente diez & seis sílabas", potrebbe, nonostante il dissenso con Juan del Encina, esprimere una dottrina divulgata. Solo l'accoppiamento di una tesi e di una antitesi, quali vengono ad essere rispettivamente i gruppi ottosillabici dispari e pari dei "romances", è atto a costituire un modulo ritmico completo; e svanisce a questa maniera l'anomalia che in composizioni governate da quella convenienza finale di suono che può esser rima perfetta e che qui è di norma semplicemente rima imperfetta od assonanza, alla legge si sottragga una metà dei versi.¹⁰ Comunque, conchiudendo potremo dire che per "romances" s'intesero e tuttora s'intendono composizioni di modesta lunghezza, varie d'argomento e d'ispirazione, ma generalmente epico-liriche, costituite da coppie di ottonari, collegate fra loro da un'assonanza, unica per solito dal principio alla fine.

⁸ *Ueber die Romanzenpoesie der Spanier*, in *Wiener Jahrb. der Lit.*, t. CXIV e CXVII, 1846 e 1847; quindi, con incrementi, negli *Studien zur Geschichte der Span. und Portug. Nationallit.*, Berlino, 1859, p. 304-554. Qui mi riferisco alle pp. 409 sgg. Cfr. Milá, p. 61-65.

⁹ Il libro additato poco fa ne è tutto imbevuto, e dovunque se ne ha in esso l'applicazione. Gioverà tuttavia rinviare in modo speciale alla p. 401. Il trovare che il Milá aveva manifestato la stessa opinione già nelle *Observaciones sobre la poesia popular* date fuori a corredo del *Romancerillo catalan* nel 1853 (*V. Poes. her.-pop.*, p. 82), m'inclina a pensare che essa non si sia formata in lui indipendentemente dal Grimm, l'opera del quale, come ci dice egli stesso (p. 28, n. 1), "fué luego conocida en España". Siccome poi nelle *Observaciones* già appare anche la tesi fondamentale dell'opera futura (cfr. qui avanti, p. 10), che coll'opinione sul verso ha uno stretto legame, mi nasce un certo quale sospetto che sia germogliata di là, e che pertanto il Grimm ne sia stato in qualche modo suscitatore. Il sospetto mi è accresciuto dalle ragioni sulle quali il Grimm si fondava.

¹⁰ Da ciò l'assenso dato dal Wolf (*Studien*, p. 421 sgg.) alla congettura di V. A. Huber, che anche gli ottonari di sede dispari abbiano avuto l'assonanza in origine.

Questo valore tuttavia di *romance* è una specificazione determinatasi col tempo di un uso ben altrimenti largo e generico, troppo noto, perchè io qui mi fermi ad illustrarlo.¹¹ Qualsiasi composizione volgare di qualsivoglia lunghezza, in verso o in prosa, e perfino un aggregato di composizioni come il *Libro de buen amor* dell' Archipreste de Hita, poteva chiamarsi *romance*. Bensì vien fatto di domandarsi, come si sia pervenuti alla determinazione specifica.

La credo il risultato di un procedimento passivo piuttosto che attivo. Coll'andar del tempo, le composizioni che avevano tanto o quanto delle pretese non si contentarono di una designazione per sè stessa così vaga, così sbiadita; e più non l'assunsero. A questo modo essa finì per rimanere come cosa propria ai prodotti umili, popolari, alieni dal darsi comunque delle arie. E ne deriva che alla sua volta la denominazione si risolva in una riprova della umiltà e popolarità di ciò a cui essa rimase, e a cui si ritiene generalmente volersi riferire il Marchese di Santillana nel passo citato infinite volte della lettera-proemio al Connestabile di Portogallo: "Infimos" fra i compositori e segnatamente poeti "son aquellos que syn ningund orden, regla, nin cuento, fazen estos romances e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condiçion se alegran."¹²

Da quanto tempo i "romances" in senso stretto risonavano per la Spagna quando, fra il 1445 e il 1449,¹³ il Marchese parlava così?

¹¹ Wolf, *Studien*, nota alla p. 401; Milá, p. 412; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de poet. ltr. cast.*, XI, 6-8; ecc. ecc.

¹² Riproduco la lezione, favoritami dalla cortesia di Mario Schiff, del codice 2-G-4, già VII-y-4, della Biblioteca Reale di Madrid (fol. 7 recto), che l'Amador de los Rios, editore delle opere del Marchese, dichiara scritto indubbiamente durante la vita dell'autore, e forse il medesimo dato da lui al nipote Gomez Manrique. E da questa lezione non differisce quella data dall'Amador stesso altro che per minuzie ortografiche e per avere *ningun* in cambio di *ningund*, che trova invece riscontro nel *ningunt* portato dal Sanchez, *Coleccion de Poesias Castellanas* ecc., ed. orig., I, (1779), LIV. Se fra il *t* e il *d* è più legittimo il *d*, sarei tentato di chiederne conto al *d* iniziale delle note forme *díngun*, *dengun*. Curioso che il Milá, *Poes. her.-pop.*, p. 5, mentre attesta di seguire il Sanchez, se ne discosti in più cose, e sostituisca perfino "cantares é romances" a "romances é cantares"; alterazione non indifferente (cfr. p. 12, n. 37). Dovette affidarsi alla memoria ed esserne tradito.

¹³ M. Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Parigi, 1905 — fasc. 153 della *Biblioth. de l'Éc. des Hautes Ét.* —, p. XLIII.

Da secoli e secoli, si sarebbe risposto una volta;¹⁴ da alcuni decenni soltanto, rispondono ora i più autorevoli. Sopra nulla di solido poggiava la prima idea, mentre la seconda è emanata da studi positivi, acuti ed accuratissimi. Eppure non credo punto fuor di luogo ripigliare in esame il problema con piena libertà di giudizio.

Che nel secolo XVI inoltrato abbia avuto molto corso l'espressione "romances viejos", nulla viene a dimostrare. Fra tutti i testi in cui essa allora occorre è particolarmente segnalabile il passo datoci dal proemio comune, salvo lievi diversità, alle raccolte di "romances" pubblicate alla metà di quel secolo ad Anversa e a Saragozza: "Puede ser que falten aqui algunos (aunque muy pocos) de los *romances viejos*, los quales yo no puse, o porque no an venido a mi noticia, o porque no los halle tan cumplidos y perfectos como quisiera".¹⁵ Naturale la frase in un tempo nel quale già abbondavano e stavano diventando strabocchevolmente copiosi i "romances nuevos". O non uscirono nel 1551, col proposito ambizioso di surrogare i prodotti tradizionali e di mettere la verità storica al posto delle loro menzogne, i centoquarantanove *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España compuestos por Lorenzo de Sepulveda*? Comincia invece a valere il fatto che Juan del Encina, nel 1496,¹⁶ distingue già anche lui "los romances . . . del tiempo viejo".¹⁷ E nel 1492 Antonio de Lebrija, l. 2°, cap. VI e VIII, chiama replicatamente "romance antiguo"¹⁸ un esemplare del genere, al quale nella prima allegazione premette le parole: "Nuestros maiores no eran tan ambiciosos en tassar los consonantes & harto les parecia que bastava la semejanza delas vocales aunque non se consiguiesse la delos consonantes"; si con-

¹⁴ Si scorra da p. 14 a p. 104 l'accuratissima e minuta rassegna che di tutta quanta la letteratura concernente le romanze ha fatto il Milá nel primo capitolo dell'opera sua.

¹⁵ Il proemio è riprodotto, scrupolosamente di certo, dal Wolf, *Studien*, p. 314-15, quale sta nell'edizione non datata del *Cancionero* di Anversa; e quale è portato dalla *Silva* di Saragozza si può vedere nell' *Ensayo* del Gallardo, t. I, col. 1121-22. Qui, col. 450-1, è dato altresì il proemio anversano, tratto da una ristampa. Un'ampia, se non esattissima citazione, nel Milá, p. 430.

¹⁶ V. qui dietro, p. 3.

¹⁷ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, 44.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 60 e 65; Milá, p. 6. Sbadatamente il Milá nel primo dei due passi ha ommesso l' "antiguo".

tentavano cioè di assonanze in cambio di rime perfette.¹⁹ L'epiteto "antiguo" e il riferimento agli antenati sulla bocca di un uomo nato nel 1444 — Juan del Encina era più giovane di un quarto di secolo — vogliono bene che ci si riporti addietro di un bel tratto, anche se specificamente il "romance" citato, così quale noi lo conosciamo e quale probabilmente lo conobbe anche Antonio, non abbia punto carattere di molta antichità.²⁰

Ma abbiamo dati più positivi. Venga o non venga dall'autore medesimo la designazione espressa di "Romance" che nel canzoniere impropriamente detto "de Stúñiga" è messa in fronte a due composizioni del rimatore Carvajal o Carvajales,²¹ ivi solo, a quanto pare, conservatesi, quali "romances" le due composizioni sono bollate indiscutibilmente dal ritmo. Delle due composizioni l'una non è databile; ma l'altra, in cui ci è messa innanzi "La muy casta donna Maria", moglie di Alfonso il Magnanimo, può con sicurezza attribuirsi al 1445 o press'a poco.²² E di qui, nonchè esser lecito, ci è

¹⁹ *Rima perfetta*, o semplicemente *rima*, ed *assonanza* sogliamo dir noi; *consonantes* e *assonantes* dissero con chiara contrapposizione già in antico gli Spagnuoli, ai quali pertanto andiamo sostanzialmente debitori del termine *assonanza*. Si veda nell'*Arte* di Juan del Encina il cap. VI, Men. y Pel., *Antol.*, V, 42-44. Il bisogno di mettere *assonante* accanto a *consonante* ebbe a farsi sentire dopo che i poeti d'arte degnarono volgere gli sguardi alla poesia del popolo, fermamente ligia all'*assonanza*, e ne divennero imitatori.

²⁰ Antonio ne cita (V. le mie pp. 33 e 34, n. 127 e 128) prima tre versi e poi due soli, prendendoli dal mezzo. Il "romance" è quello che principia "Tres hijuelos habia el rey"; ed accolto di già nel *Cancionero* di Anversa, si può leggere, per es., nel *Romancero general* del Durán, 2ª ed., n. 351, I, 197, e nella *Primavera y flor de romances* del Wolf, n. 147 (Men. y Pel., *Antol.*, VIII, 263). Appartiene alla classe assai povera dei "romances" di argomento brettone; ma effettivamente risulta da due elementi mal combinati. I primi quattro versi non dovevano in origine aver che fare con Lancilotto e la caccia del cervo dal piede bianco: circostanza non avvertita dal Menéndez y Pelayo nel discorrere di questo "romance", *Trat. de rom. viejos*, II (*Antol.*, XII), 469 e 473-76.

²¹ *Cancionero de Lope de Stúñiga*, Madrid, 1872 — t. 4º della *Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos* —, p. 321 e 364; Men. y Pel., *Antol.*, II, 184 e 190.

²² Il Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XII, 279 (e vedasi già V, cclxxxix) le assegna invece risolutamente la data del 1442, deducendola dalle parole "Dexó á mí desventurada annos veynte e dos habia", in quanto "La conquista de Nápoles dió comienzo en 1420". Ma può coll'imperfetto "habia" alludersi al momento attuale, com'è necessario se i ventidue anni devono rappresentarci il tempo trascorso dalla partenza? Io vedo qui invece indicata l'età che la regina aveva quando il re se ne allontanò; e si mostrerebbe ignaro dell'evoluzione storica dell'uso chi credesse che l' "habia" al posto di ciò che modernamente sarebbe

imposto di risalire molto più su dal fatto che le due poesie siano riflessi artistici di un genere popolare. Già, di quel genere il Carvajal aveva recato con sé la conoscenza alla sua venuta in Italia, non so quando seguita.²³ Ma assai maggior portata ha la considerazione che i poeti d'arte non si muovono se non tardi a imitare i canti del volgo. Nè forse all'imitazione il Carvajal si sarebbe ancora indotto (si raffronti il simultaneo disprezzo del Marchese di Santillana), se non fosse stata la lontananza dalla patria, che suol rendere ben caro il ricordo di tutto ciò che la richiama.²⁴

Queste considerazioni già mi mettono in grave sospetto riguardo alla veduta cronologica ora dominante. Si vuole che i "romances viejos" o tradizionali siano in generale nati nel secolo XV, e solo a denti stretti si concede che taluni rimontino alla seconda metà del XIV. Non più addietro di così avrebbe da risalire il genere stesso. Tale è la convinzione da cui è dominata la mente di quello straordi-

"tenía" potesse fare ostacolo, anche se l'autore non avesse scritto in Italia. Alla datazione approssimativa servirà bensì la prosa che precede i versi: "... é piensa en espacio de treynta annos quanto poco mis ojos han gosado de tu vista" (*Canc. de St.*, p. 317; *Antol.*, II, 183, XII, 280). Sono dunque trent'anni di matrimonio; e le nozze di Alfonso d'Aragona con Maria di Castiglia avvennero nel 1415. Del resto al 1442 non converrebbero nemmeno le parole che tengono dietro immediatamente alle citate, "et ya que la universal pas has fecho en la grande et rigurosa Italia". In Napoli stessa Alfonso non fece la sua entrata trionfale che il 26 febbraio del 1443; nè egli poté nè volle posare ancora le armi. — Di pochi anni posteriore a questo sarà il "romance" che principia "Miraba de Campoviejo", Durán, n. 1227, II, 210, dove Alfonso, nel colmo della grandezza, contempla le navi che vanno e vengono, Napoli, i suoi tre castelli, eppure piange rammentando le gravissime perdite d'uomini d'ogni grado e i ventidue anni di fatiche che ebbe a costargli l'acquisto. La composizione merita bene di essere ravvicinata al "Retraida estaba la reyna", a cui in certo modo fa riscontro; ma non già, come parve al Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XII, 282, per la convenienza, secondo me fortuita, dei ventidue anni. — Ci sarebbe mai il caso che anche il "Miraba" fosse dovuto al Carvajal?

²³ Non par saperlo nemmeno il Menéndez y Pelayo, che del Carvajal parla più diffusamente, credo, di chicchessia, nell' *Antol. de poet. ltr.*, V, cclxxxix-cxcxiii. Il soggiorno nella penisola dovette essere ben lungo, se in essa appaiono composte tutte le poesie che con qualche dato di fatto ci illuminano intorno alla patria loro. Ved. *Cancion. de L. de St.*, p. 305, 316, 329, 336, 373, 374, 375, 377, 379, 381, 386; *Antol.*, II, 188, 193, 194, 196.

²⁴ Anche ad altre cause oltre che a questa vorrà attribuirsi la differenza, e in particolare al fatto che poeta di tendenze popolareggianti il Carvajal ci si mostri in parecchie altre composizioni sue. Ma non ammetteremo la spiegazione del Milá, p. 403, n. 2, che il Marchese "debió de referirse á lo que habia observado en su juventud".

nario ingegno che fu Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo;²⁵ il quale nella *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, alla riproduzione, con numerose giunte, della *Primavera y flor de Romances* del Wolf e del Hofmann (t. VIII e IX), e ad una raccolta supplementare di *Romances populares recojidos de la tradición oral* (t. X), ha fatto tener dietro un *Tratado de los romances viejos*, che riempie due volumi (XI e XII). E qui, scorrendosi dei "romances" concernenti il re Don Pedro (1350-1369), si dice nettamente: "Ninguno de ellos puede ser contemporáneo de D. Pedro, ni anterior al siglo XV (observación aplicable á toda clase de romances), pero son viejos sin duda" (XII, 112). Accadrà nondimeno a lui stesso, a proposito del "romance fronterizo" che comincia "Cercada tiene á Baeza", conservatoci da Argote de Molina,²⁶ di dichiarare, "No hay duda que este romance se compuso en 1368".²⁷ Si vorrà forse dire che una rondine non fa primavera. Ma vedremo poi che se la rondine è realmente apparsa, la primavera deve proprio essere ammessa.

Che la critica sia venuta a questi convincimenti ed in essi riposi, ripete il suo perchè dal memorabile libro *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana* mandato alla luce nel 1874 da Manuel Milá y Fontanals. Per la prima volta il materiale epico spagnuolo fu qui sottoposto a un esame generale minuto e veramente sistematico. Insieme coi "romances", così noti e divulgati, e cogli scarsi monumenti di una poesia schiettamente epica, si presero a studiare i riflessi che questa ha lasciato nelle cronache, poco e mal curate per l'addietro, traendo segnatamente partito dalla *Crónica general*, originariamente redatta per volontà di re Alfonso "el Sabio". E i risultati a cui il Milá si

²⁵ Quando scrivevo queste pagine ne' primi mesi del 1912, e quando poco dopo il loro contenuto fu per me oggetto di esposizione parlata agli scolari miei dell' Istituto fiorentino di Studi Superiori, egli era ancora in vita. Mancò il 19 maggio; e fu uno sbalordimento. Così io dovetti un giorno sospendere il corso normale delle mie lezioni, dedicate allora tutte al gaio *Don Chisciotte*, per rendere conto — triste intermezzo — di questo gran lutto.

²⁶ Si veda nelle appendici alla *Primavera, Antol.*, IX, 196.

²⁷ XII, 170 (1906). Sei anni avanti, in nota al testo, riferita questa datazione, voluta da Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, si era soggiunto: "Pero como no consta que entonces fuese cercada Baeza, aunque si saqueados Ubeda y Jaén acaso pueda referirse con más probabilidad al memorable y glorioso cerco que aquella ciudad sostuvo en 1407." Il mutamento di opinione è dovuto ad uno studio più approfondito, che ci si riflette nelle pagine 170-174 del tomo dodicesimo.

condusse furono come il capovolgimento della dottrina, che, in mezzo ad una molteplicità di vedute dove qualunque cosa può trovarsi, gli sembrò esser prevalsa fin allora e che giustamente gli parve imparentata colla teorica wolfiana sull'origine dei poemi omerici (p. 105). Anche riguardo alla Spagna s'era pensato dai più autorevoli che i fatti avessero ispirato immediatamente ad uomini del popolo e a guerrieri, dei canti lirici o epico-lirici di brevi dimensioni, e che le composizioni epiche fossero poi state foggiate da poeti di mestiere mediante la riunione o fusione di quei canti popolari e la surrogazione di uno stile narrativo e di versi lunghi; in altri termini, il tipo "romance" doveva aver preceduto quello a noi rappresentato dal *Poema del Cid* ed avergli dato origine. Il Milá invece, pur non presumendo punto di aver tutto chiarito e assodato, credette risultare in modo abbastanza manifesto dallo studio e dall'esposizione dei fatti, che dalle narrazioni poetiche ampie e distese ossia dai "cantares", "cantares de gesta", od anche "gestas", come variamente si chiamavano, che la Spagna udiva in antico, siano emanati i canti episodici²⁸ e d'indole frammentaria più vetusti, cioè i "romances" più antichi, i quali pertanto dovettero riferirsi, al pari di quelli, ad argomenti complessi, come il *Cid*, *Fernan Gonzalez*, gli *Infantes de Lara*. Il resto tenne poi dietro per via d'incremento.²⁹ Vuol bene segnalarsi che queste vedute concordano sostanzialmente con ciò che il Milá aveva mostrato di ritenere ventun anno prima, nelle *Observaciones sobre la poesía popular*.³⁰

Agli occhi del Milá i "cantares" si dileguavano avanti il declinare del secolo XIII; e fra il loro dileguarsi e la comparsa dei

²⁸ Valendomi di questo epiteto seguo l'esempio di Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1898, p. 331, e credo anche del Menéndez Pidal. Dico "credo", perchè l'opera a cui penso, e che sarà additata or ora, si ha solo in traduzione francese (p. 163, l. penultima). Ma mi corre l'obbligo di avvertire che "episodico" è da prendere, non semplicemente nel senso nostro consueto di "azione accessoria", bensì in quello più esteso, giustificatissimo dall'uso greco, di "azione parziale", da poter essere quindi anche un punto culminante.

²⁹ P. 106: "Creemos . . . que de la exposicion de los hechos resulta con la posible claridad que hubo un sistema de relatos extensos y que de él se originaron los más antiguos cantos de asunto ciclico que, junto con otros de asunto más modernos ó de procedencia extranjera, constituyen el hermoso género y la brillante época del R[omance] castellano."

³⁰ Già le ho citate a p. 4, n. 9. Vedansi riassunto ed estratti nelle pagine 82-84 dell'opera capitale. Certe contraddizioni che qui sembrerebbe di rilevare saranno solo apparenti.

“romances” veniva ad esserci “una interrupcion aparente”, che egli dice di più di due secoli (p. 400). Interruzione apparente tanto vale quanto periodo tenebroso, durante il quale un genere sia venuto a spegnersi e l'altro sia nato. Scorgere in quell'oscurità i contorni delle cose non era possibile; e così avviene che per questo rispetto l'esposizione del Milá non riesca ben nitida.

Ma il maestro barcellonese ebbe un continuatore a Madrid. Il suo glorioso discepolo Menéndez y Pelayo ebbe alla sua volta uno scolaro singolarmente degno di entrambi, che nel 1896 dette fuori qual prima manifestazione di attitudini rare e di studi pazienti *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Il più drammatico fra i cicli narrativi spagnuoli era qui sviscerato per ogni verso in un volume di 450 e più pagine.⁸¹ E alla ricerca speciale il Menéndez Pidal aveva messo per fondamento ricerche diligentissime sulla *Crónica general*, che l'avevano condotto a discernere chiaramente con gran frutto più redazioni, là dove il Milá, pur essendosi sforzato anche lui di distinguere (ved. p. 413-416), ne aveva potuto usare una sola, e non l'originaria come credeva. A questo modo egli già s'era foggiato uno strumento da riuscir prezioso anche per lo studio degli altri cicli. E ad essi pure si volse il Menéndez Pidal;⁸² nè alcuno poteva immaginarsi meglio preparato di lui per una trattazione comprensiva, quale si trovò ad ascoltare dalle sue labbra nel 1909 a Baltimore il pubblico americano della “Johns Hopkins University”, e quale dal 1910 tutti possono leggere, volta in francese, nel bel volume *L'épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole* (Parigi, A. Colin). Duole che quest'opera non abbia potuto essere sottoposta ad esame dal mirabile intelletto di Gaston Paris.⁸³ Oggetto di accuratissimo esame era stata invece *La leyenda de los Infantes*

⁸¹ Nella *Poesia her.-pop.* del Milá ne corrispondono sedici (202-18).

⁸² Che si volgesse alla “reconstruction de l'épopée du Cid”, augurava calorosamente il Paris concludendo lo scritto già citato e che sto per additare; e l'augurio è ora stato adempiuto in modo molto superiore di certo all'aspettazione. Il *Cantar de Mio Cid, Texto Gramática y Vocabulario*, Madrid, Imprenta de Bailly-Baillière, 1908-1911 (1181 pagine in 4°), è un'opera capitale, altamente degna del premio conferitole dall'Accademia spagnuola; e nelle parole finali del Paris, “Il aura bien mérité, quand il aura accompli cette grande œuvre, et de la science et de sa patrie”, al futuro “il aura” può con pieno diritto surrogarsi “il a”.

⁸³ Duole del pari — e fa meraviglia — che il Paris non abbia scritto nessuna recensione del libro del Milá.

de Lara; e ne era risultato uno di quegli scritti non meno costruttivi che critici, importantissimi sempre, che il Paris solleva alloggiare nel *Journal des Savants*.⁸⁴ Ragguardevole altresì la recensione pubblicata un anno prima nella *Romania* dal Morel-Fatio.⁸⁵

Dall'indagine minuta istituita nella *Leyenda* venne ad apparire che i "cantares" ebbero vita più lunga che non si fosse prima in diritto di ritenere, e che ancora nel secolo XIV subirono metamorfosi e ricevettero incrementi. Badiamo che la novità non era così grande come sembrò al Paris⁸⁶ e ad altri. Il Milá aveva scritto (p. 400): "Se sabe que áun muy entrado el s[iglo] XIII habia juglares que las propagaban"—le "narraciones" epiche—"y acaso las ampliaban", soggiungendo, "pero no consta que añadiesen nuevos asuntos". Ma l'aver portato di un buon secolo innanzi il limite cronologico (c'indurrà il Marchese a prostrarre le recitazioni fino a mezzo il secolo XV?⁸⁷) e l'aver sostituito un accertamento da

⁸⁴ 1808, p. 296-309, 321-335, con tiratura a parte di 28 pagine. Tenne poi dietro un articolo destinato a lettori semplicemente colti, che, inserito originariamente l'anno medesimo nella *Revue de Paris*, 5e année, 15 nov. 1808, pp. 372-395, fu ristampato in *Poèmes et légendes du moyen-âge* (1900), p. 215-251.

⁸⁵ XXVI, 305-20.

⁸⁶ P. 297; 2 nell'estratto.

⁸⁷ Il dubbio nasce per via dell'interpretazione da darsi nelle sue parole a "cantares", che potrebbe anche designare cosa non ben distinta dal "romances" con cui è accoppiato. L'accoppiamento medesimo è stato rilevato dal Milá, p. 401 n. 1 e p. 154, in un passo della *Crónica General* che gli era alquanto sospetto, ma che invece la recente edizione del Menéndez Pidal (*Primera Crónica General* ecc., t. I—n° 5° della *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*—, Madrid, 1906) mi dimostra appartenere proprio al testo originario del secolo XIII: "Et algunos dizen en sus romances et en sus cantares" (p. 375, col. 1). Qui "romances et cantares" paiono bene da riferire entrambi ai "cantares de gesta"; e viceversa sarebbe possibilissimo che colla stessa espressione avesse la mente ai soli "romances" il Marchese. Ma si veda più oltre p. 33-34. Una composizione relativamente breve, e però un "romance", sembra dover essere il "cantar" nei noti versi che Antón de Montoro, soprannominato "el Ropero", scagliò contro il suo solito bersaglio Juan de Valladolid, dichiarandolo notoriamente spacciatore di roba altrui: "De arte de ciego juglar Que canta viejas fazañas, Que con un solo cantar Cala todas las Españas." Recitatori per eccellenza di "romances" sono rimasti i ciechi fino ai tempi moderni; sicchè "Romancero de romances vulgares que cantan los ciegos" intitola il Durán una parte molto cospicua della sua grande collezione. (Vedasi l'Indice premesso al t. II, e cfr. l' "Advertencia" che tiene dietro). Del Ropero ha discorso ampiamente il Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, VI, xx-xxxviii; e lì, p. xxix, vedo dentro alla sua cornice il nostro passo, originariamente fatto conoscere da P. J. Pidal, in una nota del *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, p. xxi (qui già parecchio intorno al Ropero, p. xxxi-xxxviii), mentre non ho

potersi dir positivo a una semplice e generica congettura, non è cosa di poco rilievo. A questo modo l'intervallo di tempo fra i "cantares" e i "romances", in realtà già minore che non fosse stato fatto a parole dal Milá,³⁸ si può dir che sparisse. Credo sia anzi legittimo anche per chi veda le cose con altri occhi che i miei dichiararlo risolutamente soppresso. Quando gli uni tramontavano gli altri erano sorti.

Data la simultaneità, prendevano maggior consistenza e determinatezza le idee messe avanti dal Milá riguardo alle relazioni. Si considerano i "romances" primitivi come frammenti di "cantares", e propriamente dei "cantares" quali si trovarono essere divenuti, trasformandosi, negli ultimi tempi. "Fragments d'antiques poèmes héroïques", "extraits", "débris", li dice il Menéndez Pidal nella *Épopée castillane*;³⁹ e più nettamente ancora il Paris dichiara "probable qu'à l'origine" essi "n'ont été que des laisses de *cantares de gesta* chantées isolément".⁴⁰ A questo primo momento non si fermava tuttavia nè il critico francese nè lo spagnuolo. Prosegue il Paris: "Peu à peu ces morceaux favoris ont seuls survécu, et, en passant de bouche en bouche, détachés du contexte auquel ils appartenaient et qui s'était enfoncé dans l'oubli, ils se sont transformés de façon à devenir une forme nouvelle et originale de poésie épique; en même temps ils se sont altérés de telle sorte que, sans ce qui nous reste des anciens poèmes auxquels ils se rattachent, il nous serait impossible de reconstituer par leur moyen les fragments de ces poèmes qu'ils représentent". Scrive il Menéndez Pidal (*Épop.*, p. 159-60): "Le peuple, suspendu aux lèvres du jongleur, lui faisait répéter les passages les plus heureux; puis, il oubliait promptement les lieux communs insipides, les développements trainants habituels à ces poèmes de la décadence, mais il gardait fidèlement le souvenir des points culminants du récit ou des épisodes les plus beaux que ces rhapsodes

ora modo di riscontrarlo nell'edizione che delle poesie di questo rimatore pubblicò poi E. Cotarelo y Mori: *Cancionero de Antón de Montoro (El Ropero de Córdoba)*, Madrid, 1900.

³⁸ Ved. qui dietro, p. 11.

³⁹ P. 162. Limitandosi al caso speciale che allora lo occupava, egli aveva già scritto nella *Leyenda*, p. 83: "... los romances de los Siete Infantes de Lara no serán ya versiones amplificadas de las diversas partes de un romance juglaresco, sino fragmentos abreviados de un cantar anterior ó de varios."

⁴⁰ P. 321, e 23 nell'estratto.

ambulants, à la dernière époque des récitations épiques, n'avaient point réussi à altérer ou que, en quête de nouveautés sensationnelles, ils avaient eu la bonne fortune d'imaginer. Ces passages ainsi conservés et souvent répétés par la mémoire, isolés par le peuple de ce qui les entourait, sont les plus vieux romances qui existent." *Doveroso* riportare anche un brano del Milá, p. 403-4, dove già erano state espresse sostanzialmente le medesime idee: "La costumbre de transmitirse oralmente antiguos fragmentos ó bien las nuevas obras de los juglares, tuvo notables consecuencias que á su vez influyeron en la composicion de los demás cantos. Recordábanse con preferencia algunos pormenores que en ciertos casos se parafraseaban de una manera más ó ménos feliz y oportuna, al paso que se olvidaban otros, supliéndolos á veces con nuevas invenciones." Il punto è di troppo grande rilievo perchè non mi avesse da parer necessario di illustrarlo largamente nel modo più autentico. Credo di aggiungere evidenza ai concetti che si sono uditi esporre rassomigliando i "romances" ad uno sciame di pianetini originatosi dalla scissione di un pianeta maggiore. Disgiunto dagli altri frammenti, ma pur sempre prossimo ad essi, ogni frammento, per effetto del moto rotatorio, si è arrotondato e ha preso forma analoga al pianeta originario. Il quale tuttavia non esiste intero nella nuova formazione: una parte della materia cosmica di cui era costituito si è dispersa negli spazi.

Vuole questa teoria essere tenuta in conto di verità assodata?— Nella *Leyenda* il Menéndez Pidal, dopo averle dato un'espressione limitata al suo soggetto di allora,⁴¹ soggiunge: "No será ociosa la demostracion de esto, ni huelga en modo alguno añadir una prueba más á la teoría de Milá, que empieza á hallar eruditos y muy competentes contraditores." Aveva mostrato di non acquietarsi il Restori nelle *Osservazioni sul metro, sulle assonanze e sul testo del poema del Cid*, pubblicate nell'annata 1887 del *Propugnatore*.⁴² E repugnante s'era manifestata la Michaëlis de Vasconcellos nei *Romanzen-studien*, apparsi l'anno 1892 nel t. XVI della *Zeitschrift für ro-*

⁴¹ Ho riportato le parole nella nota 39.

⁴² Tomo XX, p.^{te}. 1^a, p. 97-158; p.^{te}. 2^a, p. 109-164, 408-437. Si vedano nella p.^{te} 2^a le pp. 132-134. Un accenno s'ha poi anche nell' *Antologia spagnuola* messa insieme con materiale tutto attinente al *Cid* e col titolo specifico *Le gesta del Cid*, Milano, Hoepli, 1890, a p. 7.

manische Philologie.⁴³ Nè la Michaëlis s'è ricreduta neppur dopo la poderosa *Leyenda* e l'autorevolissimo assenso del Paris,⁴⁴ come si vede dalla p. 158 della *Geschichte der Portugiesischen Literatur* nel *Grundriss* del Gröber, t. II, p.^{uo} 2^a.⁴⁵ A me in un corso di lezioni dell'anno scolastico 1880-81, nel quale trattai diffusamente di tutta la materia epica spagnuola, parve di dover usare riserbo, considerando il problema come assai spinoso. Non molto dopo tuttavia nelle *Origini dell'Epoepa francese*, p. 478, assentii al Milá. Ma poi ritornando ne' miei corsi a questo soggetto sul cadere del 1899, presi, per ragioni affatto diverse da quelle della Michaëlis, a dubitare: e poichè in un nuovo esame i dubbi mi si sono riaffacciati ed ai vecchi motivi altri si sono aggiunti, mi induco, sebbene peritante, a manifestare a chicchessia ciò che ho nella mente.

Le evoluzioni di qualsivoglia natura, dipendendo per molta parte da cause d'indole universale, sogliono presentarsi in esempi più o meno numerosi non troppo dissimili tra loro; ciò che accade in un caso accade suppergiù anche in altri. Ora, se mi do a cercare un riscontro per il fenomeno che si afferma essersi prodotto nella Spagna, non riesco a trovarlo. Nessuna epopea, che io sappia, s'è scomposta in canti epico-lirici. Canti epico-lirici hanno non pochi popoli; ma in essi non è già lecito vedere frammenti di poemi neppure là dove, come segue per certi "Folkeviser" scandinavi, c'è rispondenza di contenuto con poemi realmente a noi pervenuti o da ritenere esistiti. Si tratta di elaborazioni distinte di una stessa materia.

Sicchè al procedimento supposto sembra mancare, e non dovrebbe, il grande suffragio dell'analogia.⁴⁶ E sono poi secondo me da impugnare risolutamente le ragioni specifiche messe in campo dal Menéndez Pidal per renderne conto.

I poemi, ci si dice, da cui per un lungo periodo era stata rappre-

⁴³ Si veda particolarmente la dichiarazione proemiale a p. 42.

⁴⁴ Della Michaëlis e della sua eterodossia il Paris discorre nella nota alla p. 331, 24 dell'estratto.

⁴⁵ Che questa parte spetti propriamente alla Michaëlis e non al suo collaboratore Teofilo Braga, mostra in modo evidente, per non citar altro, la nota I della p. 160.

⁴⁶ Ben più recisamente si esprimerebbe Ernest Bovet, che nell'ingegnoso suo libro *Lyrisme Épopée Drame*, Parigi, Colin, 1911, pensa di aver messo su basi inconcusse la legge, secondo la quale lirica, epopea, teatro, dovrebbero dovunque — se non intervenissero forze perturbatrici — succedersi necessariamente in quest'ordine.

sentata l'epopea nella Spagna, erano un genere aristocratico; e lo spirito democratico venuto a dominare in Castiglia vi "obligeait l'épopée a changer de direction".⁴⁷ Che l'epopea, invece di essere "per sè stessa un genere popolare, come si è soliti dire", "sorga e s'alimenti e viva principalmente in mezzo ed accanto" ai grandi, sostenni risolutamente io medesimo.⁴⁸ Ma dissi altresì che il popolo vi partecipa "già in età remotissime" in quanto abbia sentimenti guerreschi, dacchè allora s'infiama per la gloria dei capi come per la "gloria sua propria"; dissi che anche al popolo non bellicoso essa scende più tardi, snaturata, suscitandone e appagandone la curiosità; affermai che "il perversimento, e il degradamento, si può proprio dire una legge fatale dell'epopea, dovunque una grande eccellenza artistica non la redima." E a questo proposito, accanto all'esempio fornitoci dall'epopea francese scesa dalle altezze dei "principi e dei nobili franchi" agli umili lettori che divorano nelle campagne il *Guerino* e i *Reali*, ed a quello dell'epopea germanica, quale risulta, misteriosamente, dal *Chronicon Quedlinburgense* (sec. XI), e non misteriosamente da Teodorico di Niem (1410), allegavo per l'appunto la Spagna, ravvicinando colla menzione onorevole fatta dei *cantares* "nientemeno che nel codice delle *Siete Partidas* (P. II, tit. xxi, 20)" da re Alfonso X e col rimpianto suo per "il tempo in cui i cavalieri ponevano in essi il loro piacere", le parole di sprezzo del Marchese di Santillana. O non appare di qui che dal declinare del secolo XIII in poi i *cantares* furono grati per l'appunto segnatamente al volgo? Può dunque mai dirsi che "l'esprit démocratique" obbligava l'epopea a mutare strada,⁴⁹ ossia che al posto dei *cantares* doveva venirsi a mettere qualche cosa di diverso? Badiamo d'altronde che questo stesso "esprit démocratique" ha un carattere curioso, se per virtù sua "sous chaque manant la foule était prompte à reconnaître un noble" (p. 157). Qui non abbiamo già la depressione dei nobili, bensì la capacità degli umili ad inalzarsi. E in realtà

⁴⁷ *Épop.*, p. 157-58.

⁴⁸ *Le origini dell'Epopea francese*, p. 362-63.

⁴⁹ È da guardare anche alla p. 164, dove si pongono in contrasto le sorti che l'epopea ebbe nella Francia e nella Spagna. In Francia morì ipertrofica, in conseguenza dello sviluppo preso in compilazioni versificate enormi che miravano a lettori letterati. "Bien au contraire, en Castille, l'épopée se consacre au peuple. Ce fut pour lui plaire qu'elle renonça à l'ampleur magnifique des chansons de geste primitives, qu'elle choisit certains ornements ou en rejeta d'autres, et qu'enfin. . . elle prit son vol sur les ailes du romancero. . ."

è anche ora dote singolare del popolo spagnuolo questa, che perfino il mendico che chiede l'elemosina sappia assumere l'aria di un "hidalgo".

Contesto del pari in modo assoluto che i *Cantares* possano essere considerati come una poesia "faite pour être écoutée dans l'oisiveté de la paix, à l'issue de repas plantureux" (p. 158). Lo contesto sul fondamento stesso del passo già rammentato delle *Siete Partidas*,⁵⁰ al quale pensa probabilmente il Menéndez Pidal; giacchè il re "Sabio" ha l'animo tutto intento alla guerra, non già alla pace, e unicamente di materia guerresca e tali da invitare a prodezze sono le "hystorias" che egli ricorda essersi avuto in uso di farsi leggere mangiando, i *cantares* che si facevano recitar dai giullari. E con ciò s'accorda a meraviglia quanto è detto nel trattatello *De iis que sunt necessaria ad stabilimentum castris tempore obsidionis et fortissime guerre*, che, come porta l'"Incipit", vuol bene ritenersi composto o ispirato dal medesimo Alfonso;⁵¹ risultando chiaro dal contesto come tra i due effetti che verranno a coloro che saranno nel castello dall'avere "romancia et libri gestorum" in abbondanza — "animabuntur et delectabuntur" —, il secondo sia affatto accessorio.⁵² E con energia anche maggiore negherò l'asserita necessità che una poesia "aux vastes proportions" si trasformasse in una "plus courte", in quanto questa fosse meglio "appropriée aux goûts d'un auditoire moins desœuvré et plus simple."⁵³ Precisamente l'opposto aveva detto il Paris riferendosi alla Francia. Ivi "C'était . . . bien l'usage, aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles," di "chanter isolément telle laisse ou telle suite de laisses" di questa o quella *chanson de geste*; "mais cet usage cessa quand les poèmes changèrent d'auditoire: il ne pouvait convenir à la place publique, où les chansons de geste avaient passé en sortant des châteaux, et où les jongleurs des XIV^e et XV^e siècles les débitaient

⁵⁰ Si può veder riportato dal Milá, p. 416, dal Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XI, 14.

⁵¹ A torto detti qualche valore all'opposizione dell'Amador de los Rios nello stendere una nota della p. 17 delle *Origini*. Che il trattato voglia proprio assegnarsi al secolo XIII, dichiarai nella *Romania*, XVIII, 35. Vedasi ora, oltre alla p. 336 del Milá, già ivi segnalata, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XI, 15.

⁵² Il "delectabuntur" fu omissso nelle sue due citazioni dal Milá; e ne è conseguito che manchi anche nel Menéndez y Pelayo.

⁵³ P. 158. Le stesse cose sono poi ripetute più ampiamente a p. 165.

pendant des journées entières.”⁵⁴ O che le disposizioni e le condizioni dei grandi e del popolo potranno immaginarsi rovesce di qua e di là dai Pirenei?—No davvero. Il popolo semplice, non altrimenti che i bimbi, è sempre e dappertutto amantissimo dei lunghi, degli interminabili racconti, che mai non si sazia nemmeno di sentir ripetere. E l’agio per abbandonarsi a questo trattenimento non manca e non mancò mai in nessun luogo e in nessun tempo, solo variando le occasioni, offerte durante il medioevo più specialmente dalle “vigilie sanctorum”⁵⁵ e dalle feste religiose d’ogni specie; e il pretendere che la Spagna facesse eccezione, provocherebbe, ho paura, più d’un sorriso. Nè trovo punto conforme al sentimento e alle abitudini popolari la supposizione che “sospeso alle labbra del giullare, il popolo gli facesse ripetere i passi che maggiormente colpivano per imprimersene nella memoria i versi più felici”.⁵⁶ Se mai, sarebbe da limitarsi col Milá ad una rappresentazione passiva, “Si rammentavano di preferenza alcuni particolari”;⁵⁷ la quale tuttavia avrà il guaio di durare fatica a rendere conto dei pretesi effetti.

E dall’ incongruenza che mi par di avvertire per più di un riguardo tra gli effetti e la causa presunta, tra i conseguenti e gli antecedenti, emanano soprattutto i dubbi che in me si sono fatti strada sulla verità della teorica. Di regola la differenza tra “cantares” e “romances” non è già di dimensioni soltanto. Fra i due generi c’è diversità di tono. Certo esistono “romances” che potrebbero dirsi dei brevi “cantares”; e sono da cercare fra quelli ai quali, giusta la terminologia del Wolf,⁵⁸ si dà nome di “juglarescos”; ma, nè possono dirsi molto numerosi,⁵⁹ nè in essi s’incarna il tipo. Che nell’essenza la diversità ci sia, e considerevole, nessuno vorrebbe contestare;⁶⁰ e risulta dall’elemento lirico, per ragione del quale i

⁵⁴ P. 333; nell’estratto 26.

⁵⁵ *Vita S. Willelmi, Bolland.*, Maggio, VI, 811, in un passo arcifamoso.

⁵⁶ V. il testo qui dietro, p. 13.

⁵⁷ V. p. 14.

⁵⁸ *Studien*, p. 460 sgg. (V. Milá, p. 65); *Primavera*, Introduzione, nella versione spagnuola, *Antol.*, VIII, xxxviii (Milá, p. 86).

⁵⁹ Un esempio notevole, ma che trascende perfino il segno, in quanto dal dominio della poesia narrativa ci trasporta sul limitare della poesia morale, s’ha nel primo dei “romances” di Montesinos, Durán, n. 382, *Primav.*, n. 175, “Muchas veces oí decir”. V. la nota 2 della p. 119 in una mia memorietta “Rosafiorida”. inserita nei *Mélanges Picot*, Parigi, 1913, Vol. II.

⁶⁰ Per esuberanza, citerò il Milá, p. 404, lin. 1-3; il Paris, p. 331 (23 nell’estratto); il Menéndez Pidal, *Épop.*, p. 142-44, 161-62, 163, 166.

“romances”, le romanze, sono venuti a rappresentare per eccellenza agli occhi dei moderni il canto epico-lirico ed hanno fornito alla terminologia più usuale il nome per indicarli. Un segno per così dire palpabile di questa liricità consiste nella tendenza a servirsi del presente storico, ossia a trasportare nel presente i fatti passati, mentre nel *Mio Cid* e nelle *Mocedades* — unici testi raffrontabili — i verbi al passato prevalgon d'assai. E come già s'è accennato,⁶¹ l'elemento lirico può anche avere il predominio, e non il predominio soltanto. Un semplice spunto narrativo ci presentano qual mossa i due del Carvajal, così importanti anche per ragione di data. In tutto il rimanente essi sono sfogo schiettamente lirico, nell' uno della donna da tanti e tanti anni separata dal marito; nell'altro, dello stesso poeta, lontano dalla sua bella, pieno d'angoscia amorosa; donde è lecito argomentare che “romances” lirici già dovevano aversi anche in quella poesia del popolo da cui il Carvajal prendeva l'ispirazione.

Volgiamoci a cose più speciali. La teorica del frazionamento o della scissione porterebbe a immaginare tra i “cantares” pervenutici e i “romances viejos” che loro corrispondono una convenienza più stretta di quella che effettivamente ci appare. S'ha un bell' insistere sopra la ragionevolezza di una metamorfosi:⁶² acqua vuol essere, non tempesta. Trasformandosi assai meno, non pochi “romances” poterono vagar largamente per la penisola, valicare i mari, essere trasmessi di bocca in bocca, di generazione in generazione, per secoli. Particolarmente ci dobbiamo meravigliare che la corrispondenza non sia maggiore quando con “romances viejos” possono essere raffrontati prodotti epici tardivi. E prodotto epico tardivo, dopo gli studi del Menéndez Pidal,⁶³ non sono forse da ritenere le *Mocedades*, e in assoluto, e più che mai nella redazione a noi giunta?—Ora, si eseguisca, per esempio, il paragone a cui c'invita il Milá alla pagina 273. Similmente si confrontino coi “romances” corrispondenti i brani di “cantares” degli *Infantes de Lara* che il Menéndez Pidal ha sagacemente ricavato da cronache di cui la più antica è del 1344.⁶⁴ Un accordo poco meno che pieno ci aspette-

⁶¹ A p. 2.

⁶² V. ancora le pp. 13 e 14.

⁶³ V. *Épop.*, p. 121-47.

⁶⁴ *La Leyenda* ecc., p. 421-32.

remmo soprattutto nella scena tremenda, tale da imprimersi profondamente nella memoria, di Gonzales Gustios che prende successivamente nelle mani la testa dell'aio Nuño Sabido e dei figliuoli ad uno ad uno;⁶⁵ e l'accordo invece è scarso, pur essendo simile il ritmo.

Un altro dissenso fra la teorica e i fatti vuole qui esser notato. Parrebbe naturale che qualcuno almeno fra i "romances" che primi ci si mostrano spettasse o mettesse capo a cicli epici, ossia a "cantares" conservatisi o da supporre con fondamento. Ciò invece, se si guarda bene, non è;⁶⁶ o le circostanze sono tali, da togliere, comunque fosse, ogni valore alla cosa. Anteriormente ai "romances" ciclici coi quali il tipo dovrebbe essersi foggiato, riescono a presentarcisi o a darci sentore di sè i "romances sueltos", isolati, sporadici.

Si considerino i due artistici del Carvajal, per cercar di avvertire se essi non suscitino reminiscenze specifiche. Il "romance" in cui il poeta descrive e sfoga l'angoscia sua propria, "Terrible duelo fasia en la cárcel donde estaba Carvajal quando moria", me ne richiama uno che principia "Triste estaba el caballero", sul quale lavorò più che un rimatore del secolo XV⁶⁷ e che destò echi anche nel XVI.⁶⁸ L'analogia colle elaborazioni altrui non si riduce semplicemente alla mossa. Ma chi sarà mai stato in origine "el caballero" che si veniva acerbamente lamentando? Il carcere in cui il

⁶⁵ *Leyenda*, p. 422-26: *Primavera*, n. 24, "Pártese el moro Alicante", unico "romance" di cui sia da tener conto fra quelli che trattano il soggetto (Durán, n. 681-86).

⁶⁶ Si veda che cosa dica lo stesso Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 95-6.

⁶⁷ Due lezioni ne contiene il *Cancionero general* e ne riporta il Durán, n. 303 e 304; la prima "acabada" da Alonso de Cardona, la seconda "continuada" (V. nel Durán l'indice finale, II, 733), o "añadida", come lessi io stesso nell'edizione del 1527, da Quiros.

⁶⁸ Si osservino il "Triste estaba el padre Adan" del Torres Naharro, Durán, n. 439; l'anonimo "Triste estaba el Padre Santo", relativo al Sacco di Roma, ib., n. 1155; e il "Triste estaba el rey Alfonso" del Sepúlveda, ib., n. 926. — Echi della stessa voce erano ben stati altresì il "Triste está el rey Menelao", n. 470, "Triste mezquino y pensoso estaba el rey Menelao", n. 471, e "Triste estaba y muy pensosa aquella reyna troyana", n. 482, taluno dei quali almeno risale verosimilmente alla fine del quattrocento. E al quattrocento risalirà di sicuro il "Triste está la Reina, triste," di cui abbiamo i primi dodici versi e la melodia di un enigmatico Contreras nella preziosa raccolta pubblicata a spese della "Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando" da Francisco Asenjo Barbieri: *Cancionero Musical de los siglos XV y XVI*; Madrid, (1890: la data s'ha in fine al volume). V. p. 169, n°. 334; e cfr. p. 509 e pp. 25-26.

solo Carvajal pone la scena parrebbe avere una discreta probabilità di essere un tratto primitivo; dacchè riferito al rimatore nostro non sembra ammissibile che sia carcere reale, e soltanto con una stiracchiatura, della quale il fatto dell'imitazione ci darebbe ragione sodisfacentissima, può essere inteso come carcere allegorico, "cárcel de Amor".⁶⁹ E allora il pensiero andrebbe al Gonzalo Gustios, menzionato poco fa, prigioniero di Almanzor. Sennonchè, nè possediamo alcun "romance" dov' egli si profonda in lamenti dentro alla prigione, sia prima, sia dopo la scena di cui appunto si parlava, nè ci fornisce motivo di congetturarne l'esistenza l'esame dei testi in prosa.⁷⁰ E chi avesse messo un altro suo lamento accanto a quello ben noto, avrebbe agito dissennatamente. Così mi vien fatto di immaginare che il carcere sia invece quello in cui aveva avuto a languire e a morire, in un tempo non lontano di certo, il leggendario, ma non favoloso Macías, passato ai posteri col soprannome e quale esempio tipico di "Innamorato".⁷¹ Andiamo dunque lontano dall'epica.

Si volga lo sguardo all'altro "romance" del Carvajal, "Retraida estaba la reyna la muy casta donna Maria". La mossa trova riscontro nel "Retraida está la Infanta bien asi como solía", con cui principia il "romance" truce e famoso del Conte Alarcos:⁷² uno di quelli da cui furono maggiormente attratti i drammaturghi, cominciando da Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, certo da Lope de Vega.⁷³ Ma altresì qual "romance" il *Conde Alarcos* è

⁶⁹ Noto titolo di un romanzo composto da Diego de San Pedro nella seconda metà del secolo quindicesimo.

⁷⁰ V. Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 220, 236, 238, 262, 278-9, 284-5.

⁷¹ Di lui parlano poco o tanto tutte le storie letterarie della Spagna. Qui mi giova segnalare ciò che ne scrive la Michaëlis de Vasconcellos nella già citata *Gesch. der Portug. Litter.*, p. 239-40 della 2ª parte del t. II del *Grundriss* del Gröber. — Solo per ciò che ne è riferito da altri (*Romania*, XXX, 474) conosco il lavoro speciale del Rennert, *Macías, o namorado, A Galician Trobador*, Philadelphia, 1900 ("Privately printed"). Macías venne a diventare per la Spagna ciò che di qua dai Pirenei era stato il verosimilmente favoloso, e non leggendario soltanto, Andrea "de Fransa", o di Parigi.

⁷² Durán, n. 365; Wolf e Hof., *Primav.*, n. 163. Fu tradotto in italiano dal Berchet e compreso nella raccolta di *Vecchie romanze spagnuole* pubblicata a Bruxelles nel 1837, p. 315-43.

⁷³ V. Gorra, *Una romanza spagnuola nella poesia popolare e nel teatro*, nel volume *Fra Drammi e Poemi*, Milano, 1900, p. 1-106: lavoro pubblicato prima incompletamente nella *Nuova Antologia* del 1896, 1º ottobre, p. 431-59, e 16

divulgatissimo per tutta la penisola iberica, della quale ha anche varcato i confini:⁷⁴ e fra l'opinione del Menéndez y Pelayo, che lo stima di composizione tardiva ed è propenso a lasciarne l'onore a un Pedro de Riaño, al quale è attribuito in fogli volanti della metà del secolo XVI,⁷⁵ e quella del Gorra, che lo reputa antico, pur ritenendolo rimaneggiato ed essendo disposto a supporne rimaneggiatore il Riaño,⁷⁶ credo più verosimile la seconda; e un indizio oso scorgerne anche nell'analogia colla romanza del Carvajal.⁷⁷ La quale poi, per il contenuto suo generale, rientra nella gran caterva dei canti di separazione e di lontananza; ossia è costituita da modulazioni sopra un motivo comune della lirica erotica di non so quanti popoli, caro forse in modo particolare al Portogallo.⁷⁸

dicembre, p. 692-726; inoltre, Menéndez y Pel., *Trat. de rom. viej.*, II (*Antol.*, XII), 535-40. La menzione del Torres Naharro mi è suggerita dal Savj-Lopez, *Cervantes*, Napoli, 1913, p. 166.

⁷⁴ Vi si rannoda il n. 8 (p. 71-72) dei *Canti popolari del Piemonte* pubblicati e illustrati dal Nigra, Torino, Loescher, 1888.

⁷⁵ Op. cit., p. 336.

⁷⁶ *Fra Drammi e Poemi*, p. 12.

⁷⁷ Sarà fortuita una corrispondenza del "romance" del Conte Alarcos con quello del supplizio di don Pedro e don Alonso Carvajal per ordine di re Ferdinando IV (1295-1312), "Válasme, nuestra Señora", Durán, n. 960, *Primav.*, n. 64? Essa consiste in ciò, che tanto l'infelicissima moglie del Conte quanto "El menor y mas osado" dei Carvajales (l'altro rimane muto) citano il re, solo, oppure insieme colla figliuola, di lui ancor più colpevole, a comparire fra trenta giorni al tribunale di Dio; ed entro quel termine segue la morte. Non punto fortuita la ritiene il Menéndez y Pelayo, p. 538, e vede senz'altro l'imitazione nel "Conde Alarcos"; idea che parrebbe imporsi qual conseguenza necessaria, se nel caso dei Carvajales la terribile citazione (V. Gorra, p. 8, e la relativa n. 25 a p. 96) ebbe un fondamento storico. Io nondimeno di questo procedimento non mi so persuadere; e penso che la realtà deva esser stata più complessa che non si faccia. Ma mi domando poi anche se sia dovuto a semplice caso che si chiamasse Carvajal un poeta, alla memoria del quale mi sembra essere stato presente un "romance" in cui aveva posto segnalato un tratto, che si narrava come cosa realmente avveratasi alla morte di due fratelli Carvajales anteriori di un secolo e mezzo.

⁷⁸ V. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 168 sgg. in ambedue le edizioni, 1889 e 1904. La rappresentazione della partenza per mare ci fa correre la mente al nostro "Giamai non mi conforto," di Rinaldo di Aquino. —Canti di lontananza sono anche il "Terrible duelo fasia" di cui s'è discorso prima, e taluni dei consanguinei che si son menzionati. Si avrebbe caro di vedere se tale era anche il "Triste está la Reina" del *Cancionero Musical*, che in tal caso potrebbe aver qui una ragione particolare di essere segnalato. Ma pur troppo esso rimane in tronco là dove, aprendo la bocca a "Palabras muy lastimeras", la "Reina" ci verrebbe a chiarire. Giova rilevare che il dolor suo è

Qui vogliono essere considerati tre "romances" che si leggono in un codice del Museo Britannico assegnato alla fine del secolo XV o al principio del XVI, dentro ad una raccoltina di poesie di Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, contemporaneo del Carvajal.⁷⁹ La raccoltina fu edita in molta parte e illustrata da H. A. Rennert, nel t. XVII (1893) della *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, p. 544-58.⁸⁰ Dalle romanze viene ad essa l'interesse maggiore, non scemato per nulla dal fatto che non suonino punto nuove. Tutte e tre ci si presentano semplicemente come versioni speciali di composizioni accolte già nelle collezioni della metà del secolo XVI; e due ci son giunte anche in "pliegos sueltos".⁸¹ Sono conosciute sotto il titolo di *Rosaflorida*,⁸² *El conde Arnaldos*,⁸³ *La hija del rey de Francia* o *La infantina*.⁸⁴

Permette il codice di Londra di assegnare come cosa propria i tre "romances" a Juan Rodríguez?—Lo crede fermamente il Baist;⁸⁵ e che a lui non siano da negare, pensa anche il Rennert, pur mostrandosi più guardingo;⁸⁶ scettico si manifesta invece il Menén-

violento: ella, mentre siede al telaio, si viene "comidendo" il cuore, e "Los pechos l'estan con rabie Ansiosamente batiendo". L'occupazione a cui la donna è intenta ci fa correre il pensiero alle "chansons de toile", dette così, per servirmi delle parole di G. Paris, *La littér. fr. au moyen âge*, § 118, "sans doute parce que les femmes les chantaient en travaillant", ma di cui insieme le più "nous présentent une femme assise à son travail". Si vedano nelle *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* del Bartsch i numeri 1, 2, 6, 7, 12, 14.

⁷⁹ Di lui discorre il Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, ccvii-ccxxxv, e *Orígenes de la Novela* (nella *Nueva Bibliot. de Autor. Españ.*) I, ccciv-cccxi.

⁸⁰ "Lieder des Juan Rodriguez del Padron." Ha ristampato i tre "romances" il Menéndez y Pelayo in appendice al t. XII dell' *Antología*, p. 541-42. Uno dei tre aveva visto la luce fino dal 1852 per opera del Delius nel vol. XII, p. 235, dell' *Archiv* del Herrig; ed era poi stato riprodotto appiè di pagina nella *Primavera* in nota al n. 153 (*Antol.*, VIII, 271).

⁸¹ Queste altre lezioni sono riprodotte dal Rennert accanto od in coda a ciascun testo londinese.

⁸² Durán, n. 384; *Primav.*, n. 179. Il Menéndez y Pelayo se n'era occupato nel *Tratado de los romances viejos*, t. II (*Antol.*, XII), p. 411 sgg.; ed ora io ne ho fatto oggetto della trattazione speciale già indicata qui dietro, p. 18, n. 59.

⁸³ Durán, n. 286; *Primav.*, n. 153. Menénd. y Pel., *Antol.*, XII, 531-33.

⁸⁴ Durán, n. 284 e 285; *Primav.*, n. 154 e 154a. Menénd. y Pel., *Antol.*, XII, 519-22.

⁸⁵ *Die Spanische Litteratur, nel Grundriss* del Gröber, vol. II, p.^{te} 2^a, p. 432 e 433.

⁸⁶ P. 557-58, alla fine dello scritto. Va rilevato che il Rennert pende qui pur sempre dal Baist, avendo dichiarato in una nota iniziale (p. 544) di dovere a lui

dez y Pelayo.⁸⁷ La questione non è limpida di sicuro. Che i "romances" siano capitati per caso tra la roba di Juan Rodríguez, non par verosimile. Mi rende restio ad ammetterlo il vedere che vi si trovano disseminati, non già riuniti in serie, e che se uno di essi occupa l'undicesimo ed ultimo posto, ossia sta come chi dicesse sulla porta d'uscita, gli altri due si sono affacciati nel quarto e nel settimo. Ma di contro a ciò è vera per *El conde Arnaldos* e per *La Infantina*, e significa assai, l'affermazione del Menéndez y Pelayo che le lezioni londinesi sono notevolmente inferiori "á los textos impresos".⁸⁸ E l'inferiorità è di tal natura, che non basta già a darmene ragione l'ipotesi nella quale il dottissimo spagnuolo avrebbe cercato, occorrendo, una via di scampo, che se Juan Rodríguez "compuso realmente" quelle lezioni, "no puede ser tenido por autor original de estos romances, sino por refundidor bastante torpe". Un rifacitore letterato, sia pur negligente, non avrebbe mai nella *Infantina* principiato come se volesse sostituire il discorso diretto della protagonista alla narrazione impersonale, per poi dalla metà in giù (v. 20 sgg.) ricascare nel racconto di un estraneo qualsiasi. E illogicamente ibrida, ossia segnata di un' impronta caratteristica per la tradizione orale, che di continuo, inconsciamente e senza badare agli effetti, unisce, mescola, e confonde, è la variante londinese del *Conde Arnaldos*, dove Arnaldo prima è ascoltatore del canto del marinaio e poi appare convertito nel cantore lui medesimo, divenendo ascoltatrice la sua donna. Ne deduco che noi ci troviamo qui in presenza di testi presi dalla tradizione orale, sia poi che ne vengano direttamente, oppure indirettamente, e che però Juan Rodríguez non può in nessun caso essere stato altro che raccoglitore. Ma ciò che in questo momento a noi particolarmente importa si è che tanto *La Infantina* quanto *El conde Arnaldos* sono "romances sueltos" e appartengono alla poesia epico-lirica internazionale delle popolazioni neolatine, con larghe parentele anche fuori della penisola iberica.⁸⁹

"die Schlussbemerkungen". Non posso dire se il Baist fosse stato dapprima meno reciso, o se il Rennert abbia creduto prudente di attenuarne alquanto, facendolo proprio, il parere.

⁸⁷ *Antol.*, XII, 282; *Orig. de la Nov.*, I, cccv.

⁸⁸ *Orig. de la Nov.*, ib., e per *El conde Arnaldos* V. anche *Antol.*, XII, 532, n. 1.

⁸⁹ Le illustrazioni già indicate del Menéndez y Pelayo mi esimono da altre segnalazioni.

Diversa per ogni rispetto è la condizione del "romance" non ancora considerato, cioè della *Rosaflorida*. Qual canto epico-lirico esso appartiene proprio alla Spagna. E in questo caso, nonostante certe apparenze, alla versione del codice di Londra è lecito di tener alta la fronte in cospetto di quella divulgata dalle antiche collezioni.⁹⁰ Così non è escluso che autore possa realmente esserne stato Juan Rodríguez; nè manca all'attribuzione qualche tenue suffragio.⁹¹ Ora, se la *Rosaflorida* è fattura di un poeta d'arte, non ha più alcun valore il fatto che non sia propriamente un "romance suelto", e che appartenga alla famiglia dei "romances" che trattano di Montesinos, riflessi e propaggini della "chanson de geste" francese di *Aiol*. Ma anche indipendentemente da ciò la *Rosaflorida* non conta nulla per la questione intorno alle origini del genere. Pur connettendosi con un ciclo, vi si connette in modo oscuramente intricato,⁹² e a nessuno potrebbe passar mai per la mente di riguardarla come frammento di un "cantare" che avesse Montesinos a protagonista.

S'è teso l'orecchio a voci fioche ed incerte. Ecco aggiungersene una venuta a sonare propriamente distinta all'orecchio appunto del Menéndez y Pelayo. È "romance suelto" quel "Cercada tiene á Baeza", che abbiám sentito⁹³ assegnarsi risolutamente da lui alla data secondo le sue idee incredibilmente remota del 1368. E qui si aggiunge qualche cosa di importante in grado sommo. Mentre *El conde Alarcos*, *El conde Arnaldos*, *La infantina*, spettano alla categoria dei canti narrativi che gli Spagnuoli si trovano aver comuni con altre genti e che in tesi generale possono esser nati dovecchessia, "Cercada tiene á Baeza" è un "romance fronterizo", una romanza di frontiera, ossia appartiene a quella specie quanto mai caratteristica, che emana dalle condizioni peculiari di un popolo, che è in guerra perpetua con un popolo confinante. Stanno in essa a fronte Cristiani e Mori. A buon diritto il Milá esalta i "romances fronterizos" qual "Joya incomparable de la poesía castellana";⁹⁴ e deve vederne i motivi nel loro essere "Hijos de una sociedad todavía heróica y ya no bárbara" e "inspirados por el más vivo espíritu

⁹⁰ Ved. le pp. 131-33 del mio scritto.

⁹¹ Ivi, p. 134.

⁹² Su questo problema ebbi soprattutto a scervellarmi; pp. 119-30.

⁹³ P. 9.

⁹⁴ P. 323.

nacional", mentre "reflejan al mismo tiempo algo de las costumbres, de los trajes y edificios y aún, si bien en pocos casos, de la poesía del pueblo moro"; nel conservare "á diferencia de los derivados de los antiguos ciclos, una forma igual ó aproximada á la que recibieron al nacer"; nell'essere "Algunos de ellos . . . debidos á la impresion inmediata de los hechos ó á una tradicion poco lejana". Con queste dichiarazioni si vengono ad ammettere implicitamente cose, di cui forse non si è reso pieno conto il Menéndez y Pelayo nel riportare il brano del Milá come la più esatta e precisa rappresentazione che potesse darsi "de este grupo de canciones heroicas".⁹⁵ Ma il Paris, che lo riporta del pari, volto in francese, pur non trovandosi a dover mettere in conto il dato specifico di un esemplare che egli riconoscesse così precoce come si faceva dal Menéndez y Pelayo per il "Cercada tiene á Baeza", dai "romances fronterizos" così considerati deduce che ai brevi canti episodici gli Spagnuoli fossero probabilmente avvezzi già "vers la fin du XIV^e siècle ou le commencement du XV^e", e che già allora li considerassero "comme la vraie forme de la poésie épique".⁹⁶ E qui non si ferma: "On peut dès lors se demander si c'est l'usage de détacher des *cantares de gesta* une ou plusieurs laisses pour les chanter isolément qui a donné naissance aux romances épisodiques composées d'emblée sur des faits contemporains, ou si c'est au contraire la naissance et la vogue de romances de ce genre qui a fait détacher des anciens *cantares* des épisodes qu'on s'est mis à chanter isolément." Così eccolo sul punto di rinunciare alle idee professate prima. Ma su questa lubrica strada egli s'arresta col soggiungere: "Je pencherais, quant à moi, pour la première hypothèse, et, en tout cas, il faut admettre que c'est aux *cantares* que les romances, qui en ont absolument la forme et le style, ont dû leur première inspiration"; il che è pur sempre un dare un buon passo indietro e un fare che io deva coi miei "dubbi" parer meno audace a chi mi legge.

Che l'identità di "stile" qui affermata non ci sia secondo il mio giudizio, si è udito non è molto.⁹⁷ E anche rispetto alla "forma", parlare di identità è un eccedere la misura. C'è bensì una convenienza molto ragguardevole, che messa sul piatto della bilancia

⁹⁵ *Antol.*, XII, 167.

⁹⁶ *Journ. d. Sav.*, p. 334; estr., p. 26.

⁹⁷ P. 18-19.

opposto a quello sul quale si sono venute accumulando le osservazioni esposte finora, potrebb' anche benissimo far piegare dalla sua parte il giogo.

La convenienza consiste nell'uso della lassa nota ora soprattutto per via delle "chansons de geste"—vale a dire della serie di un numero indeterminato di versi legati da una medesima cadenza, che nella Spagna è rimasta tenacemente assonanza e che nella Francia fu assonanza e diventò poi rima esatta. L'accordo che in ciò viene ad aversi tra i due paesi, aggiunto al moltissimo che l'epica spagnuola considerata nel suo complesso, senza distinguere cioè tra "cantares" e "romances", derivò indubbiamente dalle "chansons de geste" (di lì, nonostante la contestazione del Milá,⁹⁸ i "cantares de gesta" non ripetono forse in parte sicuramente anche il nome?), induce il Paris a tener per fermo che l'epopea spagnuola sia francese d'origine essa stessa,⁹⁹ e bisogna ben riconoscere che chi reputa non facile da ammettere che la lassa "soit née spontanément et indépendamment au sud et au nord des Pyrénées", ha poi pieno diritto, quando si rinchiude nel dominio spagnuolo, di ricavare anche solo dalla comunanza della lassa tra i "cantares" e i "romances", che questi ultimi, così tardi ad apparire, siano sgorgati dai primi. Il medesimo diritto non hanno invece il Milá e il Menéndez Pidal, una volta che entrambi, nonostante il fatto della lassa, negano l'origine francese dell'epopea spagnuola, che il Milá riguarda come schiettamente indigena,¹⁰⁰ e il Menéndez Pidal come procedente dagli invasori germanici e precisamente dai Visigoti.¹⁰¹

Ma si limita alla lassa la concordanza ritmica fra "cantares" e "romances?" Non si estende essa al verso, o fino dall'età arcaica, o almeno col proceder del tempo?—E nota la tenacità colla quale al verso dei "romances" s'è voluto ridurre da Jules Cornu¹⁰² l'avanzo

⁹⁸ P. 468. S'accorda con lui il Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XI, 81-2.

⁹⁹ P. 321-22, 14-15 nell'estratto.

¹⁰⁰ P. 470-71, al termine di una trattazione appositamente dedicata allo studio "Del influjo de la poesía épica francesa en la castellana".

¹⁰¹ *L'épop. castill.*, cap. 1°, p. 1-38. Nella *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* egli non s'era ancora dichiarato. V. pertanto Paris, p. 321, n. 2; nell'estratto, p. 14, n. 1.

¹⁰² Anzitutto nelle *Études sur le Poème du Cid*, inserite (p. 419-458) nelle *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris le 29 décembre 1890*. Tennero dietro *Verbesserungsvorschläge zum Poema del Cid*, in *Symbola Pragenses*, Praga e altrove, 1893; *Beiträge zu einer künftigen Ausgabe des Poema del Cid*, nella *Zeiti*.

più vetusto dell' epopea spagnuola: il *Cantar de Mio Cid*.¹⁰³ L'idea s'era affacciata da un pezzo;¹⁰⁴ ma è quanto mai significativo che da essa non si lasciasse punto sedurre il Milá,¹⁰⁵ che ci doveva pur vedere un suffragio desiderabile in grado sommo, e poco meno che un presupposto, della sua teorica. Nè l' abbracciò il Menéndez y Pelayo;¹⁰⁶ e dopo essersi convertito durante un certo periodo, se n'è ritratto, a malincuore sicuramente, il Menéndez Pidal, per effetto dell' indagine a cui dette motivo l'edizione sua monumentale del poema.¹⁰⁷ Lo studio approfondito, minuzioso, sagacissimo che qui si rispecchia,¹⁰⁸ ha messo capo alla condanna risoluta di quella opinione.¹⁰⁹ Da esso, si noti bene, è venuto ad apparire con dati matematicamente precisi che nel nostro *Mio Cid* i versi costituiti di due ottonari sono poco più del terzo di quelli che resultano da due settenari,¹¹⁰ sicchè ha miglior giuoco chi sostiene che verso orginario abbia a reputarsi l'alessandrino.¹¹¹ Ma nella sua condanna il

für roman. Phil., XXI (1897), 461-528. Rileverò che nel render conto del lavoro a lui dedicato, *Romania*, XXII, 153 (e qui s'ha anche un supplemento di emistichi da servir di rincalzo alla teorica, fornito dal Cornu e proveniente dall'allievo suo d'. Rolin), il Paris aveva scritto: "Je ne me prononce pas sur le système de M. Cornu, qui est, en tout cas, bien attrayant". Più tardi egli dovette andare più in là.

¹⁰³ So che idee eterodosse riguardo al tempo a cui sia da assegnare la nostra redazione ha concepito da qualche anno il prof. Nicola Zingarelli, il quale vi è stato condotto dal confronto della *Crónica general* di Alfonso X, donde il Menéndez Pidal cava tutt'altre conclusioni. Se lo Zingarelli persisterà nelle proprie convinzioni anche dopo un nuovo e rigoroso esame, s'affretti a far conoscere i suoi ragionamenti perchè possano esser discussi. Di discussione saranno meritevoli di certo, quand'anche non sia verosimile che riescano a far trionfare la tesi.

¹⁰⁴ V. Milá, p. 80; e Menéndez Pidal, p. 81-2 dell'opera che segnalerò or ora.

¹⁰⁵ L'esposizione netta delle sue vedute e osservazioni s'ha nelle pp. 443-45.

¹⁰⁶ *Antol.*, XI, 89-90.

¹⁰⁷ L'indicazione bibliografica s'è avuta a p. 11 n. 32. Nella n. 2 della p. 82 l'autore c'informa riguardo alla temporanea conversione alla fede del Cornu. Come la pensasse antecedentemente, dice la p. 417 della *Leyenda*.

¹⁰⁸ P. 76-103.

¹⁰⁹ Quando si tratta di conchiudere, dichiara (p. 101) che "entre el metro del *Cantar de Mio Cid y los romances*" per lui rimane "un abismo".

¹¹⁰ Per i primi s'ha una media del 5.68 %; per i secondi del 15.19. V. p. 100. Quando si considerino isolatamente gli emistichi, la sproporzione si attenua d'assai, ma resta pur sempre al settenario una ben considerevole prevalenza; dacchè stanno a fronte (p. 99) un 24 ed un 39.4 %.

¹¹¹ "Das Gedicht vom Cid . . . ringt offenbar nach dieser Form", dice il Diez nella mirabile dissertazione, "Über den epischen Vers", *Altromanische*

Menéndez Pidal coinvolge insieme coll'opinione del Cornu tutte le altre che poco o tanto le sono affini. E alla condanna conferisce valore singolarissimo l'essere profferita da tale, che, in servizio dell'edizione, aveva dovuto ponderare ogni parola, ogni sillaba del testo. Nè mi trattiene dal parlare così il vedere che in un esame della prima parte dell'opera del Menéndez Pidal, esame dedicato soprattutto alla ritmica, uno studioso del valore di Federico Hanssen dice che ancora secondo lui "no está perdida definitivamente la causa de los que sostienen que la Gesta se compuso en un metro regular."¹¹² Egli stesso soggiunge poi tali riserve e mette avanti ipotesi cosiffatte, che io non so quanto finisca per risultare avvantaggiata la dottrina del Cornu.

A parer mio, più non è da dubitare.¹¹³ Nessuno sforzo od artificio, per quanto favoriti dalla circostanza che il *Mio Cid* ci sia pervenuto assai corrotto in un codice unico e tardivo, riuscirà mai ad imporre agli elementi così vari ed anomali di cui esso consta, il giogo di uno stesso modulo. Non si chiami a confronto il nostro *Ugo d'Alvernia*; chè, sciolto affatto da briglia nella lezione del codice di Torino, esso ci apparisce frenato se risaliamo a quella del manoscritto berlinese.¹¹⁴ Qui lo sbrigliamento è l'effetto della traduzione dal francese

Sprachdenkmale, p. 107. Su questa via cammina in modo autonomo il Restori nel lavoro citato a p. 14. Ne riassume le vedute il Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, p. 79-80.

¹¹² T. I della *Revue de dialectologie romane*, Bruxelles, 1909, p. 454. La recensione va da p. 452 a p. 469; e della "versificación", e del problema della "ejecución musical" con essa indissolubilmente collegato, si tratta da p. 453 a p. 463.

¹¹³ Altri invece pensa diversamente. Si veda in questa *Romanic Review*, vol. V, 1-30, la scritto di H. R. Lang, "Notes on the Metre of the Poem of the Cid", che fu composto tipograficamente insieme col mio (da ciò il suo essere menzionato solo qui appiè di pagina), pur avendolo preceduto di un anno nella pubblicazione.

¹¹⁴ Le due sono stampate una accanto all'altra in modo da prestarsi comodissimamente al paragone per un tratto di ben seicento versi, nel contributo di Ed. Stengel ai *Mélanges de Philologie romane et d'Histoire littéraire offerts à M. Maurice Wilmotte*, Parigi, 1910, p. 685-713; si dà qui ai lettori *Huons von Auvergne Keuschheitsprobe*. Si può anche vedere dello stesso Stengel *Eine weitere Textstelle aus der franco-venezianischen Chanson de geste von Huon d'Auvergne (Nach der Berliner und der Turiner Handschrift)*, in *Festschrift zum 13. Neuphilologen Tage*, Hannover, 1908, p. 35-49. Troppo naturale che neppure nella condizione originaria, alla quale il manoscritto di Berlino ci approssima ma non ci fa arrivare, le norme metriche possano esser state rigorosamente conformi

in italiano, eseguita senza alcun riguardo alle ragioni del ritmo. Nulla di analogo può immaginarsi per il *Mio Cid*; benchè il Cornu chieda conto della condizione di fatto all'ipotesi che il poema corresse a lungo nella tradizione orale giullaresca avanti che fosse messo in iscritto.¹¹⁵ Ma anche questa uscita è stata chiusa con sbarre mal valicabili dal Menéndez Pidal;¹¹⁶ al quale l'Hanssen, movendo da osservazioni sue proprie, sente il bisogno di accostarsi di tanto, da ammettere che "el texto de la Gesta refleja la sintaxis del siglo XII y no puede haber sufrido alteraciones esenciales posteriormente", donde conseguirebbe che "la corrupción del texto debería relegarse á una época muy antigua, casi contemporánea con la del autor."¹¹⁷ Con ciò si verrebbe ad ammettere il fatto, sottraendogli in pari tempo un necessario sostegno.

Soverchia la sregolatezza perchè possa esser ritenuta involontaria. Verseggian dovunque inesattamente i poeti incolti e mal colti; ma di regola è manifesto che essi hanno avuto di mira un tipo determinato agevolmente riconoscibile. Furono certo nell' intenzione decasillabi epici della varietà più comune i versi di quelli che chiamai altra volta *Reali di Francia franco-italiani*¹¹⁸ e che ora dico *La geste Francor*, anche se nel codice marciano XIII della serie francese¹¹⁹ sono errati in molta parte ed errati dovettero uscire spessissimo dalla mente del rimate.¹²⁰ E aveva in animo di foggare deca-

alla pratica dei rimatori d'oltralpe: "Der französische Versbau des Verfassers ist, wie seine Sprache, durch den italienischen stark beeinflusst", dice il medesimo Stengel, preluendo ad un altro episodio, *Huon's aus Auvergne Höllenfahrt*, dato fuori *nach der Berliner und Paduaner HS.* quale *Festschrift der Universität Greifswald zum Rektoratswechsel am 15. Mai 1908*, p. 4. Ed egli entra poi in particolari, p. VIII-XI, in una pubblicazione allestita per l'occasione stessa del mutamento del Rettore nel 1912, dove ci offre *Huons aus Auvergne Suche nach dem Hölleneingang* secondo il solo codice Berlinese.

¹¹⁵ V. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, p. 28. Giusto rilevare che l'ipotesi non fu immaginata in servizio della teoria ritmica, poichè la vediamo espressa dieci anni prima di questa, *Romania*, X (1881), 75. Pare esserci stata oscillazione nel Cornu rispetto a un punto secondario: se noi s'abbia l'esemplare stesso scritto dietro la guida della memoria, od una sua trascrizione.

¹¹⁶ P. 31-33.

¹¹⁷ P. 455.

¹¹⁸ *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 488.

¹¹⁹ Sta per essere pubblicato in facsimile, con un mio proemio, dall'Istituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche.

¹²⁰ Però a correttezza di ritmo, in pari tempo che di linguaggio, si lasciò senza eccessiva difficoltà ridurre dal Guessard la rama che conta del traditore

sillabi perfino l'autore del *Bovo* pervenutoci frammentario in un manoscritto laurenziano e in alcune carte udinesi.¹²¹ Ma nel caso del *Cid* un modulo fisso da potersi dire fondamentale, nè appare, nè traspare; e supporre che i cantastorie spagnuoli avesser l'orecchio di tanto più duro dei loro confratelli degli altri paesi da non riuscire a tradurre in atto nemmeno approssimativamente la misura che si fosser proposti, è cosa irragionevole, nonostante la mala vista in cui li vuol mettere, nel secondo tetrastico tante volte citato, l'autore del *Libro de Alexandre*, ossia ben probabilmente il Berceo:

Mester trago fremoso, non es de joglaria;
 Mester es sen pecado, ca es de clerezia,
 Fablar curso rimado per la cuaderna via
 A sillavas cuntadas, ca es grant maestria.

Il saper computare debitamente le sillabe può parere un gran vanto al Berceo: per me, non altrimenti che per i fautori della regolarità ritmica originaria, non è dubbio che l'autore del *Mio Cid* le sapeva o le avrebbe sapute computare non troppo diversamente dal cantore dell'eroe macedone. Però se l'autore del *Cid*, e sicuramente altri rimatori di cantari, contemporanei suoi, produssero versi disuguali, gli è che non li vollero foggiare uniformi.¹²² Bisogna ammettere che davanti alla loro mente stesse un tipo variabile. Il verso doveva essere costituito necessariamente di una tesi e di una antitesi, elementi indispensabili di ogni unità ritmica completa; ma così della

Macario e della regina Blançiflor: *Macaire, chanson de geste Publiée d'après le manuscrit unique de Venise, avec un essai de restitution en regard*; Parigi, 1866; nella raccolta degli *Anciens poètes de la France*. Il Guessard moveva dalla falsa idea che sotto al testo franco-italiano stesse, verso per verso, un originale francese; e non si ritrasse dall'impresa (V. "Préface," p. c) perchè, senza sapere, credo bene, che altri v'attendesse, e meno che mai una persona alla quale era dedicata la pubblicazione, l'avesse anticipatamente condannata il Mussafia nel proemio (p. VII) alla stampa che della medesima rama, e insieme della *Prise de Pampelune*, aveva dato fuori a Vienna nel 1864: *Altfranzösische Gedichte aus Venezianischen Handschriften*. Anche il Mussafia avrebbe dovuto riconoscere che molte storture erano da imputare alla tradizione; e pur senza di ciò egli andava troppo oltre dicendo dell'autore (p. V), "richtig zu messen gelinget ihm . . . nur in den seltensten Fällen."

¹²¹ Si può vedere ciò che della ritmica del testo laurenziano — il solo a me noto a quel tempo — scrissi nelle *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia*, p. 152. Più tinti alla francese per ciò che concerne il linguaggio, i frammenti di Udine (*Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, XI, 153-184) non migliorano le condizioni sotto quest'altro riguardo.

¹²² V. anche Hanssen, p. 459.

tesi come dell' antitesi rimaneva indeterminata entro certi limiti la lunghezza. E poteva essere maggiore la tesi, essere maggiore l'antitesi, potevano le due essere uguali.¹²³ La tendenza porta alla disuguaglianza¹²⁴ ed alla prevalenza dell' antitesi sulla tesi,¹²⁵ sicchè nel primo membro s'abbia un accento ritmico meno che nel secondo, come, con leggi ben altrimenti fisse, segue nel tipo comune del decasillabo epico francese.¹²⁶

Tutto questo per il *Mio Cid* e per il periodo antico. Che col tempo alla sregolatezza primitiva venisse a sostituirsi una norma fissa, parrebbe naturale; nè si saprebbe immaginare che la norma consistesse in altro che nell'uso appunto del tipo su cui son foggiate

¹²³ Ragguagli precisi si hanno dal Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, p. 95-100. Essi riguardano (V. p. 89 e 92) 987 versi, presi in ciascuna delle tre parti in cui il poema viene a dividersi, e comprendono così qualche cosa più di un quarto della totalità. Si consideri specialmente il riassunto a p. 99-100.

¹²⁴ I versi composti di due settenari (15.19 %), di due ottonari (5.68) e di due senari (2.63), ammontano insieme al 23.50 %. Ciò che rimane, ossia i tre quarti, spetta indubbiamente con ben tenui deduzioni alla molteplice varietà del tipo non equilibrato.

¹²⁵ Lo farò dire anche dal Menéndez Pidal (p. 100): "Es predominante en el Cantar la tendencia á que el segundo hemistiquio sea mayor que el primero." E prosegue: "Los hemistiquios de 6 sílabas aparecen tres veces más como primeros que como segundos; los de 5 sílabas se puede decir que solo aparecen como primeros. Por el contrario, los hemistiquios de 7 y 8 sílabas aparecen más como segundos que como primeros; los de 8, en segundo lugar del verso son doble que en primer lugar." Si confronti il "Cuadro estadístico" che s'è presentato nelle pp. 90-91. Ma per noi può riuscire più eloquente un altro calcolo. Sommando i dati numerici forniti nella già citata p. 100 rispetto al modo come sono composti i versi presi ad esaminare, risulta che sopra un totale che ne costituisce il 61.45 %, si ha la prevalenza dell'antitesi nel 47.18 %, quella della tesi nel 14.27.

¹²⁶ Si confrontino le vedute del Saroihandy, riassunte dal Menéndez Pidal a p. 80. — A concepir le cose in tutt'altra maniera, posto che la "versificación del poema" fosse "tal cual la presenta el manuscrito," propenderebbe l'Hanssen, p. 455-57. Egli la considererebbe come una imitazione della "prosa rimada", che fu molto in uso anche nella letteratura latina della Spagna durante il medioevo. Con ciò disconosce che elemento fondamentale di ogni versificazione è il ritmo, non la rima. Ma poi, sia pure colle debite eccezioni, la prosa rimata è fatta per la lettura, non per la recitazione mnemonica; e, nonostante il "leido" venuto ad apparire nell' "explicit", nessuno, credo, dubita che il *Mio Cid* sia stato composto soprattutto per la recitazione. La discussione potrebbe allargarsi, battendo le nuove vie aperte dalla sagacia di Wilhelm Meyer: "Über die rythmischen Preces der Mozarabischen Liturgie", in *Nachrichten von d. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1913, 177-222, E di lui v. anche "Die Preces der mozarabischer Liturgie", nelle *Abhandlungen* della stessa Accademia, 1914, n° 3.

i “romances”, incontestabilmente legati coi “cantares” da una parentela ben stretta, e che dei “cantares”—si pensi comunque si voglia—hanno manifestamente raccolto l'eredità. Con procedimento analogo nella Francia all'assonanza fu surrogata la rima; e ancor più similmente si abbandonò ivi a poco a poco il decasillabo, composto di tesi e antitesi armoniche ma disuguali, e vi si dette un predominio sempre maggiore all' equilibrato alessandrino. Tuttavia quando si prendano a considerar bene i fatti spagnuoli, essi appaiono assai meno semplici, e tali da costringere perlomeno a circondare di grandi riserve ciò che sembrerebbe ovvio.

È accaduto anche a me di allegare, dopo non so quanti altri, la seconda stanza dell' *Alexandre*.¹²⁷ In essa l'autore contrappone l'arte propria a quella dei giullari; la versificazione propria a “sillavas cuntadas” a quella, diciamolo pure, dei “cantares”, affini per materia. Ingegnosamente e con apparenza di ragione si è cercato dal Restori di toglier forza alla testimonianza;¹²⁸ ma quando si ammetta il punto che egli mira specialmente ad oppugnare cioè l'irregolarità ritmica primitiva del *Mio Cid* e degli altri “cantares” del vecchio tempo, la testimonianza ripiglia la sua vigoria e viene a dirci che la versificazione dei “cantares” era tuttora generalmente anomala verso la metà del secolo XIII. E dal riscontro del “sillavas cuntadas” riceve lume e valore il “nin cuento” che udiamo due secoli dopo dalla bocca del Marchese di Santillana, e che riferito ai “romances” quali sogliono essere, costituirebbe un'accusa molto ingiusta. Li sprezzò pure il Marchese, ciò ben si capisce; tutt'altro che privo di misura sonerà pochi decenni dopo il “pié de romances” all'orecchio del consumato umanista Antonio de Lebrija, il quale, l. 2°, cap. VIII, lo identificherà col “tetrametro iambico” dei Greci, col l' “octonario” dei latini.¹²⁹ E si noti che il Lebrija si è mostrato due capitoli prima piuttosto severo coi “romances” per ciò che spetta

¹²⁷ P. 1-31.

¹²⁸ *Propugn.*, vol. XX, p.^{te} 1^a, p. 117-120; e cfr. poi ancora 156.

¹²⁹ Giova aver presente il passo tutto intero, già riportato parzialmente a p. 4: “El tetrametro iambico que llaman los latinos octonario: & nuestros poetas pie de romances: tiene regularmente diez & seis silabas. & llamaron lo tetrametro por que tiene cuatro assientos. octonario por que tiene ocho pies. como en este romance antiguo.

Digas tu el ermitaño: que hazes la santa vida
Aquel ciervo del pie blanco donde hace su manida.”

alla loro contentabilità in fatto di consonanze finali.¹³⁰ Quindi, per scagionare il Santillana è da supporre che al tempo suo si recitassero "cantares" del genere del *Mio Cid*.¹³¹

Per il quale non risulta che sotto il rispetto della versificazione abbia subito una metamorfosi regolatrice. Perlomeno è affatto inverosimile che l'avesse subita quando fu scritta la copia nostra. Essa ci si presenta con segni di aver servito effettivamente alla pratica giullaresca;¹³² e frattanto pare dichiararsi, o dover essere dichiarata, del 1307.¹³³

Suppergiù a que' tempi va assegnata anche una seconda parte del poema degli *Infantes de Lara*,¹³⁴ della quale il Menéndez Pidal ha potuto mettere insieme copiosi frammenti.¹³⁵ Ma ancor più tarde d'un bel tratto sarebbero secondo lui le nostre *Mocedades*. O non arriva egli a porle al principio del secolo XV?¹³⁶ Ora le *Mocedades* sono certo assai meno repugnanti che il *Mio Cid* a lasciarsi ridurre alla misura del doppio ottosillabo;¹³⁷ e per il secondo "cantar" degli *Infantes* questo ritmo era parso in origine

¹³⁰ "Nuestros maiores no eran tan ambiciosos en tassar los consonantes e harto les parecia que bastava la semejanza delas vocales aunque non se consiguiesse la delas consonantes. e assi hazian consonar estas palabras santa. morada. alva. Como en aquel romance antiguo.

Digas tu el ermitaño que hazes la vida santa" ecc.

¹³¹ Cfr. p. 12, n. 37.

¹³² Il segno consiste in quelle parole finali "dat Nos del vino si non tenedes dineros echad [A]la vnos peños que bien vos los dararan (*sic*) sobrelos", che tanto il Vollmöller, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1882, I, 519 (cfr. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'hist. et la littér. de l'Esp. pendant le moyen âge*, 3^a ed., II, 82-83), quanto il Menéndez Pidal, da cui le abbiamo più compiute ed esatte, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, p. 15, giudicano aggiunte; sia pure che, stando al secondo, "la letra" sia "coetánea de la del copista". Che se la domanda del vino s'ha anche da semplici trascrittori arrivati al termine delle loro fatiche e si converte sotto la loro penna in una formola (V. Menéndez Pidal, p. 17, e più ancora Bertoni, *Il cantare del Cid*, Bari, 1912, p. 8, in nota), dal trascrittore come tale l'apposizione non può venire nel caso nostro, poichè non fu immediata, quand'anche non fosse diversa la mano.

¹³³ Anche per la data è ora da vedere segnatamente Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, p. 5-7, 12, 18.

¹³⁴ Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 22.

¹³⁵ Cfr. qui dietro, p. 11.

¹³⁶ *Épop.*, p. 137.

¹³⁷ Milá, p. 444-45; Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 417; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XI, 90-94.

al Menéndez Pidal poco meno che evidente.¹³⁸ Attualmente invece, nonchè le *Mocedades*, anche gl' *Infantes*, sono dall'acuto e autorevolissimo critico sottratti alla norma di una qualsiasi "medida regular" e si ritengon composti giusta il "procedimiento amétrico".¹³⁹ Così per trovare composizioni che abbiano l'aria di "cantares" e insieme regolarità di ritmo, siamo costretti ad andarli a cercare fra i "romances", scegliendo i più lunghi e di carattere più schiettamente narrativo nella classe dei "juglarescos";¹⁴⁰ per esempio *El conde de Barcelona*,¹⁴¹ *El conde Dirlos*,¹⁴² *El nacimiento de Montesinos*.¹⁴³ Non è davvero ciò che eravamo in diritto di aspettarci.

Eppure anche tra queste composizioni ed i "cantares" resta pur sempre una differenza profonda. Si considerino poi i "romances" come composti di versi brevi o di versi lunghi, di ottonari semplici o di ottonari doppi, il periodo ritmico completo appare in essi costituito, non già di sedici, ma di trentadue sillabe quadripartite, e però tali da assumere il carattere di una quartina lirica. Questo ci mostrano le stesse melodie che loro attualmente si applicano cantando, diverse nelle varie regioni, ma in ciò nondimeno concordi.¹⁴⁴ E concordano le non poche pervenute a noi fra quelle che per cantare determinati "romances" furono foggiate o rielaborate da musicisti raffinati, nella prima metà del secolo XVI, e già nella seconda del XV.¹⁴⁵ Dentro alla schiera di questi musicisti spicca Juan del

¹³⁸ *Leyenda*, p. 416-7: "Las anteriores líneas, si no pueden pasar nunca por una prueba, sirven al menos para fundar la presunción de que el metro de la primera Gesta de los Infantes era octosilábico. Tratándose del segundo Cantar la presunción se convierte casi en evidencia; pues abundan en él los versos de 8 sílabas, algunos de los cuales entraron despues, sin modificación alguna, á formar parte de los romances."

¹³⁹ *Cantar*, p. 84-86.

¹⁴⁰ V. p. 18.

¹⁴¹ Durán, n. 1228; *Primav.*, n. 162.

¹⁴² Durán, n. 354; *Primav.*, n. 164.

¹⁴³ V. la nota 59 della pagina citata.

¹⁴⁴ L'Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, II, 481, ne comunica tre, una comune all' Andalusia ed alla Castiglia, una propria delle Asturie, la terza Catalana. Non so come si provveda nella recitazione a quei molti casi nei quali i "romances" constano di un numero dispari di versi lunghi, e non possono conseguentemente essere ripartiti in quartine complete di ottonari. Si ripetono i due ultimi ottonari ? oppure si modifica alla fine la melodia ?

¹⁴⁵ Un contributo copioso da aggiungere agli esempi contenuti in opere poco accessibili stampate in antico (V. Amador de los Rios, op. cit., II, 614-15;

Encina; del quale abbiamo anche proprio rispetto al testo poetico una notissima attestazione, resa più importante dal carattere suo di generalità: "y aun los romances suelen yr de cuatro en cuatro pies".¹⁴⁶ Profferite avanti il compiersi del secolo XV, quando il "romance", sebbene già ridiventato caro a tutti, restava pur sempre un genere essenzialmente popolare, queste parole dimostrano che l'aggruppamento quadernario era usuale nel popolo. E ne risulta che esso era tradizionale, e che pertanto doveva risalire a un passato secondo ogni verosimiglianza notevolmente remoto. Che un sistema di recitazione congenere sia mai stato praticato per i "cantares", non si è coscientemente, che io sappia, preteso da nessuno¹⁴⁷; e la

Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, p. 102; Hanssen, p. 458-59; Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, vol. II, Barcelona, 1909, p. 149, 150, 152-53, 156), s'ha nel *Cancionero Musical*, edito da Fr. A. Barbieri, che ebbi l'occasione di citare nella nota 68, p. 20. Si scorra la serie delle composizioni che l'editore chiama nell'indice "Obras históricas y caballerescas", n. 315-344. Le melodie sono tutte a più voci, e con ciò stesso attestano un'elaborazione artistica; ma fra i testi ce ne sono di molto divulgati, quali "Morirse quiere Alixandre", n. 322, che già conosciamo da Antonio de Lebrija; "Pésame de vos, el Conde", n. 329, brano del *Conde Claros*; "Durandarte, Durandarte," n. 343. Il Barbieri ne trascrive in appendice, p. 605, una a quattro voci, tratta dalla Cronaca del "Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo", ch'egli dichiara essere "el documento de música profana española más antiguo" di cui abbia notizia (p. 11); ma io non so se si possa con sicurezza ritenerla contemporanea dei versi a cui s'applica e assegnarla al 1464. — Come "la tonada más antigua," in pari tempo che "más sencilla", che egli conosca per i "romances", l'Amador de los Rios (Op. e t. cit., p. 612) riporta sedici note, che non costituiscono se non la metà dello schema completo. L'altra metà dovrà bene differire poco o tanto nella cadenza finale, non già essere in tutto identica, come le parole dello scrittore farebbero supporre. E quelle sedici note rispondono indubbiamente a due ottonari, non a uno solo, secondo che da lui si dice. Non ci si diparte dunque per nulla dal principio che ho affermato di sopra nel testo; nè ce ne dipartiamo là dove poco più oltre (p. 614-15) l'Amador de los Rios riferisce dimezzate, per l'opportunità del momento, altre due melodie tratte da stampe cinquecentesche. Questa semplicissima che egli dà per la "más antigua" ha realmente carattere di popolarità; e mi spiace che ne sia taciuta la provenienza.

¹⁴⁶ Sono parole di quel medesimo passo a cui mi sono riferito, con rinvii specifici, a p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Bensì il Restori, *Prop.*, XX, I, 124-142, volle vedere nel *Mio Cid* l'avviamento alla "cuaderna via", esaltata dall'autore dell' *Alexandre*, ossia alla strofe tetrastica, la quale dovrebb'essersi venuta determinando a poco a poco. Io non saprei punto entrare in questo ordine di idee. Cfr. del resto anche Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, p. 123, n. 1.

loro melodia da quanti ci pensano¹⁴⁸ s'immagina certo racchiusa nell'ambito di due emistichii, come seguiva per le "chansons de geste", il raffronto delle quali è precisamente un motivo principale per ritenere che anche i "cantares" fossero proprio cantati, e non recitati soltanto.¹⁴⁹

Pertanto viene a risultare che anche sotto il rispetto ritmico tra "cantares" e "romances" non c'è punto quella rispondenza stretta che si suole affermare e che a prima vista parrebbe esserci in realtà. Limitata oramai alla comunanza della lassa continua, essa, pur conservando valore, non ne ha tanto da ridurre al silenzio i dubbi sorti d'altronde. Si cominci dal riflettere che quando la lassa si consideri col Paris come importata di Francia, nulla vietava che il popolo l'adottasse anche per canti suoi propri; quando col Milá e il Menéndez Pidal s'abbia in conto di cosa indigena, tornava ben naturale che s'applicasse indipendentemente a generi diversi di poesia.

Ma poi la serie indeterminata di versi bimembri legati fra loro dall'assonanza non è già un congegno ritmico proprio soltanto dell'epopea francese e spagnuola e dei "romances". Essa è comune, con varietà di gradi, ad una poesia epico-lirica diffusa per una vastissima estensione di territorio neolatino, comprendente tutto il territorio gallico, parte dell'italiano, e parte almeno dell'iberico. Quanto di quest'ultimo, è materia disputata. Costantino Nigra, che della poesia popolare neolatina ha trattato genialmente preludendo ai *Canti popolari del Piemonte*,¹⁵⁰ esclude il territorio castigliano, ossia la regione dei "romances", ma inchiude il portoghese. Al Paris che alla sua volta fece oggetto di un esame sagacissimo il bel volume del Nigra,¹⁵¹ pare che il Portogallo non possa essere disgiunto dalla Castiglia.¹⁵² Io mi domando se la Castiglia stessa vuol proprio essere separata

¹⁴⁸ Non ci si dev'esser pensato molto e poco assai se ne parla; e la mancanza di dati di fatto ne sarà di sicuro il motivo. V. Menéndez Pidal, *Cid*, p. 102-3. Più d'ogni altro ci ha fermato su l'attenzione l'Hanssen, p. 458 sgg.

¹⁴⁹ Hanssen, p. 463.

¹⁵⁰ Come già si è detto (p. 22, n. 74), Torino, Loescher, 1888. Il proemio, che ha per titolo *La poesia popolare italiana*, aveva visto la luce nella *Romania* fino dal 1876 (V, 417-452).

¹⁵¹ *Journal des Savants*, 1889, pp. 526-45, 611-21, 666-75.

¹⁵² Pag. 341-42. Intorno alla questione del posto da assegnarsi al Portogallo nella storia del "romance", sono da additare le pagine della *Michaëlis de Vasconcellos*, nella già citata *Gesch. der Portug. Litter.* dentro al *Grundriss* del Gröber, t. II, p.^{te} 2^a, p. 154-60.

dagli altri territori iberici e non iberici, o se deve soltanto essere distinta da essi, a quel modo che rispetto ai non iberici una distinzione bisogna ben fare anche per la Catalogna, sul fondamento di quel medesimo criterio ritmico invocato per la propugnata riunione castigliano-portoghese dal Paris; chè "le vers à deux membres de sept (huit) syllabes,¹⁵³ avec assonance indifféremment masculine ou féminine", ossia il ritmo delle romanze, col quale fuori della penisola iberica rivaleggiano altre forme, tiene nella Catalogna il campo non troppo meno che nel Portogallo.¹⁵⁴ Tra i "romances" castigliani parecchi trovano riscontro nella poesia epico-lirica internazionale; non è forse questo il caso per la *Infantina* e per il *Conde Arnaldos*? due "romances" che sarebbero pur sempre fra quelli di cui possediamo versioni più arcaiche, quand' anche il codice di Londra dovesse valere solo per sè stesso, indipendentemente da qualsiasi intromissione di Juan Rodríguez del Padrón. E non è esclusivamente proprio del dominio castigliano nemmeno il *Conde Alarcos*, del quale mi risonò all'orecchio lo spunto iniziale nel "Retraida estaba la reyna" del Carvajal;¹⁵⁵ caso questo di particolare rilievo, se, come par probabile, in quel dominio esso ebbe origine. Che in pari tempo, se si guarda al concetto informativo, il "romance" del Carvajal sia un canto erotico di lontananza e si rannodi così ad un tipo divulgatissimo,¹⁵⁶ non sarebbe cosa su cui fondarsi, tenuto conto del molto peregrinare che fece l'autore.

Battendo questa strada, si sarebbe portati a concludere che l'origine e la storia arcaica dei "romances" non abbiano da esser considerate isolatamente da quelle della poesia epico-lirica neolatina in genere. Le conseguenze tuttavia rischiano di trovarsi subito sbarrato il passo da una ragione cronologica. Secondo il Paris la produzione e propagazione dei canti epico-lirici a cui mi riferisco non potrebb' essere principiata prima del secolo XV.¹⁵⁷ Ma io con-

¹⁵³ P. 541-2. Sette sillabe, beninteso, quando l'uscita è ossitona, otto quando è parossitona, vale a dire sette computando alla maniera francese, otto secondo il criterio spagnuolo e italiano.

¹⁵⁴ Si scorra il *Romancerillo Catalán* del Milá y Fontanals, 2ª ed., Barcellona, 1882.

¹⁵⁵ V. qui dietro, p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ V. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, p. 170 sgg. Segnerò anche Parducci, *Vecchie canzoni francesi di lontananza*, nel volume di *Studi letterari e linguistici* a me offerto nel 1911, p. 119-39.

¹⁵⁷ P. 620-21; e cfr. altresì ciò che il Paris scrisse poi nello stesso *Journal des Savants* a proposito del libro dianzi citato del Jeanroy, 1892, p. 427-28.

fesso che questa opinione, fondata sulla mancanza di documenti dimostrabilmente anteriori, non mi persuade. Che proprio manchino, è questione ancora discutibile; l'antichità più o meno remota della *Donna lombarda* potrà avere tuttora dei partigiani; ad ogni modo poi per mio conto sono convinto che al di là del passato visibile c'è quasi sempre un trapassato che si sottrae ai nostri sguardi. Noi contempliamo l'albero; ne possiamo scalzare le maggiori radici; ma senza un lavoro che nell'ordine degli studi storici non trova riscontro perchè richiederebbe la perpetuazione di ciò che nel corso dei secoli è andato irrimediabilmente distrutto, non riusciamo mai a mettere allo scoperto le ultime barbe.

Ritornando alla sola Castiglia, quando s'ammetta che il genere "romance" esistesse di già nel secolo XIII, viene a prendere consistenza e determinatezza la risposta che lo stesso Menéndez Pidal è portato a dare a un problema che ragionevolmente egli si propone. Domanda come sia che, a differenza del *Mio Cid*, "el octosilabismo" già predomini "en El Rodrigo y el Cantar de los Infantes de Lara"; e risponde che "Quizá siempre fué la base de la poesía popular" castigliana, "y sólo en una época dada, que es la del Mio Cid, por influencia de los dos metros épicos franceses, de 5 + 7 y 7 + 7, vino á imponerse la base heptasilábica, abandonada luego que aflojó esa influencia francesa."¹⁵⁸ Che cosa sarà mai codesta "poesía popular", che riesce ad esercitare un'azione siffatta sui "cantares de gesta"? Chi non abbia la mente asservita al domma della nascita tardiva dei "romances", sarà portato a pensare che fin da quando i "cantares" principiarono a piegare alla misura del doppio ottosillabo, quella poesia fosse costituita prevalentemente da "romances" per l'appunto. Se così è, troppo bene se ne intende l'efficacia sopra un genere di composizione tanto affine. E quando la modificazione del ritmo sia riportata a un agente esteriore, si capisce agevolmente che essa tardasse a prodursi e rimanesse sempre parziale. Ammessa invece la tendenza interna del verso epico a "regularizarse", quale si vuole dal Milá¹⁵⁹ ed è accettata dal Menéndez y Pelayo,¹⁶⁰ ci si

¹⁵⁸ *Cid*, p. 101-2.

¹⁵⁹ P. 401.

¹⁶⁰ *Antol.*, XI, 93-4. Nondimeno anch'egli soggiunge: "Ni negamos ni afirmamos la existencia de una poesía lírica popular, que pudiese influir en la predilección que ya la épica del segundo período mostró por el hemistiquio octo-

domanda, come mai non si sia fatta valer prima. Volgiamoci a cose concrete. Comprendo ottimamente che il futuro "pié de romances" non sia venuto ad attuarsi nell' *Apolonio* o nell' *Alexandre*. La materia era esotica e gli autori miravano alto,¹⁶¹ tanto da non contentarsi nemmeno di rispecchiare la ritmica dei prodotti francesi corrispondenti, che pur erano probabilmente tra le fonti dirette di uno di essi:¹⁶² anzichè in lasse, legarono i versi *alessandrini* in stanze quadernarie. Ma mi aspetterei che, in cambio di correr dietro a queste novità, fosse proceduto oltre per la strada battuta dagli antecessori ed avesse affinato lo schema consueto chi nel *Fernan Gonzalez* a noi pervenuto si trovò a rimaneggiare schietta materia epica castigliana.

Ora, posto che si consenta l' antichità del tipo "romance", l'ipotesi che abbiamo udita dalla bocca del Menéndez Pidal minaccia di straripare dal letto della ritmica. Sarebbe mai da ritenere che il popolo spagnuolo avesse connaturale il canto epico-lirico e che i poemi costituissero per lui una deviazione temporanea prodotta dall'azione straniera della Francia? L' idea fu già messa innanzi dal Restori, con questo in più, che da lui i poemi s' immaginavano essi stessi come prodotto della riunione di canti brevi preesistenti,¹⁶³ non altrimenti da quanto supponeva il Gautier per le primitive "chansons de geste" francesi. E sta il fatto che mentre nella Spagna i "romances" si vedono aver goduto durevolmente in ogni silábico. *Muy verosimil es que tal poesía existiera*". Sennonchè si prosegue: "pero hasta ahora ninguna prueba se ha alegado de su existencia, ni es necesaria tal hipótesis para explicar y razonar lo que por sí mismo se explica sin salir del verso épico." E qui la fossa profonda che anche per il Menéndez y Pelayo esiste fra il *Mio Cid* e i "romances", pare a lui resa valicabile dal predominio dell'ottosillabo nelle *Mocedades* e negli *Infantes*.

¹⁶¹ Accanto alla seconda stanza dell' *Alexandre* riferita a p. 31, viene a mettersi la prima dell' *Apolonio*, in cui il rimatore manifesta il proposito di "Componer un romance de nueva maestria".

¹⁶² V. la Seconda parte dello studio sul *Libro de Alexandre* del Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, IV, 57-90. Una riserva è imposta da quanto è detto alla fine.

¹⁶³ *Prop.*, XX, II, 133: "Ma un esame da farsi, sarebbe studiare se quei vecchi poemi stessi mostrino di essere un tutto organico, un tutto che non potè esser prima diviso in parti: o non piuttosto diano a divedere d'esser stati costrutti riunendo brevi poemi o brevi canti preesistenti. E precisamente a questa riunione avrebbe potuto spingere l' imitazione della Francia; cessata la quale, l' indole popolare spagnola, portata ai brevi canti epico-lirici, avrebbe ripreso il sopravvento riducendo allo stato primitivo, cioè a frantumi, i poemi giullareschi."

classe sociale di un favore stragrande e pullularono abbondantissimi, i "cantares de gesta", neppur dopo gli accertamenti e le scoperte del Milá y Fontanals e del Menéndez Pidal, ci risultano copiosi.¹⁶⁴

Ma io, per ora almeno, non voglio procedere tant'oltre. Mi limito a ritenere che l' emanazione del tipo "romance" dai "cantares de gesta" vuole anche oggidì essere riguardata come una opinione non incontestabile. Chi neghi siffatta origine, o sia restio ad ammetterla, si affretterà nondimeno a riconoscere e predicare un'azione larghissima, potentissima, dei "cantares" sui "romances". Essa è al di là di patente. E qui è spalancata la porta per rendersi conto di tutte le convenienze di cose, di parole, e di versi, che si manifestano tra gli uni e gli altri. Nè l' azione veniva a prodursi semplicemente perchè il popolo, da supporre recitatore di "romances", fosse ascoltatore di "cantares". Alla loro volta i recitatori di mestiere dovevano impadronirsi di canti che corressero su bocche non mercenarie, e, per guadagnarsi sempre più il favore universale, fabbricarne essi medesimi non pochi a loro immagine e somiglianza.

PIO RAJNA.

FIRENZE.

¹⁶⁴ V. Morel-Fatio, in *Romania*, XXVI, 312.

EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

(Continued from page 275)

III. LYONS, 1534 (or 1535?)–1537

BEAULIEU came to Lyons when that city was the literary center of all France. He could have chosen no better time and no better place for the development of his poetic talents, and for the broadening of his intellectual horizon. At Lyons there was far more freedom than at Paris, where the influence of the Court and of the Sorbonne was supreme. The Cardinal de Tournon, bigot as he was, seems to have left to the capital of the south, of which he was the first governor, and afterwards the archbishop, more liberty than he allowed the royal city where his hopes and ambitions were centered; while his lieutenants, the Trivulces and Jean du Peyrat, had strong sympathies with intellectual progress, and used all their influence, though often in vain, to protect letters and the students of letters from the attacks of ecclesiastical bigotry.⁸⁷

It was probably as bearer of the epistle written by Charlotte de Maumont to her cousin Charles d'Estaing⁸⁸ that Beaulieu came to Lyons, where he hoped, no doubt, to be able to earn his livelihood as

⁸⁷ Christie, *Etienne Dolet*, London, 1880, p. 163. For the following chronology cf. Péricaud, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon*, 1483–1546. Jean d'Albon was governor of Lyons in 1530.

Oct. 1532, death of Théodore Trivulce, governor of Lyons.

May 8, 1535, François de Rohan is archbishop of Lyons.

Dec. 10, 1535, Cardinal de Tournon made lieutenant of the government of the Lyonnais, Auvergne, Beaujolais, etc.

Oct. 10, 1536, Cardinal de Tournon made lieutenant-general of the Lyonnais by a decree of François I^{er} at Lyons.

1536, the death at Paris of François de Rohan, archbishop of Lyons.

Feb. 26, 1539, Hippolyte d'Este takes possession of the archbishopric through his lawyer, Jean Faye.

Dec. 30, 1542, Jean d'Albon, lord of St. André, replaces the Cardinal de Tournon as governor.

1549, death of Jean d'Albon, lord of St. André, seneschal and governor of Lyons. He is replaced by Jacques d'Albon, "maréchal" of St. André.

Jan. 15, 1550, death of Jean du Peyrat, lieutenant-general of Lyons since 1532.

⁸⁸ Cf. end of the preceding chapter.

a music teacher and to publish more of his verse. The natural beauty of the city seems to have attracted him for he is not sparing in his praises of it, as for example :

Dedans Lyon, a ung plat d'excellence,
 Ou de soulas a si grande affluence,
 Que plusieurs Roys de mainte nation
 Y ont souuent prins recreation,
 Et aultres maintz gens de grosse apparence
 De tous estatz y vont pour leurs plaisance.
 Car ce lieu semble estre aux champs sans doubtance,
 Combien qu'il a sa situation
 Dedans Lyon.

Depuis la Saone au Rosne, sans distance
 Dure ce Plat, ou sont en habondance
 Vignes, jardins, fruitz, Prez & mansion
 Belle & bruyant en modulation
 Et instrumentz, gectant leur resonance
 Dedans Lyon.³⁹

In another poem Beaulieu tells us that the élite of France come to Lyons :

Car le recueil de toute honnesteté
 C'est à Lyon.
 Quatre moys lan (en foire) hommes, & femmes
 De tous clymatz y vont en liberté,
 Contes y a à la noble cité
 Puis le primat de France, & nom, & armes,
 C'est à Lyon.⁴⁰

If we are to believe the words of our poet, he became acquainted at Lyons with some of the most prominent men in many walks of life. He probably practiced the art of music there, and in that way met François Layola, one of the leading musicians of the sixteenth century. In a rondeau in praise of a garden on the Saone belonging to Layola, we read :

³⁹ Div. Rap., 1537, Le octante et ung rondeau, —a la louange dung tres beau Domayne, f° 33.

⁴⁰ Op. cit., f° 41, a la louange de la belle & riche ville de Lyon.

Musiciens, prenez tous soing & cure
 De venir veoir ce iardin que Mercure
 Laissa iadis quand au ciel s'en volla
 A son chetifz François Layola,
 Qui voz plaisirs & passe temps procure.
 C'est luy qui veult que sans noyse & murmure
 Gens tous garnis d'esprit sans aultre armure
 Viennent icy, & par sur tous ceulx la,
 Musiciens.
 Venez y donc pour resiouyr nature
 Matins & soirs, car dedans la closture
 Oirez chanter les oyseaulx ça & la,
 Et decouper, ut, re, fa, sol, la,
 En tous endroictz qu'ont sceu mettre en facture,
 Musiciens.⁴¹

Prosperity does not seem to have followed Beaulieu to Lyons. In an epistle addressed to Mademoiselle de Tournon, formerly his pupil, he asks for a small curacy—

D'euesché ne aussi d'abbaye
 N'impetrez pour moy ie vous prie,
 Car i'ay par trop la teste grosse
 Pour porter Myrtre, aussi la Croce.
 Ne me donneroit que fascherie.

 Mais comme ung maistre en cyrurgie
 Ayme cures de maladie,

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, f° 26, v°. In a dialogue between Beaulieu and Layola (le 56, en forme de dialogue, f° 27), the poet asks the musician how he knows that Paradise is beautiful; the latter answers that he learned it from the Scriptures. Beaulieu then ventures the question:

Tu dis vray, mais me fault il mettre
 Ma creance en iceulx escriptz?
 Ouy, ou estre en pleurs & cris
 En enfer, mais prendre ailleurs maistre,
 C'est belle chose.

For François de Layolle, cf. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des Musiciens*, Paris, 1860-65 (2d. ed.) article "Fr. Layolle": "François de Layolle, musicien, né vraisemblément vers la fin du quinzième siècle. Il aurait composé de beaux madrigaux qui auraient été publiés en Italie avant qu'il se rendit en France vers 1530." Among his works are *Mottetti del fiore cum quatuor vocibus liber primus. Impressum Lugduni per Iacobum Modernum de Pinguento, 1532, in-4°.*

I'ayme une cure, mais de bosse
 Soit mon corps (mort)my dans la fosse,
 Si ie prens (s'on ne m'en conuie)
 D'euesché.⁴³

We doubt whether any one ever had the intention of giving him an "evesché," and imagine that it was probably asking a great deal when he pleaded for a simple curacy. His pupil, however, must have fulfilled his request, for in another rondeau addressed to the same young lady he speaks in very grateful terms of the favors she bestowed upon him, and offers his services, saying that his house is not too far from her abode for him to be ever at her service.⁴³

It was at this time, too, that Beaulieu became acquainted with the celebrated physician, and friend of Rabelais, Guillaume Rondelet. To him he dedicates a rondeau written in a rather humorous vein—

Soyez rond monsieur Rondelet,
 Vous priant par ce Rondelet,
 Que si vostre ventre est rond d'eau,
 M'enuoyez recepte ou Rondeau
 Pour faire le mien rond de laict . . .⁴⁴

During the first months of his stay at Lyons, Eustorg entered into the service of Pomponne Trivulce, and it is to him that he addressed the following dixain :

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, rond. 55, f° 26.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, rond. 55, f° 26. Mademoiselle de Tournon was the niece of the Cardinal de Tournon, and lady in waiting of Marguerite de Navarre. Beaulieu probably thought that she could use her influence with her uncle for procuring him the office he was seeking. Marot dedicated a dixain to her (La Haye, 1702, vol. ii, p. 21). Also, Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, f° 42, *A mademoiselle de Tournon, Pour lors arriuee a Lyon*. For the Cardinal, cf. *Gallia Christiana*.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, Rond. 51, f° 24, *enuoye de par Laucteur a Monsieur maistre Guillaume Rondellet Medecin*. Cf. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, ed. Moland, Tiers Livre, Chap. xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii; also the *Biographisches Lexicon der Aerzte aller Zeiten und Volker*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1887, vol. v, p. 75, article "Rondelet." He was the son of a druggist. He was born Sept. 27, 1507, and died at Montpellier in 1566. In 1545 he became professor of medicine at Montpellier and was also the physician of the cardinal François de Tournon, whom he accompanied on many travels. He was an intimate friend of Rabelais, and his colleague at Montpellier. Later he was made Chancellor of that University. A complete edition of his works was published at Geneva in 1628, in-8°. Cf. also, H. J. Harvitt, *Bulletin de la Société de Médecine fr.*, Paris, April, 1913.

A ce froid premier iour de l'an
 Eustorg vostre serf vous souhaite,
 Recouurer voz biens de Milan,
 Et de ducas la plaine boeste.
 Et vostre goutte & mal de teste
 Il la souhaite a l'enchanteur,
 Et (en lieu de ceste douleur)
 A vous la duché de Venise,
 Priant Dieu qu'apres ce labeur
 Vous doint la gloire aux siens promise.⁴⁸

At this period women played an important part in furthering the development of letters. One of the most renowned women in the literary circles of Lyons, with the exception of Marguerite de Navarre, was Marie de Pierrevive, Dame du Perron, wife of Antoine de Gondi, who in 1537 became sheriff of Lyons. She herself was of Italian birth, the daughter of a wealthy spice merchant of Piedmont. Beaulieu was probably introduced to the Gondi family by the same Charles d'Estaing whose name we have already met in connection with Charlotte de Maumont. Beaulieu gave music lessons to Helaine de Gondi, the daughter of Marie de Pierrevive, and so found access to the salon of the latter. In an Epistle addressed to her he exalts the beauty, charms, generosity and intellect of the lady with great enthusiasm and no little talent.

Mais ie l'ay faict comme ung homme sans honte,
 Pour satisfaire a ce reuerend conte
 Charles d'Estaing, qui ma dict qu'en tout lieu
 D'honnesteté tu tiens le droict meillieu,
 Et que Dido, n'eust oncq plus doulx langage
 Ennuers Enée eschappe de naufrage,
 Ne Helayne Grecque au gracieux Paris,
 (Tant en maintien, propos, gestes, & ris)
 Que tu seule as enuers toute personne,
 Qui en honneur à te servir s'adonne.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, Troisième dixain, donne par L'auteur, le premier iour de lan Mille cinq cens trente & sept, a Noble & illustre seigneur, le Seigneur Pomponio Trivultio, Myllanois, pour lors Maistre dudict Aucteur, & gouverneur de Lyon. Cf. Bregnot du Lut, *Nouveaux mélanges biogr. et littér.*, Lyon, 1829-31, p. 87; Clerjon, *Hist. de Lyon*, iv, 331; Moréri, *Le grand Dict. hist.*, Paris, 1759.

Te suppliant Dame, ne te desplaise,
 Si de ces deux (en gracieux accueil)
 T'ay mise au renc: car qui feroit recueil,
 Tant du scauoir des Dames anciennes,
 Que d'aujourd'hui tant bien practiciennes,
 A recepuoir ung prince ou grand seigneur,
 On trouueroit que tu es l'enseigneur
 Et le guydon de toute oeuvre gentille,
 Tant qu'il n'est bruyct que de toy par la ville,
 Qu'il n'eust que toy seule dedans Lyon
 Non seulement à Lyon, mais en France
 (De ton esbat) qui en porte la chance.

Tesmoing de ce, prelatz, princes, & roys,
 Qu'en ta maison as veu en leurs arroys,
 Dont ie puis dire (& si est vraysemblable)
 Qu'en toy gist bien mainte vertu louable,
 Puisque telz gens comme les dessus dictz
 Prisent tes meurs, entretien, faictz, & dictz,
 Dequoy Pallas t'a faict participante,
 En beau parler & harengue elegante.

He tells of her cleverness, her munificence, and her love of music:

Parquoy voyant que Musique separe
 L'homme du diable, & donne aux gens confort,
 C'est (ce croy ie) que tu l'aymes si fort,
 Je prie à Dieu que celle amour te dure
 Tel nombre d'ans qu'à de fleurs en verdure,
 D'icy au Cayre, en Apuril, & en May,
 Et en santé te tienne le cueur gay.⁴⁶

Charles de Sainte-Marthe was also a great admirer of Marie de Pierrevive. In a poem dedicated to her we read:

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, Epistre viii f° 81. For Marie de Pierrevive, cf. La Croix du Maine, *Bibl. françoise*, vol. ii, p. 89; Colonia, *Hist. litt. de Lyon*, pp. 462-464, Lyon, 1730; Perneti, *Recherches pour servir à l'hist. de Lyon*, 1757, vol. i, p. 435. "Marie-Catherine de Pierre-vive fut gouvernante des Enfants de France. La Croix du Maine dit auoir vu plusieurs ouvrages adressés à cette Dame par les Ecrivains de son temps." Brantôme, *Œuvres*, vol. v. (ed. *Soc. de l'hist. de France*, 1864-82), pp. 253, 254 (unfounded criticism). Baur, *Maurice Scève*, p. 18. Bregnot du Lut, *Mél. biogr. et litt.*, 251, 259, 376, Lyons, 1828; Id. *Nouv. Mél.*, (1829-31) 351, 451. For Antoine de Gondi, her husband, cf. *Inventaire des Archives de la Charité*, B 180, et 19; Corbinelli, *Hist. généalogique de la Maison de Gondi*, Paris, 1705, vol. ii, p. i. *Archives du Rhone*, ii, 5. 283.

Ayant d'esprit & Scauoir, trop grande faulte,
 Pour extoller uostre Vertu tant haulte,
 Sous les quels dons, un tel cas entreprendre,
 Ce seroit faict iustement à reprendre. . . .⁴⁷

It was the daughter of Marie de Pierrevive, Helaine de Gondi, who gave Beaulieu the name of "Hector," with which he henceforth signs his works. Of Helaine he writes:

Helayne, Hector vous veult faire seruice,
 En tout honneur sans penser mal ne vice,
 Non pas mourir pour vous, comme iadis
 Fist l'autre Hector pour Helaine & Paris,
 Laquelle Helayne estoit trop folle & nyce.
 Cest Hector cy, croit qu'estes sans malice,
 Mais l'autre Hector scauoit le malefice
 Et lasche tour qu'en Grece auoit commis
 Helayne.
 Et oultre plus, fault que vous aduertisse
 Que cest Hector, est comme escreuisse
 Hardy, & fort ainsi qu'une brebis.
 L'autre Hector eut, lance, & harnois fourbis,
 Dont dixhuict Roys occit, ains qu'on rendisse
 Helayne.⁴⁸

In Marie de Pierrevive's salon Beaulieu became acquainted with most of the poets of the Lyonesse school. It is to be regretted that they have left no record of his sojourn in Lyons. Beaulieu addressed the following huitain to Antoine du Moulin:

Auant soudars, prenons tous bon couraige,
 Demonstrons nous fors & cheualeureux,
 Voicy le roy de tout humain lignage,
 Mort en la croix pour tous les valeureux.
 Or ne soyons si folz & malheureux,
 Le laisser la pour suyure une aultre bende,

⁴⁷ Charles de Sainte-Marthe, *Poesie Françoise*, Lyons, 1540, *Bib. Nat.*, Rés. Py., 193, p. 137.

⁴⁸ *Div. Rap.*, Rond. 98, f° 40, v°, donne par Lauteur a Madame Helayne Gondy, Lyonnoise, pour lors son escolliere, laquelle en lieu d'Eustorg le appelloit Hector. Of her name Beaulieu made the anagram "Loing de hayne" (Helaine de Gondy).

Il nous appelle en termes amoureux,
N'allons ailleurs (doncques) s'il ne le mande.⁴⁹

Antoine du Moulin was the *valet de chambre* of Marguerite de Navarre. In 1536 he was one of the poets who contributed to the volume published by Dolet on the death of the Dauphin. He was an intimate friend of Dolet and of Bonaventure Desperiers of whom he became the literary executor.

The name of Maurice Scève figures also among the poems written by Beaulieu in Lyons.

Me confiant de ta misericorde,
A toy, Iesus, seul prince de concorde,
Vien aujourdhuy, confessant mon peché,
Recogitant que qui vers toy aborde,
Il ne fault ia craindre qu'il se destorde,
Car c'est le port ou nul n'est empesché
En esperant (doncq) d'estre relasché.
Sire, ie vien à toy pour te requerre
Avoir pitié d'ung paoure ver de terre,
En qui ta pleu ton ymage imprimer
Vien à son ayde en ceste humaine guerre,
Et il viendra à te craindre & aymer.⁵⁰

Scève, like many other poets of the Renaissance, such as Marot, Louise Labé, Pernette du Guillet, and finally the learned Dolet, was a musician and therefore, perhaps, the more esteemed by Beaulieu. At the time the latter came to Lyons, Scève was still under the influence of Marot, and had just published *La déplorable fin de Flamete* (1535), and *Arion: Eglogue sur le trepas de feu Monsieur le Dauphin* (1536). He had also participated in the

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, f° 48, *Huictain duquel la premiere lettre capitale signifie Anthoine, & les autres portent son surnom*. For du Moulin, cf. Cartier and Chenevière *Antoine, Du Moulin*, *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, 1895, 1896, pp. 469 ff. Also, Des Periers, *Œuvres*, Juste, 1544, p. 85, *Antoine du Moulin Masconnais*, pp. 171, 183; Chenevière, *B. des Periers*, Paris, 1885; Guillaume des Autelz, *Amoureux Repos*, Lyon, Temporal, 1553, pp. 11, 18. *Bibl. Nat. Rés. Ye*, 1405-1407; Marot, ed. 1702, vol. i, p. 20, etc. The above *Huictain* was reprinted in Cartier et Chenevière, p. 19.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, f° 137, *La V. oraison, contenant aux lettres capitales le nom & surnom d'ung Treselegant Poete & Orateur*. For Scève, cf. Baur, *Maurice Scève*, Paris, 1906; also J. L. Gerig, *La famille de Maurice Scève*, *Mod. Lang. Assoc. Publ.*, vol. xxiv, p. 470.

Blasons du corps féminin of which we shall speak in another chapter. Of music, Scève writes in his *Delie* :

Leuth resonnant et le doux son des cordes
 Et le concent de mon affection,
 Comment ensemble unyment tu accordes
 Ton harmonie avec ma passion.
 Lorsque je suis sans occupation
 Si vivement l'esprit tu m'exercites,
 Qu'ores à joye, ore à dueil tu m'incites
 Par tes accords, non aux miens ressemblants.
 Car plus que moy mes maux tu lui récites,
 Correspondant à mes soupirs tremblants.⁵¹

A very versatile man, Scève was proficient in painting, architecture, music, law, and was perhaps the first erudite poet of the early French Renaissance. In his verse we find represented both Petrarchism and Platonism.

Dolet, too, felt deeply the power of music. He tells us :

"Music and harmony are my sole enjoyments. What is there more suited either for exciting or soothing the mind, what more fitted for allaying or extinguishing, or even for arousing indignation? What is there more efficacious for refreshing the jaded spirits of men of letters? I care nothing for the pleasures of the table, of wine, of gaming, of love—at least I use them all in great moderation. But not so as regards music, which alone of all pleasures takes me captive, holds me, and dissolves me in ecstasy. To it I owe my life itself; to it I owe all the success of my literary efforts. Be assured of this, that I could never have supported the incessant, immense, endless labour of compiling these commentaries unless by the power of music I had sometimes been soothed, sometimes recalled from the weariness which has made me for a long time lay aside my Commentaries."⁵²

A more sincere and appealing defence of music is unknown to this epoch.

The women poets of Lyons are not forgotten in Beaulieu's verse. He addresses a dixain to Loyse Perreal, sister of Claude Perreal, valet-de-chambre of the king. Her talents for painting and writing are gracefully praised by our poet :

⁵¹ Scève, *Delie*, dizain 344, reprinted in Baur, *Maurice Scève*, p. 108.

⁵² Christie, *Dolet*, London, 1899, p. 283.

Si beaulté faict une dame estimer,
 Et la veoir la (sans plus) de prime face,
 Voyez combien est elle à renommer,
 S'elle a aussi bonté & bonne grace.
 Mais s'en scauoir elle est une oultre passe,
 Sachant bien lire, escripre & paindre au vif,
 Son renom encor plus relatif,
 Comme par tout est le bruit general,
 De l'esprit d'une vertu ententif,
 Laquelle a nom Loyse Perreal.⁵³

A rondeau to a young lady by the name of Jacqueline, probably refers to Jacqueline de Stuard, one of the women poets of Lyons about whom very little is known. Bonaventure des Periers dedicated a poem to her in which he says:

O quel effort cruel, & dangeureux
 Quand contre Amour, Amour faict resistance,
 O que celuy est vrayment malheureux
 Qui contre soy ha soy mesme en deffense.⁵⁴

Beaulieu's rondeau is somewhat in the same vein—

Ma damoyselle Iacqueline,
 Vous apportez trop mieulx la myne
 D'une laronnesse de cueurs,
 Que de carreaux picques ne fleurs,
 Aduisez doncq si ie deuine?
 Temps, beaulté, & grace benigne
 Auez assez pour estre digne
 D'ung mary plain de bonnes meurs,
 Ma damoyselle.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Div. Rap.*, f° 43, v°. Perneti, vol. i, p. 281, refers to a poem of Marot's in which the latter exhorts the sisters of Perreal, whose gifts for painting were well known, to paint themselves as weeping at their brother's grave. The poem in question is addressed *Aux amis et sœurs de feu Claude Perreal, Lyonnois*:

Et vous sœurs, dont maint beau tableau sort,
 Paindre vous fault pleurantes son grief fort,
 Pres de la tombe en laquelle on l'inhume

En grand regret (Marot, La Haye, 1702, i, p. 280).

⁵⁴ Ed. Lacour, 1856, *Epigramme*, p. 162, à *Jacqueline de Stuard*. Cf. Monfalcon, *Hist. de Lyon*, ii, p. 105; also, Perneti, *Lyonnais dignes de Mémoire*, art. "J. de Stuard."

⁵⁵ *Div. Rap.*, Rond. 94, f° 38, v°.

Anne of Brittany is included in this array of literary and otherwise gifted women. Beaulieu praises her, too, for her love of music. Perhaps he hoped that she would engage him as a music teacher, for he says:

La main propre & bien esgalle
 Pour iouer d'Orgue ou regalle
 Auez & sens en la teste,
 Faites doncq de ce ieu queste,
 Madame la generale.
 Soyez y plus cordiale
 Et monstrez en chambre & salle
 Qu'auez sur une Espinette
 La main propre.⁵⁶

To Marguerite de Navarre, sister of Francis the First, who was the inspiration of the whole group of Lyonnese poets, and the protector of more than one of them, he writes that he would be happy were he worthy of holding the meanest office in her household:

Luy peulx tu pas (au moins) comme ung nouice
 Faire offre & don de ton petit service?
 Luy escriquant princesse de hault pris,
 D'estre chez toy ie suis si tres espris,
 Que ie vouldroye estre capable & digne
 D'estre en lestat d'ung garson de cuisine,
 Car de plus hault ie n'en merite point.
 Lors congnoissant le desir qui te poingt,
 Elle dira à l'huissier de sa porte,
 Ie veulx qu'Eustorg de Beaulieu entre & sorte
 En ma maison, comme l'ung de mes gens,
 Ou respondra, enuoyez des sergens,
 Prendre ce fol, & que lon lemprisonne:
 Mais soit ainsi, ou sans ce, ma personne
 T'obeira, hors, ou dans ta maison,
 Ou (si tu vois qu'ait meffaict) en prison.

Beaulieu tries to flatter her by saying that since the earth and the air resound with her virtues, and since the *Miroir de l'Ame pécheresse* made such a deep impression on him, he takes the liberty of addressing his Epitre to her—

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, Rond. 97, f° 40, *Donne par Lauteur (a Lyon) a Madame la Generale de Bretagne.*

Comment cela? (ainsi que pourras dire)
 Est ce à ung sot, à une Royne escripre?
 Et qu'on present à ses pudiques yeulx
 Ung ne scay quoy, d'ung fol presumptueux?
 Dont (ce pensant) en cuydant me retraire
 De ma follie ay faict tout le contraire,
 Car le desir de te magnifier
 Ma dict, o fol te veulx tu deffier
 De la bonté & grande mansuetude
 D'ung cueur royal? lequel dict en lestude
 De droict diuin, en termes familiers,
 Aux ygnorans & simples escoliers?⁸⁷

Marguerite de France, the daughter of the king, is also the subject of one of Beaulieu's poems. Though we have no information to the contrary, it is doubtful whether Beaulieu came into personal contact with these two members of the royal family. The dixain to Marguerite de France is of a rather graceful tone:

Parmy cinq ou six belles fleurs,
 Painctes de diuines couleurs,
 Je vis hyer ung bouton d'eslite,
 Duquel les flairantes liqueurs
 Nourriroient bien cent mille cueurs,
 Combien que sa forme est petite,
 O, l'odorante Marguerite,
 Qui se y nourrist de la rosée
 Celeste, qui la arrosée,
 Voire si tresbien qu'au iourdhuy
 Je croy que dieu la disposée,
 Et expressément composée,
 Pour la cueillir en fin pour luy.⁸⁸

This *treizain* ends the series of poems addressed to some of the most prominent women of the time in France. To return to the men of note then at Lyons, we come to the son of Jean du Peyrat,

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, Epistre 9, f° 82. The *Miroir de l'Ame Pécheresse* was published at Alençon, 1531, in-4°. For Marguerite de Navarre cf. all the collections of poetry of the early Renaissance in France. Also Abel Lefranc, *Les dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, Paris, 1896; Garosci, *Margherita di Navarre*, Turin, 1908.

⁸⁸ *Div. Rap.*, f° 49. Cf. also Rond. 100, f° 41, v°.

lieutenant general of Lyons. In a poem dedicated to the younger Peyrat, Beaulieu exhorts him to be worthy of his father and to follow his good example :

*Je voudrois bien que ainsi que ton bon pere,
Est l'ung de ceulx qui sans nul vitupere,
Honneur & los acquiert de iour en iour,
Ainsi vertu fist de toy ung repaire,
Ne permettant que vice te supere
Durant le temps de ton ieune seiour.
Vouldroye aussi (O beaux filz) qu'en amour
Prinsses dieu seul, comme il dict par expres,
Et ton prochain (comme toy mesme) apres
Je te pry doncq (enfant) tant que ie puis,
Rendz grace à Dieu de ses dons, loing & pres,
A charité tien tes biens tout iour prestz,
Tournant le dos à tous villains desduytz.⁵⁹*

The most celebrated poet of the group was of course Clément Marot. We have reserved for the last the question of the relations between him and Eustorg de Beaulieu. Did our poet come into close contact with the recognized leader of poetry in France? Guiffrey, in his excellent edition of Marot's works, makes the following statement :

A la fin de l'année 1536, lorsque Marot, en entrant en France, passa par Lyon, Eustorg de Beaulieu se trouvait dans cette ville, où

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, f° 47, v°, *donne par Lauteur a ung Fils de tres scientifique personne, Monsieur Iehan du Peyrat*, etc. For Jean du Peyrat, cf. Pernetti, vol. i, p. 256, etc. "Jean du Peyrat, d'une ancienne famille de Lyon. . . . Il fut chef des Conseillers de ville, & ensuite Lieutenant de Roy dans nos provinces sous le Maréchal de St. André, qui en étoit Gouverneur. Du Peyrat étoit le protectuer déclaré de plusieurs savants qui étoient alors à Lyon. Il mourut en 1550. [This date is inexact. He died on Jan. 15, 1549. He was lieutenant general from 1532 to his death.] Il fut enterré à St. Paul, dans la chappelle du crucifix, qui lui appartenoit. Il laissa deux fils, Jean & Maurice." Cf. Péricaud, *Notes et Documents*. In Desperiers, ed. Lacour, Introd., p. xlvii, we read: "Si Symphorien Champier s'échappa au misérable sort que lui réservait le ressentiment populaire en 1529, ce fut grâce à Du Peyrat; si Des Periers n'a point été persécuté à Lyon, Du Peyrat y est pur quelque chose: la dédicace du *Voyage à l'Île-Barbe* ne le fait-elle point entendre? C'est à la petite cour de Du Peyrat, c'est dans les palais des riches négociants florentins dont il vient d'être question, que les gens de lettres fréquentaient le monde brillant des jolies savantes femmes."

il donnait des leçons de musique pour vivre. Les deux poètes se rencontrèrent sans doute dans les familles qui cultivaient les lettres et les arts. Le hasard les ayant ainsi rapprochés, Eustorg aurait été sans doute bien aise de se voir distinguer par un confrère à la mode, dont le commerce pouvait contribuer à sa réputation. Il lui adressa donc des vers pour le premier iour de l'an. Marot se borna sans doute à y répondre par quelque compliment banal adressé de vive voix, car nous ne voyons nulle part qu'il ait fait un autre accueil aux avances dont il était l'objet. Eustorg de Beaulieu n'était pas fâché de faire croire à une sorte de familiarité entre lui et Marot, il espérait qu'il en rejallerait sur son nom comme un reflet de la gloire du grand poète.⁶⁰

The poem in question, which Beaulieu addressed to Marot, reads, together with its caption, as follows: *douzain envoye de par Lauteur (ung premier iour de Lan) a tres eloquent et docte Poete Maistre Clement Marot, pour lors estant a Lyon, contenant son dict nom & surnom aux lettres capitalles*.⁶¹

Ce premier iour de la sepmaine,
Le premier du moys qui toutz mayne,
Et le premier iour de l'année,
Ma plume, agreste, foyble & vaine,
Est entrée en chaleur soubdaine
N'assurant ma pensée estonnée;
Tant que, ia demy forcenée,
M'a dict: que ne salues tu
A ce iour Marot qu'a batu
Rigueur, rage & fureur ague?
Or, dis-ie, ô homme de vertu,
Tres humblement ie te salue.⁶²

Guiffrey is perhaps a little too hard on our poet. It was a literary fashion for one poet to dedicate verses to another. Besides, we are inclined to see in this *douzain* to Marot, not the desire to shine by the reflection of the light of a brighter planet, but the sincere expression of sympathy of one unfortunate being for another.

⁶⁰ Guiffrey, *Œuvres de Marot*, Paris, 1876-1881, vol. iii, pp. 746, 747; vol. i, 1911, p. 319.

⁶¹ *Div. Rap.*, f° 48, v°.

⁶² For biographies and other works on Marot, cf. Guiffrey, *Œuvres de Marot*, vols. ii, iii, Paris, 1875-81; vol. i, Guiffrey et Yve-Plessis, Paris, 1911; Ph. Aug. Becker, *Marot's Leben*, *Zeitschrift für fr. Spr. u. Litt.*, vols. xli, xlii. (1913, 1914.).

Marot came from the same section of France as Beaulieu. The former was persecuted for heresy, the latter, perhaps, though not yet persecuted, had already given cause for suspicion. It was only natural that Beaulieu should have had more than a selfish motive for wishing to give voice to his sentiments. In 1543 he again writes to Marot, this time inviting him to visit his home. Apparently Marot did not give heed to his invitation, for we are unable to find any allusion to our poet in his works.⁶³

In another of his *dizains* Beaulieu tells of a statue of Bacchus made of snow, which the painters of Lyons erected in the year 1536, and also of a *mai* placed by the same painters, in the same year.⁶⁴ Of the statue we read:

Tous bons pions, ne vous rendez vaincus
De chopiner, tant que l'argent vous dure,
Laissez besongne: & venez veoir
Bacchus
Vostre bon Roy couronné de verdure,
Le corps tout nud sans craindre la froidure,
A tous venans est prest boire d'autant,
Venez y doncq, pres de luy la satyre,
Or ne faillez pour le rendre content,
Et quoy que soit ne beueez pas du pire.

The planting of a *mai* was customary during the Renaissance, and still exists in some countries. It is interesting to note that the painters as well as the printers of Lyons (for it was usually the printers among whom this custom existed) planted the leafy branch at the door of some prominent person of the city. Beaulieu describes the ceremony as follows:

Les successeurs du scauant Appelles
Qui de Venus fict iadis la paincture,
De leur bon gré sans estre compellez,
Ont mis ici ce may plain de verdure,
Pour demonstrier que leur propre nature

⁶³ For 1543, cf. new chapter.

⁶⁴ *Div. Rap.*, f° 45, *de la statue de Bacchus de neige que les painctres de Lyon firent, pour leur plaisir, l'an mil. v. c. xxxvi*, and *dixai x, du may que les dictz painctres de Lyon planterent en leur rue, lan susdict*. Cf. also Guiffrey, *Vie de Clément Marot*, Paris, 1911, pp. 319-20.

Ayme le verd qui les yeulx resiouyst,
 Aussi en May chascun d'iceulx iouyst
 Des beaulx patrons de la ronde machine,
 Et d'aultres biens que nature produict
 En demonstant la grand vertu diuine.

This account calls to mind the *mai* placed by the printers at the door of Théodore de Trivulce, governor of Lyons, with an inscription by Marot (Œuvres, ed. 1702, p. 53), *pour le May planté par les Imprimeurs de Lyon devant le logis du Seigneur Trivulce*—

Au Ciel n'y a Planette, ne Signe,
 Qui si apoint sçeut gouverner l'Année
 Comme est Lyon la Cité gouvernée
 Par toy, Trivulce, homme cler, & insigne. . . .

In 1535 it was Pompone de Trivulce whom the printers honored, and Dolet who wrote the inscription, *Ad Pomponium Trivultium Lugduni Rectorem, Typographi Lugdunenses*.⁶⁵

Another event of the year at Lyons was the posting of the *placquars* on the scaffolding where was played the *Murmurement et fin de Chore, Dathan, et Obiron*. We reproduce here the entire text, since the play has not been preserved:

Peuple chrestien, si tu veulx prosperer,
 Et paradis à la fin esperer,
 Croy en Iesus, & que sa passion
 De tes pechez portę remission,
 Qu'est le seul bien qu'on ne peult comparer,
 Et vien cy voir (si tu n'as trop d'encombres)
 Comment la terre engloutist en ses ombres
 Chore, Dathan & Abiron aussi,
 Et si tu di, ou est escript cecy?
 Va veoir la Bible au seiziesme des nombres.

Le trouueras que les murmurateurs
 Encontre Dieu, & ses bons seruiteurs,
 Furent fondus soubz terre par surprise,
 Pour murmurer contre Aaron & Moyse
 Du peuple Hebrieu premiers legislateurs.

⁶⁵ Christie, *Dolet*, Paris, 1886, p. 229. In Colonia, *Hist. litt. de la ville de Lyon*, Lyon, 1730, p. 497, we read: "Ils planterent le premier jour de Mai, à la porte de son Palais, ce qu'on appelloit en ce tems-là le May des Imprimeurs. . . ."

Ilz regretoient estre sortis d'Egypte
 Dont, par fureur, & rage tresdepite,
 Les dictz seigneurs en blasmerent à tort,
 Prefigurant plusieurs, qui de la mort
 De Iesuchrist, n'estiment le merite.

Or aujourd'hui par geste & fainct ouurage,
 Nous (successeurs d'Appelles, painctre sage)
 Te monstrerons le mistere susdict,
 Et l'auoir veu, croy ce que dieu a dict,
 Dont l'escrit saint te rend vray tesmoignage.⁶⁶

The above verses are of interest, moreover, as showing that the corporation of painters also presented plays. Montaiglon, in the *Nouvelles Archives de l'art*, in an article entitled: "Petites Pièces, extraites de différents recueils de poésies et relatives à des Artistes," mentions the *Dixain du Bacchus, du May*, and the five *placquars*. In connection with the painters of Lyons he says:

Le fameux *Triomphe de Dame Verole* a certainement été une mascarade semi-dramatique montrée dans une procession de personnages costumés à pied, à cheval, et en char, dont les bois de l'édition originale nous conservent l'ordre et les détails. A plus forte raison pourrions nous y voir, au lieu de Rabelais, la trace et même la main des peintres de Lyon, qui ont dû faire plus d'une chevauchée en costume.

He thinks that the painters of Lyons had likewise something to do with the *Plaisants devis des suppots de la coquille*, and the two *chevauchées de l'ane*.⁶⁷

In the year 1537 Beaulieu published his large collection of poems, the *Divers Rapports* so often referred to in the preceding footnotes. This volume contained many evidences of his inclina-

⁶⁶ *Div. Rap.*, f° 45, v°, *Cinq placquars, mys par les dictz painctres (le iour de la feste du Sacrement audit an) autour de l'eschauffault ou ils iouerent le Murmurement & fin, de Chore, Dathan, & Obiron*. Cf. Rabelais, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 1870, *Tiers Livre*, vol. ii, ch. 29, p. 99.

⁶⁷ Montaiglon, *Nouvelles Archives de l'art*, 1872, p. 113 et seq. Cf. also, *Le Mistère du Vieil Testament*, Anciens Textes, fr., 1871, vol. iii, p. cx: "Les peintres de Lyon jouèrent en 1536, un mystère intitulé: Le Murmurement et Fin de Chore, Dathan et Abiron. Cette pièce, qui devait être plus développée que les scènes correspondantes de notre grand drame, ne nous a pas été conservée; mais nous possédons cinq placquarts composés par Eustorg de Beaulieu . . ." (*Div. Rap.*, f° 45).

tion toward Protestantism, such as a translation of a poem by Melancthon, an epitaph for Erasmus, allusions to the Miroir of Marguerite de Navarre, and finally, *La coppie de l'instrument et memorial de la perte du dieu des freres Jaccopins de Lyon, qui fut l'an mille cinq cens trente et six, et le vingt et deuxiesme iour du mois de Juillet*, which, though not published until 1546, surely circulated in manuscript. The latter is a lengthy satire on the dogma of the Catholic Church written in a most irreverential tone. All this sufficed to make Beaulieu fear for his safety. He did not wait for the persecutions to break out (it was in 1539 that the first Protestants were burned alive at Lyons) but fled, and on the first of May, 1537, he arrived in that haven of refuge, Geneva.⁶⁸

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⁶⁸ For the full title of the *Divers Rapports*, cf. a later chapter.

(To be continued)

A STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF SOME LEADING
FRENCH POETS OF THE XIVTH AND XVTH
CENTURIES TO THE MARQUÈS
DE SANTILLANA

I

FRANCE has from the earliest times exerted a notable influence on the life and literature of other nations and especially of the related romance nations. This influence strongly marked in the early Italian literature¹ is even more striking in the literature of

- (a) E. Stengel, *Rivista*, II, 82-90. *Frammenti di una Traduzione Libera dei Libri dei Maccabei in decasillabi antico francesi.*
- (b) G. Paris, *Romania*, IV, 498—(review).
 A. Gaspary, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (1887), I, 96. *La Poesia cavalleresca francese nell' alta Italia.*
 P. Rajna, *Reali di Francia, Romania*, II, 362.
 P. Rajna, *Romania*, II, 49-58. *Ricordi di Codici francesi*—also IX, 497.
 D'Ancona, *Varietà Storiche e Letterarie*, II, 1-31 (Milano 1885).
 Bruneto Latini, *Il Tesoretto e il Favoleto*, Z. R. P., VII, 334.
 A. Thomas, *Aquilon de Bavière, Roman Franco-Italien inconnu, Romania*, XI, 536-569.
 A. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1889, 1904. Chapter III, 233-273.
 P. Rajna, *Romania*, XIV, 398-420; XVII, 162-185; 355-365; XVIII, 1-69. *Contributi alla Storia dell' Epopea e del Romanzo Medievale.*
- (a) S. Morpurgo, *Detto d'Amore, Antiche Rime imitate del Roman de la Rose*, in *Propugnatore*, Nuova Serie, I, 1, 18++ (1888).
- (b) A. Gaspary, Z. R. P., XII, 573-4.
- (c) *Romania* XVII, 640 (review).
 W. Meyer, *Franko-Italienische Studien*, Z. R. P., IX, 597-640; X, 22-55; 363-410.
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- (a) E. Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, Torino, 1887.
- (b) *Romania*, XXI, 88-107. H. Morf, review.
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- (a) E. G. Parodi, *Studi di Filologia romansa*, II, 1887, p. 97-368. *I Rifacimenti e le Traduzioni Italiane dell' Eneide di Virgilio.*

¹ The works here cited deal chiefly with the influence of the literature of the north of France. (Z. R. P. = *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie.*)

- (b) *Romania*, XVIII, 174. P. Meyer, review.
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- (a) F. Castets, *Il Fiore, poème italien du XIII^e siècle, en CCXXXII sonnets, imité du Roman de la Rose, par Durante*. (Montpellier, 1881).
- (b) *Revue des Langues romanes*, XXXV, 307 +.
- (c) G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei Mss.*, Roma, 1888, III, 611-730.
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P. Meyer, *Des Rapports de la Poésie des Trouvères . . . Romania*, XIX, 1-62.
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 C. de Boer, *Romania*, XLIII, 335-352, *Guillaume de Machaut et l'Ovide Moralisé*.
Oton de Granson:
 G. Paris, *Romania*, XVI, 414, *Un poème inédit de Martin Le Franc*.
 A. Piaget, *Romania*, XVIII, 643, *Chronique*.
 A. Piaget, *Romania*, XIX, 237-259; 403-448, *Oton de Granson et ses Poésies*.
 A. Tobler, *Z. R. P.*, 15, 274, review of above.
 A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXI, 432, *La Quistione d'Amore de Carlo del Nero*.
Romania, XXXIII, 203-208, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*.
 G. Gröber, *Z. R. P.*, 26, 259, review of above; also *Z. R. P.*, 27, 254.
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 F. J. Furnival, *The Curial*.
 F. Heuckenkamp, *Le Curial*, Halle, 1899.
 G. Joret Desclosières, *Un écrivain national aux XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1871.
 D. Delaunay, *Etude sur Alain Chartier*, Paris, 1876.
 M. Hannappel, *Poetik Alain Chartier*, 261-314, *Fransös. Stud.*, I Band, Heilbronn, 1881.
 W. Meyer, *Z. R. P.*, 8, 153, review of above.
 H. Eder, *Syntaktische Studien*, Wurzburg, 1889.
 L. Kussmann, *Beiträge zur Ueberlieferung des Livre des Quatre Dames*, Greifswald, XXII, 41 S.
 K. Moldenhauer, *Zur Ueberlieferung des Livre de l'Espérance*, Greifswald Diss., 8^o 38, 62 S.
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 A. Schulze, *Z. R. P.*, 22, 544, review of above.
 A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXIII, 192-208, *Notice sur le MS 1727*.
 A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXVI, 306, *Encore Alain Chartier*.
 A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXVIII, 596, *Alain Chartier en Hongrie*.
 W. Soederhjelm, *Revue des Langues romanes*, 35, 97-127, *La Dama senza Mercede*.
Revue des Bibliothèques, XI, 13-19.
 E. Hoepffner, *Die Wortstellung bei Alain Chartier* (Leipzig Dissertation).

- A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXIII, 152-156, *L'Épithaphe d'Alain Chartier*.
- A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXV, 312-15, *Un prétendu MS d'Alain Chartier*.
- A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXX, 22-45, 317-335, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci et ses Imitations*.
- A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXXI, 315-349, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci et ses Imitations*.
- A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXXIII, 179-208, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci et ses Imitations*.
- A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXXIV, 375-428; 559-597, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci et ses Imitations*.
- A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIII, 387-402, *Alain Chartier Chanoine de Paris*.
- A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIII, 606-609, *La date de la mort de Thomas de Saint-Pierre*.
- K. Bartsch, *Z. R. P.*, 4, 460, review of Ulysses Robert's *Inventaire des mss. des bibliothèques de France*.
- Francisque-Michel, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1864.
- Amédée Pagès, *Les Prédécesseurs d'Ausias March*, Paris, 1912.
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- R. Marin, *Cantos Populares Españoles*, II, V, Sevilla, 1882-3.
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- Jehan Le Bel, *Li ars d'Amour*, Bruxelles, 1867-9.
- E. Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1890.
- H. Binet, *Le Style de la lyrique Courtoise en France*, Paris, 1891.
- L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, New York, 1896.
- Eugène Baret, *Les Troubadours et leur influence*, 1867.
- Menéndez Pidal, *L'Épopée Castillane à travers la Littérature Espagnole*, A. Colin, 1910.

Spain.² The reason is found in the closeness of the geographical position of the two countries, the similarity of their idiom and, above all, in the political conditions which, in Spain, retarded the development of a national consciousness. While France had by the XIth Century, produced the *Eulalia*, the *Passion Christi*, the *Alexis*, the *Roland*; Spain, torn by Vandals, Visigoths and Saracens, had given no other indication of literary activity than a few chronicles and hymns in Latin. There was, in fact, no Castilian literature until the XIIth Century. These troubled conditions, together with dynastic conflicts, opened the way to French penetration.

Our purpose in briefly summarizing these and the following facts is to show what may logically be inferred for the XVth Century, from the predominance and continuity of French influence upon Spanish literature since the beginning. It was always the case of a

² M. y Pelayo, *Antologia*, II, *Prólogo*.

more advanced state of culture meeting and moulding a more primitive.

The first serious contact took place around the year 800, when, in answer to a call for aid, Charlemagne sent across the Pyrenees his son Louis, who captured Barcelona, founded the Spanish Mark and left a permanent settlement of Knights, probably from Provence. In the course of the IXth Century, many such relief expeditions were sent at the request of the small Christian states of the northwest, and, aside from the relationships thus formed, their importance is due chiefly to the introduction of *trouvères* and *troubadours*,³ who followed the armies and scattered the seeds of French culture. The XIth Century saw a great influx of French monks and clerks: Spain adopted the monastic reform of Cluny and replaced the Mozarabic liturgy by that of the Western Church. French prelates were given the influential positions in churches and monasteries—Jerónimo of Périgord is mentioned in the *Cid* as bishop of Valencia⁴—Bernard de Cluny was appointed Archbishop of Toledo in 1091, and, when in that same year, the Church Council de Leon resolved to change from the Gothic to the Roman script, the employment of French copyists became necessary. So great was the host of pilgrims going to the celebrated shrine of Santiago de Compostela⁵ in Galicia, that the road became known as '*camino francés*.'

The first traces of French influence appear with the first monuments of Spanish literature.

XIIth Century: The *Auto de los Reyes Magos*⁶ is a survival of a French liturgy, the *Poema del Cid*, with stanzas arranged in *laissez* and 33 per cent. of its verse romance hemistichs,⁷ shows a recasting into French meter. It may even owe its inspiration directly to the *Roland*. The *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo*,⁸ also

³ H. R. Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, Halle, 1894 (introduction).

D. M. La Fuente, *Historia General de España*, V, Madrid, mdcccli, p. 308-9.

⁴ R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Madrid, 1908-1911. Cf. vol. II, p. 875 +, line 1288 of text.

⁵ J. Bédier, *Annales du Midi*, 23, pp. 424-450; 24, 18-48. *La Chronique de Turpin et le Pèlerinage de Compostelle*.

⁶ K. M. Hartman, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, Bautzen, 1879.

⁷ H. R. Lang, *Romanic Review*, vol. V, p. 27.

⁸ Gröber, *Grundriss* II, I, 482.

with six syllable hemistichs, and the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*,⁹ go back to Anglo-Norman originals.

XIIIth Century: The *Libro de Alexandre*¹⁰ springs from several French sources: Gautier de Chatillon's *Alexandreis* and *Le Roman d' Alexandre* of Lambert le Tort and Alexandre de Paris. Berceo left a total of over twenty thousand verses in monorimed quatrains of Alexandrines. The *Poema de Fernán González*¹¹ contains French allusions;¹² as well as the *Disputa de Elena y María*.¹³

XIVth Century: Juan Ruiz's *Libro de Buen Amor*¹⁴ presents "une macédoine d'imitations françaises" as M. Jeanroy says in his *Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*.¹⁵

XVth Century: The *Dança de la Muerte*¹⁶ is probably derived from French sources.

II

We have now reached the period which is the special object of this study: the first half of the fifteenth century. The dominant literary and social figure of the times was undoubtedly the Marqués de Santillana. Of him, Ticknor says:¹⁷ "At the head of the courtiers and poets of the reign of John the Second, stands Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana" and further,¹⁸ quoting Pulgar's *Claros Varónes*: "He had great store of books and gave himself to study, especially the study of moral philosophy and of things foreign and old." And again:¹⁹ "Indeed, in all respects, we can see that he was a remarkable man, one thoroughly connected with his age, and strong in its spirit." Exclusive of other literary work, the celebrated

⁹ A. Mussafia, *Ueber die Quellen der Altspanischen Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*, Vienna, 1863.

¹⁰ Morel-Fatio, *El Libro de Alexandre*. *Gesellschaft Rom. Lit.*, X, Dresden, 1906.

¹¹ C. C. Marden, *Poema de Fernán González*, Baltimore, 1904.

¹² *Giornale di filologia romanza*, III, 89.

¹³ M. Pidal, *Revista de filologia*, I, 1914.

¹⁴ J. Ducamin, *Toulouse*, 1901.

¹⁵ Cf. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, London, 1908 (page 43).

¹⁶ (a) C. Appel, *Beiträge, 2. Rom. und Engl. Ph.*, Breslau, 1902.

(b) *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1864, p. 574.

¹⁷ G. Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Boston, 1866. Cf. vol. I, ch. XIX, p. 331.

¹⁸ G. Ticknor, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 334.

¹⁹ G. Ticknor, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 342.

Letter to the Constable of Portugal,²⁰ "a letter which is, in fact, the most important document we now possess touching the early literature of Spain,"²¹ and the extensive collection of books and manuscripts²² which he left, would alone be sufficient testimonials to the great extent of his culture. Juan de Mena²³ in the Preface to the *Coronacion*, says that men came from foreign countries merely to see him.

It is significant that Santillana's fondness for French things was proverbial. A contemporary represents him on the battlefield of Olmedo (1445) arrayed in a suit of French armor and affecting a foreign accent!

"Con fabla casi straniera
Armado como francès"
(*Coplas de la Panadera*.)²⁴

Considering these characteristics of the Marqués we may be justified in giving great weight to the paragraph in the *Prohemio* (XI), which he devotes to French literature:²⁵ "De entre estos ovo omes muy doctos é señalados en estas artes; ca Maestro Johan Lorris fiço el *Roman de la Rosa*, donde, como ellos diçen, *el arte de amor es toda enclosa*: e acabaló Maestre Johan Copinete, natural de la villa de Meun. Michaute escrivió asyemesmo un grand libro de baladas, cançiones, rondeles, lays, virolays, é asonó muchos dellos. Miçer Otho de Grandson, cavallero estrenuo é muy virtuoso, se ovo alta e dulçemente en esta arte. Maestre Alen Charrotier, muy claro poeta moderno, é secretario deste rey don Luis de França, en grand elegancia compuso é cantó en metro, é escrivió el *Debate de las quatro damas*; la *Bella dama Sanmersi*; el *Revelle matin*; la *Grand Pastora*; el *Breviario de nobles*, é el *Hospital de amores*; por çierto cosas assaz fermosas é plaçientes de oyr."

He also adds, further, that while he prefers the Italian to the

²⁰ Amador de Los Rios, *Obras de Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Madrid*, 1852. Cf. *Prohemio*, pp. 1-18.

²¹ Ticknor *op. cit.*, p. 342.

²² M. Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Paris, 1905. (*Bibl. Ecole, Hautes Etudes*.)

²³ *Obras*, Alcalá, 1566. 12 mo, f. 260.

²⁴ B. F. Gallardo, *Ensayo I*, col. 613-617. *Coplas de la Panadera*.

²⁵ Amador de los Rios, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

French for the substance, he admires the French more for the form.²⁶ Here are the authors, then, who were known, appreciated; who had made the deepest impression on literary Spain, during the reign of John the Second. Evidently, it is in their works that we must seek the models for the continuation of French literary tradition in Spain, and it is in Santillana's that we may legitimately expect to find traces of influence. The question of the influence exerted by the *Roman de la Rose* on Castilian literature has already been ably treated by Prof. F. B. Luquiens.²⁷ The relations of the other poets mentioned, to the Marqués de Santillana, will perhaps be more clearly understood, if we summarize briefly the leading characteristics of the school to which they belonged.

III

The XIVth Century is known as the barren period of French literature. It is a period of transition, when poetry, while waiting for the new vitalizing forces of the Renaissance, is merely marking time. The free inspiration of the old *trouvères* had lost much of its vigor in contact with the more refined and, especially, more formal Provençal poetry; fettered by conventionality their imagination had become impoverished. The result was the rise of the school of *Rhétorique*, which set up form as standard and brought about the development and establishment of certain fixed types: the ballad, chant royal, lai, virelai, rondeau.

Guillaume de Machaut, the head of this school of didactic poetry, exerted a great influence at home and abroad. In France, he was imitated by Froissart,²⁸ Eustache Deschamps²⁹ called himself his disciple, and as I shall show in a forthcoming study, Oton de Gran-

²⁶ A. de Los Rios, *op. cit.*, p. 9, ch. XII.

²⁷ (a) F. B. Luquiens, *Rom. Forsch.*, vol. XX. *The Roman de la Rose and Medieval Castilian Literature.*

(b) E. Herzog, *Z. R. P.*, 33, p. 245 (review).

²⁸ (a) Sandras, *Etude sur Chaucer*, Paris, 1859, 77-8; 89-95.

(b) E. Hoepffner, *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut, tome I, Introd. I* (Paris 1908).

²⁹ (a) Sandras, *op. cit.*, 72.

(b) Hoepffner, *Z. R. P.*, 29, 1905 (Review of G. Raynaud's *Œuvres Compl. d'Eust. Deschamps*).

(c) Hoepffner, *Œuvres*, I, Introd. I.

(d) Suchier + Birsch — Hirschfeld, *Gesch. der Frans. Litt.*, page 239.

son⁸⁰ and Alain Chartier⁸¹ who quote him, also came under his influence. Christine de Pisan⁸² wrote in his manner. In the XVth Century, his works are mentioned by Martin Le Franc,⁸³ Achille Caulier⁸⁴ and others. In England, Chaucer's⁸⁵ works show many borrowings from the French poet. In Italy, he is praised by Ugolino d' Orvieto.⁸⁶ In Catalan territory, he is mentioned in a letter to the Comte de Foix,⁸⁷ by Yolande, wife of John the First of Aragon. As for Spain, we have the Marqués' reference, quoted above, to Machaut himself (for, M. A. Piaget⁸⁸ has positively established that Michaute and Guillaume de Machaut are one)—and to two prominent members of his school: Oton de Granson and Alain Chartier. We might also add that Puymaigre⁸⁹ considers that stanza XX of Santillana's *Defunssion de Don Enrique de Villena* contains another mention of Alain Chartier.

Great as his fame had been, there is no further mention of Machaut, from the end of the XVth Century until the XVIIIth; no complete edition of his works has yet appeared, although we are much indebted to M. V. Chichmaref⁴⁰ for his publication of Machaut's lyrical poems, and to M. E. Hoepffner⁴¹ for the excellent

⁸⁰ (a) G. L. Schirer, *Oton de Granson und seine Dichtungen*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 63, lines 37 et seq.

(b) Sandras, *op. cit.*, 77.

(c) Hoepffner, *Œuvres*, I, I.

⁸¹ (a) André Du Chesne, *Œuvres de Maître Alain Chartier*, Paris, 1617. see p. 499, *Le Debat du Reveille-Matin*.

(b) A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXX.

(c) Hoepffner, *Œuvres*, I, I.

⁸² (a) A. R. Pugh, *Romania*, XXIII, 586.

(b) Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, I, I.

⁸³ (a) G. Paris, *Romania*, XVI, 409.

(b) Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, I, I, page V.

⁸⁴ Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, I, I, page V, note 4. The text of *l'Hospital d'Amours* found in Du Chesne's edition of Alain Chartier, does not contain any reference to Machaut.

⁸⁵ (a) Ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien*.

(b) Sandras, *op. cit.*

⁸⁶ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, III, 26.

⁸⁷ Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, XXII, 275-276.

⁸⁸ A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXI, 616.

⁸⁹ (a) Puymaigre, *La Cour littéraire de D. Juan II*, 37-39.

(b) A de Los Rios, *Obras*, 247, stanza, XX.

⁴⁰ V. Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques*, 2 vols.

⁴¹ E. Hoepffner, *op. cit.*

first two volumes of the edition he is now preparing. Machaut's disciples did not fare much better than their master. We are interested only in the two mentioned by Santillana. Of Oton de Granson, little was known before the appearance of M. Piaget's articles and partial edition in vol. XIX of *Romania* (1890) and M. L. Schirer's⁴² dissertation in 1904. As for Alain Chartier, of whose works there is still no critical edition, his reputation depends rather on his prose than on a poetry replete with the commonplaces of the *Roman de la Rose* and of Guillaume de Machaut.

IV

It is perhaps due to the uninviting character of the French School, with its mass of material mostly unedited, that the critical study of the relations of the French poets to the Marqués de Santillana has been somewhat neglected, while a more thorough investigation was made of the evident Italian influence.⁴³ One scholar who followed the hint given in the Marqués' *Letter to the Constable* and studied the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* on Castilian literature, came to a negative conclusion.⁴⁴ This neglect is manifested in the diversity of the opinions of leading critics:

Ticknor⁴⁵ speaks of Santillana's familiarity with Provençal poetry and of his imitation of Provençal poets; of his "works in the Italian manner," "in the courtly manner of his time," but nowhere does he refer to a possible French influence.

G. Baist⁴⁶ alludes merely to Dantesque allegories, to imitations of

⁴² L. Schirer, *op. cit.*

⁴³ A. Morel-Fatio, *Grundriss* II, 2, p. 78, *Katalanische Litteratur*.

Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, 429.

J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Littérature Espagnole*, 95-96.

J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Chapters*, p. 25.

Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología V*, *Prologo* xxii; xlv; lxxx-lxxxi; lxxxv-lxxxvi; lxxxviii; cxxiv-cxxviii; cxlii-iii.

Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, XXII, 224, *L'Arte Mayor et l'Hendécasyllabe*.

Puymaigre, *La Cour littéraire de Don Juan II*, tome II, 25-31; 37-39; 56-57.

Sanvisenti, *I primi Influssi*, Capitolo IV, p. 127-186.

Savj-Lopez, *Z. R. P.*, 28, p. 377 (review of above).

Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque* . . . Introd., lxxiv-lxxvii.

W. von Wurzbach, *Z. R. P.*, 30, 504-508 (review of above).

Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, I, 336-337; 339.

⁴⁴ F. B. Luquiens, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ Ticknor, *op. cit.*, I, 335-337.

⁴⁶ G. Baist, *Grundriss* II, 427 +.

Horace and of the Italian sonnet, to Santillana's indirect knowledge of Provençal poetry.

Mr. Menéndez y Pelayo's⁴⁷ opinion is that French influence either does not exist or is practically negligible: "Mucho más versado estaba en la lectura de los poetas franceses de los siglos XIV y XIV, aunque nunca ó rarísima vez los imitase."—and further on, after admitting that the Marqués was better acquainted with French than with Provençal literature, he concludes: "Pero todo esto era para él materia de erudición, no de imitación."

On the other side, the Comte de Puymaigre⁴⁸ asserts his belief in the continuity of French tradition. After a discussion of Franco-Spanish relations, he says: "On comprendra qu' avec ces rapports si suivis, la France ait continué à avoir en Espagne une grande action: Il serait facile d'en retrouver les traces. Le Marquis de Santillane avait dans sa bibliothèque Guillaume de Lorris . . . etc."—and again: "Nos romans sont lus, cités sans cesse, imités sans cesse en Espagne. . . ." He asserts this opinion even more positively: "La France eut sur Íñigo Lopez une influence moindre (que celle de l'Italie) mais sensible cependant. Jean de Meung, Alain Chartier, Grandson, Pierre Michaut⁴⁹ étaient lus par le Marquis et faisaient partie de sa bibliothèque . . . L'Orient, la Grèce, Rome, l'Italie du moyen age, nos poètes de la langue d' oïl, nos poètes de la langue d'oc, ont donc apporté des éléments à cet esprit studieux plutôt qu' original. . . ."

Mr. Savj-Lopez⁵⁰ in a review of M. Bernardo Sanvisenti's *I Primi Influssi di Dante*⁵¹ suggests that the *Comedieta de Ponza* contains reminiscences of Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*, and criticises the lack of supporting evidence for the statement that, "l'elemento dantesco si adatta sul francese," hinting at French influence, in *El Infierno de los Enamorados*.

Mr. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly⁵² makes the non-committal statement

⁴⁷ M. y Pelayo, *Antologia* V, LXXXV; XXII.

⁴⁸ Puymaigre, *op. cit.*, 35; 38; 56-57.

⁴⁹ A. Piaget, *Romania*, XXI, 616.

⁵⁰ Z. R. P., 28, 377.

⁵¹ B. Sanvisenti, *I Primi Influssi di Dante, del Petrarca et del Boccaccio sulla Letteratura Spagnuola*, Milano, 1902, pp. 184-5.

⁵² *Littérature Espagnole*, 1904, p. 95—*Chapters on Spanish Literature*, 1908, pp. 25, 26.

that Santillana, "étudia Dante et Boccace, Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meung, Guillaume de Machaut, Oton de Granson et Alain Chartier, et il en profita." More pertinent however is the later statement: "Wherever we turn in this period, sooner or later we shall find that French influence has left its mark."

M. Mario Schiff⁵³ is also a believer in the theory of a French influence: "Dans les *canciones e decires* . . . on voit que d'attentives lectures du *Roman de la Rose*, d' Alain Chartier, et surtout de Dante et de Pétrarque lui ont donné la notion du sublime, médiocre, infime . . . etc."—"L' influence provençale directe sur le Marquis a été nulle. . . . Par contre il a lu des Français, Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meun, Chartier et d' autres encore."

These differing opinions are found mostly in works which deal with the broader aspects of Spanish literature and their scope necessarily precluded specialization. In view, therefore, of the uncertainty concerning the relations of the poets of the French School to the Marqués de Santillana, due to the absence of any critical study, we believed it worth while to make such a study, so as to come to conclusions based on actual evidence. Although the number of parallel cases cited is small, we hope that they may prove of value in settling a question left, it seems to us, for too long to mere conjecture.

V

Bearing in mind the *formal* and *didactic* character of the French school of poetry, we would expect to find its influence manifested first of all in versification. The Marqués' avowed admiration of form in contrast to matter, would seem further to confirm that expectation. It is therefore remarkable that he has in no case imitated any of the French strophic forms. Nowhere do we find anything like the "baladas, rondeles, lays, virolays";⁵⁴ with all their variety and richness, there is nothing in his rhymes which resembles Machaut's arrangements or his metrical *tours de force*.

The *didactic* element is especially emphasized in Machaut's longer

⁵³ Mario Schiff, *op. cit.*, LXXII-LXXIII.

⁵⁴ The question of the influence of French versification upon the Spanish is an important subject which deserves separate investigation. We are here concerned with the imitation of the fixed forms set in vogue by Machaut and his School.

poems, such as the *Remede de Fortune*, *le Dit dou Lyon*, *le Dit de l'Alerion*,⁵⁵ etc. They are, indeed, veritable store-houses of proverbs and sententious sayings, used by the poet to sum up and give added authority to his teachings. The Spaniards have always had a well-known fondness for such concise bits of wisdom, and Santillana was no exception. In the prologue to his *Proverbios*, a didactic work dedicated to the Infant of Castile, he disclaims any originality and declares that he took the proverbs from famous philosophers and poets.⁵⁶ Guillaume de Machaut might well have been one of these poets, but as most proverbs belong to the common stock of nations, evidence of this kind must in itself be inconclusive, unless otherwise supported.

Subjectivity and realism are striking traits found in Machaut,⁵⁷ but not likely to have influenced the Marqués who had, besides, a better model in Juan Ruiz, whose works he knew.⁵⁸

It is clear that we cannot seek for imitation in any definite direction. Santillana's enthusiasm was not so keen as to lead him to copy deliberately, as he did in the case of Italian poetry, whole passages from the French poems he had read. He evidently enjoyed them and gleaned here and there the things that took his fancy, whether a conceit, a turn of phrase or a situation. It is these random gleanings that we now propose to cite. As they are from their nature not subject to classification, we shall, as far as is feasible, present them in the order of probability. For the sake of completeness and to lay the whole evidence before the reader, we shall also adduce cases which are perhaps commonplaces of court lyric, but may have come to Santillana through the medium of the French poets.*

Santillana may have taken the situation of his *Querella de Amor*⁵⁹

⁵⁵ E. Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, vol. II (1911).

⁵⁶ A. de los Rios, *Obras*, 22 II; 26 IV.

⁵⁷ E. Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, I, IV.

⁵⁸ A. de los Rios, *op. cit.*, *Prohemio* XIV.

* N. B. Unless otherwise specified, the citations are taken from:

Amador de los Rios, *Obras* (*op. cit.*) for Santillana.

E. Hoepffner, *Guillaume de Machaut*, vols. I and II

V. Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies lyriques*, } for
I and II } Machaut.

L. Schirer, *Oton de Granson*.

A. Du Chesne, *Œuvres de Maître Alain Chartier*.

⁵⁹ A. de los Rios, *op. cit.*, 400 et seq.

from Machaut, Granson or Chartier. The original source is evidently Machaut's *Le Livre de la Fonteinne Amoureuse*,⁶⁰ where the poet, lying in bed in a state of drowsy sleeplessness produced by deep melancholy, hears a voice complaining. It is apparently an unhappy lover singing a farewell "complainte" to his lady. The long "complainte" then follows.

Granson's *Complainte de l'An nouvel*⁶¹ borrows this setting, as does Chartier's *Débat du Reveille-Matin*,⁶² which we may consider the probable source of Santillana, as he mentions it by name, although the verbal similarity is perhaps closer to Machaut.

*Fonteinne
Amoureuse,
MS. 1584,
Bib. Nat., f. fr.*

Il n'a pas lonc temps que j'estoie
En un lit ou pas ne dormoie,
Einsois faisoie la dorveille
Com cils qui dort et encor veille.
Car j'aloie de dor en dor,
Pour ce qu'assez envis m'endor
Quant aucune merencolie
Àvuec ma pensée se lie.
Mais quant repos en moy nature
Voloit prendre, une creature
Oy, qui trop fort se plaingnoit.

.

*Reveille-Matin,
493.*

Après menuit entre deux sommes,
Lors qu'amours les amans reveille,
En ce pays cy où nous sommes,
Pensoye ou lict ainsi qu'on veille
Quant on a la puce en l'oreille,
Si escoutoye deux amoureux
Dont l'ung à l'autre se conseille
Du mal dont il est douloureux.

.

*Querella de Amor, "Ya la grand noche passava
400. E la luna s'escondia:
La clara lumbre del día
Radiante se mostrava:*

⁶⁰ Machaut, Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. fr. ms. 1584.

⁶¹ L. Schirer, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁶² Du Chesne, *op. cit.*, 493 ++.

Al tiempo que reposava
De mis trabajos é pena,
Oy triste cantilena,
Que tal cançion pronunçiaua :— ”⁸⁸

Another situation common enough in Old French literature⁸⁴ is reproduced in Santillana's dainty *Villançico*: The poet seeing some personages—generally lovers—approaching, hides behind foliage to overhear their conversation or watch them.

Villançico, II, “ Por mirar su fermosura
462. Destas tres gentiles damas,
Yo cobríme con las ramas,
Metíme só la verdura.”

This is the way that Machaut introduces the debate in the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*:

I. 59, l. 54-55. “ Lors me boutay par dedens la fueillie
Si embrunchiez qu'il ne me virent mie.”

A similar situation is also found in Alain Chartier's *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*, 506-507, mentioned by Santillana.

“ Si m'assis dessoubz une treille
Drue de fueilles à merveille,
Entrelacée de saulx vers,
Si que nul pour l'espesse fueille
Ne me pouoit veoir au travers.”

Another little discriptive touch in Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* finds a distinct echo in Santillana: The poet out hunting, takes such pleasure in his good hounds that he forgets his weariness:

I. 155, l. 520-522. “ Et li bon levrier que j'avoie
Renforçoient si mon solas
Que je n'en peüsse estre las,”

Infierno de los “ E falagando los canes
Enamorados, Olvidava los afanes
383, XXV. E cansançio que traia.”

⁸⁸ For discussion of the “quotation song” which follows, cf. H. R. Lang, *Cancionero Gallego*, notes, p. 222-223.

⁸⁴ K. Bartsch, *Rom. und. Pastourellen*, I, 36, l. 49 ++.

El Sueño contains a comparison of the poet's comforter and guide to a physician :

El Sueño,
352, XXX. " Con aquel amor ferviente
Que buen médico pregunta
Al que padescçe, e apunta
La dolor ó mal que siente;
Asy aquel varon prudente."

Esperence, in the *Remede de Fortune*, coming to comfort the poet, is also likened to a physician :

Remede, II, 58,
l. 1603-7. " Com fisicienne soutive,
Sage, aperte et confortative,
D'une bele vois clere et seinne,
Plus douce que nulle douceinne
Me dist, quant elle m'ot sentu : "

Santillana's entire poem, indeed, has the appearance of being composed of various foreign elements, so blended as to make difficult the positive identification of certain parts. The influence of Dante is visible;⁶⁵ Mr. Luquiens finds "a possible trace" of the *Roman de la Rose*,⁶⁶ and we wonder whether Mr. Sanvisenti's remark: "l'elemento dantesco si adatta sul francese,"⁶⁷ somewhat vague when applied to *El Infierno de los Enamorados*, may not be more pertinent here. We have in *El Sueño*, the conventional opening; the vision, the beautiful park. A sudden storm transforms the scene into one of horror, the very birds are turned into poisonous snakes. After an allegorical debate⁶⁸ between the "heart" and "reason," the poet is shown in a forest where he has now been wandering for some eight days. He comes upon a man, Thiresías, who interprets the wonders he has seen: He is to be subjected to Love's assaults and can escape only by seeking Chastity. This is, briefly, the setting of the poem, freed from allegorical battles and mythological allusions. It seems to us to have some correspondence with Machaut's *Dit dou*

⁶⁵ M. y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, V, CXXI.

⁶⁶ F. B. Luquiens, *op. cit.*, 320 +.

⁶⁷ Sanvisenti, *op. cit.*, 184 + 185.

⁶⁸ F. J. Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der Spanischen und Portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, Berlin, 1859, p. 119, note 1.

Jordi de Sant Jordi, *Debat El Cor E Pensamen*.

Cf. A. de los Rios, *Obras cit.*, *Prohemio*, XIII.

Lyon.⁶⁹ The French poet finds himself also in the conventional park, although the vision is eliminated. The change of scene is brought about, not by a storm, but by his straying, absent-mindedly, from the right path, into a place of brambles and thorns. Suddenly, a shaggy lion appears, the terrified poet prepares to die with his lady's name on his lips—but is saved—Horace like—by the mere mention of that name. The lion now guides him safely past many prowling wild beasts until they find the lady of the *vergier*. With her is a knight, who, as Thiresias above, explains the nature of the place. Just as the Spanish poet could escape the dangers only by being chaste, so the French poet must be loyal to enter the *vergier* and avoid its dangers.

In the absence of conclusive evidence, we may not, perhaps, be justified in saying that the Marqués imitated the French poem; but we can at least note that he was a careful reader and endowed with great powers of assimilation.

The eighteenth of Santillana's sonnets is a "cancion de opósitos," one of the commonplaces of the Provençal lyric.⁷⁰ A mere correspondence of ideas would, in such a case, prove very little unless supported by verbal similarity. We cite the opening lines of the sonnet and the first strophe of a ballad of Machaut, calling especial attention to the beginning of the second and fifth lines of both poems, to the similar turn in the eighth of the ballad and ninth of the sonnet, the fourth line of the ballad and first of the sonnet:

Chichmaref, II,
539 + 540,
Bal. V.

1. " Riches d'amour et mendians d'amie,
2. *Povres* d'espoir et garnis de desir
3. Pleins de dolour et disiteus d'aÿe,
4. *Loing* de merci, familieus de merir,
5. *Nus* de tout ce qui me puet resjoïr
6. Sui pour amer et de mort en paour
7. Quant ma dame me het et je l'aour.
8. *N'ül* n'est confors "

⁶⁹ Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, II, lines 159-237.

⁷⁰ P. Meyer, *Romania*, XIX, *Des Rapports de la Poésie des Trouvères à celle des Troubadours*.

Cf. also the Marqués' reference to Jordi de Sant Jordi's *Cancion*, *Prohemio*, XIII.

Sonetos, 283,
XVIII.

1. " *Léxos* de vos é cerca de cuydado,
2. *Pobre* de goço é rico de tristeza,
3. Fallido de reposo é abastado
4. De mortal pena, congoxa é braveça;
5. *Desnudo* d'esperança é abrigado
6. D'inmensa cuyta é visto d'aspereça,
7. La mi vida me fuye, mal mi grado,
8. La muerte me persigue sin pereça.
9. *Nin* son bastantes a *satisfazer*
10. *La set ardiente de mi grand desseo*.⁷¹

Lines 9 and 10 of the sonnet also bear a strong resemblance to that part of the *Lay Mortel*, where Machaut says of his lady:

Chichmaref, II, 378, "C'est la fontainne douce et clere
l. 224-6. Qui puet dou tout *assasier*
L'ardent soif de mon desirier."

This last verse seems, in fact, to be almost literally translated in the sonnet.

Santillana's description of *Fortune* is closer to Machaut's than to that of Boethius,⁷² their original source.

Liber II, Pr. I. "At omnium mortalium stolidissime,
Si manere incipit, fors esse desistit."

Remede de Fortune, "S'elle estoit toudis en un point
II, 93, l. 2531-34. Et de raison usoit à point
Si qu'envers tous fust juste et une,
Elle ne seroit pas Fortune."

See also Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*, 679.

Bias contra Fortuna, "Nin seria yo Fortuna
184-5, lxxxviii. Nin prinçesa de planetas,
Si las toviere quietas
E yo todos tiempos una."

We need not dwell long on the numerous similarities which spring from the common stock of the court lyric, but we feel that it may be of advantage to have all possible evidence on record.

⁷¹ F. B. Luquiens, *op. cit.*, page 291, note 4.

⁷² R. Reiper, Lipsiae mdccclxxi. *Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis*.

One of Machaut's favorite lines:

Lay de Plour, I, 283. "Qui bien aime a tart oublie,"
line 1.

(and many other poems)

imitated in a ballad of Deschamps,⁷⁸ is reproduced in Santillana's

Sonetos, 282, xvi. "Mas ánimo gentil atarde olvida."

The poet's lady is accompanied by all personified virtues:⁷⁴

Machaut, I, *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, 1149-1154.

Machaut, II, *Remede de Fortune*, 4237-4240.

Santillana, 409, *Vision*, XII.

The power of love is all compelling, irresistible:⁷⁵

Machaut, I, *Navarre*, 2178-9.

Santillana, 275, *Sonetos*, vi.

Granson, 66, xxii.

The lover prefers death or even a rebuff from his lady to life
and the favors of another:⁷⁶

Machaut: Chichmaref, II, 345, bal. IX; ccxlviii, etc.

Granson, 68, xxiii; 51, xiv.

S., *Deçir de un Enamorado*, p. 441, III.

His heart is ever with her, no matter how far away he may be:

Chichmaref, Machaut's ballads: clxv, clxvi, etc.

Deçir de un Enamorado, 442, VII.

He is tormented by the great desire of seeing her:

M., Chichm., 209, bal. ccxxxii.

S., *Otra Cançon*, 445.

She may do with him as she wishes, bid him live or die—he will
be satisfied:⁷⁷

M., Chich., 84, lxxiii.

S., *Otra Cançon*, 449, III.

⁷⁸ Sandras, *op. cit.*, 72, III.

⁷⁴ A. Gaspary, *Die Sicilianische Dichterschule der XIII^{ten} Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1878), p. 46.

⁷⁵ (a) Gaspary, *op. cit.*, 65.

(b) Francisque-Michel, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1864, lines 1991-1997.

⁷⁶ A. Gaspary, *op. cit.*, 39.

⁷⁷ A. Gaspary, *op. cit.*, 50.

Far from the eyes but not from the heart:

M., I., *Behaingne*, 120.

M., II., *Lyon*, 202, etc.

S., *Otra Cançion*, 452.

It is better to obtain joy by speaking than to languish in silence and die.

M., Chich., 486, "Et à ce qu'on dit, pour voir,
Motes, II. Miex vient en joie manoir
Par proier qu'adès languir
Par trop taire et puis morir."

S., *Sonetos*, 279, XI. "¿Quieres que muera o viva padesciendo
E sea oculta mi grave dolencia.

.
. Yo no entiendo
Morir callando sea grand sçiençia."

All things will act contrary to their nature ere the lover ceases to love his lady:⁷⁸

M., Chich., 357, Lay X; ending: "Verras, quant je te lairay"

S., *Cançion* 418, 422; ending: "Antes que yo te dexára"

Conflicting emotions are aroused by love;⁷⁸

M., II., *Remede*, 875-878.

M., Ch. bal. VIII, etc.

S., 433 *Deçir*, VI.

S., 432 *Otro Deçir*, II + III.

Love for an unseen person.⁷⁹

M., *Voir Dit*; rondel p. 7.

S., 411, III, *El Planto que fiço Pantasilea*.

M., Ch., 397, "Ne suis dignes, bien le say,
Lay de Nostre Dame. De li loer: . . .

S., 293, xxxv. ". . . de fablar de tí yo non soy dino."
En loor de Nuestra Señora.

The above poem of Machaut, in praise of the Virgin, offers from the nature of the subject, many other similarities to Santillana's "*Goços de Nuestra Señora*," p. 308.

⁷⁸ P. Meyer, *Romania* XIX—*Roman de la Rose*, p. 143, l. 4342++.

⁷⁹ Stengel, *Li Romans de Durmart le Galois*, *Bibl. Lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*.

We have pointed out the danger of drawing inferences from the comparison of proverbs; the fact, however, that nine of the twelve we are about to cite, are found in one of Machaut's didactic poems, *le Remede de Fortune*, may not be without significance if we remember the Marqués' declaration that he drew his proverbs from the writings of famous poets and philosophers, that he recognized Guillaume de Machaut as one of these and that he admired especially the formal side of French literature.⁸⁰ It is also worthy of consideration that Mr. Luquiens⁸¹ found evidence that the Marqués was influenced chiefly by the proverbs in the *Roman de la Rose*. These facts seem to confirm the opinion that Machaut was one of Santillana's sources—one of the mediums of transmission for the proverbs we now cite:

M., II, 9, "Car cils a l'onheur qui la fait
Remede de Fortune, Nom pas cils a qui on la fait."
 l. 243-244.

S., 204, *Bias contra* "Quel honor
Fortuna, CXLIV. Es prea del honrador."

M., II, 2, 3, *Remede* "Car chose ne puet si forte estre,
de F., lines 41-43. S'il vuet, qu'il n'en deveingne mestre,
 Mais qu'il vueille faire et labeure . . ."

S., 43, *Proverbios*, V, "Tiempo se deve otorgar
 xxxviii. Al aprender:
 Que non se adquiere saber
 Sin trabajar."

M., II, 13, *Remede de* "Pour ce que loange assourdist
F., 345 + 346. En bouche qui de li la dist."

S., 52, *Proverbios*, "Porque la mesma loor
 VII, lxi. En tu boca
 Non ensalça, mas apoca
 Tu valor."

M., II, 62, *Remede de* "Mais bele chose oy tesmongnier
F., l. 1721-2. Po parler et bien besongnier."

⁸⁰ See pages 67, 72.

⁸¹ F. B. Luquiens, *op. cit.*, 320 c, d, e, f.

- S., 52, *Proverbios*, "Ca non es la perfection
VII, lxii. Mucho fablar;
Mas obrando, denegar
Luengo sermon."
- M., II, 139, *Remede* "Car on dit que trop parler cuit
de F., 3779. [also nuist]
- S., 64, *Proverbios*, "Yo me soy visto subjeto
XIII, lxxxix. Por fablar,
E nunca por el callar
Fuy correto."

Speaking of the favors of Fortune, Machaut says:⁸²

- M., II, 101, *Remede* "Cils qui plus en a, plus li faut"
de F., 2743.
- S., 330, *Coplas* VI. "Siempre quien mas tovo mas quiso tener"
- M., II, 90, *Remede* ". . . qui plus en a, plus en pert
de F., 2475.
- S., 163, *Bias*, xxiii. "Quien mas tiene mas gasta"
- M., I, 140, *Roy de Navarre*, 83, 84. "Mais couvoiteus ont tel default
Que quant plus ont, plus leur deffaut"⁸³
- S., 56, *Proverbios*, "Que quanto mas adquirieres,
X, lxxii. Mas querras."

The well known Latin proverb, "Bis dat qui cito dat,"⁸⁴ is translated by Machaut,

- Remede de F.*, 10, "qui tost donne, deus fois donne."
l. 267,
- S., 52, *Proverbios*, "Usa liberalitat
VIII, lxiii. E da presto:
Que del dar, lo mas honesto
Es brevedat."

⁸² (a) Cf. Boethius, *op. cit.*, BK II, Met II
"Sed quaesita vorans saeva rapacitas
Alios pandit hiatus."

(b) Publilius Syrus, 628 "Avarus animus nullo satiatus lucro."

(c) *Roman de la Rose*, 5211 "Cum plus aquiert et plus li faut."

⁸³ Cf. *Roman de la Rose*, l. 5108-5111.

⁸⁴ Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, Publ. Syrus, 235.
"Inopi beneficium bis dat qui dat celeriter."

M., II, 139, *Remede* "Eins doit on le moien eslire"
de F., etc., 3787.

S., 58, *Proverbios*, "Elige la medianía
 X, lxxv. De la gente"

S., 227, *Dotrinal de*
Privados.

There are several passages in Santillana on the inevitability of death:

S., 164 + 5, *Bias*, "La vida tiene compás
 xxix, Que non se puede fuyr"

S., 195, *Bias*, cxviii

S., 51, *Proverbios*,
 vii

M., I, 207, *Roy de* "Aussi a morir avoit elle:
Navarre, 2041-2044. Nuls contre ce point ne rebelle,
 Cui la mort ne veingne haper;
 Nuls ne li porroit eschaper"

Likewise, in Alain Chartier's *L'Esperance*, 299, we read:

" . . . ce bas monde enferme,
 Ou Dieu a mis fin et terme
 Que nul ne peut trespasser:—"

The Latin lines "Dives divitias non congregat absque labore
 Non tenet absque metu, non desinit absque
 dolore"⁸⁵

M., I, 238, *Navarre*, ". . . gloire, honneur et richesse,
 2960-2. N'il n'est homs qui peüst acquerre
 Tels biens, sans avoir peinne en terre"

S., 165, *Bias*, xxxii. "En todas partes se falla
 Lo poco con poca pena."

VI

"*Miçer Otho de Grandson. . . Se ovo alta e dulçemente.*"
 From this brief notice, we may infer that the Marqués appreciated the poet honored by the imitation of Chaucer, who calls him the

⁸⁵ F. Michel, *Roman de la Rose*, 173 note.

"flour of hem that make in Fraunce" (*Compleynt of Venus*),⁸⁶ but that he found in his works nothing deserving specific mention. Granson's poems present a composite of the conceits and artificialities of the school of which Guillaume de Machaut was the head. They are, nevertheless, pervaded by a genuine poetical atmosphere and reveal a delicacy of sentiment worthy of a better mode of expression.

A comparative study of the two authors results in a complete lack of evidence of any influence. We have already discussed⁸⁷ the setting of Santillana's *Querella de Amor*, which offers some analogy with Granson's *Complainte de l' An nouvel*, and need only refer to page 78 for further cases.

VII

Alain Chartier was the French poet of greatest repute in the XVth Century. The most popular of his poems, *La Belle dame sans merci*,⁸⁸ created a furore in courtly circles, and called forth a storm of protests and poetical refutations, such as: *la Dame leale en amours*, Baudet Herenc's *Parlement d'amour* and Alain Chartier's own *Excusation*. It stimulated literary activity also abroad, as the English, Italian, and Catalan translations of the poem testify.⁸⁹ The Marqués de Santillana was well acquainted with Chartier's works and valued them as highly as any of his contemporaries. He mentions *la Belle dame sans merci*, along with other well known poems—including two wrongly ascribed to Maistre Alain—in the *Prohemio*,⁹⁰ and ends with the compliment: "por çierto cosas assaz fermosas e plaçientes de oyr." We note also that the Marqués had in his library⁹¹ a manuscript in French containing: (1) *Le débat de reveille matin*, (2) *La belle dame sans merci*, (3) *Le débat des deux fortunés d' amour*, (4) *Lettres envoyées par les dames à Alain*, (5) *Requête baillée aux dames contre Alain*, (6) *L' excusation d' Alain aux dames*. In view of these facts, it is most surprising

⁸⁶ A. Piaget, *Romania*, XIX, 1890.

⁸⁷ Page 73.

⁸⁸ A. Piaget, *Romania*, xxx.

⁸⁹ A. Piaget, *Romania*, xxxiv.

⁹⁰ Am. de les Rios, *op. cit.*, xi.

⁹¹ M. Schiff, *op. cit.*, 371 ++.

to find how slight, though positive, are the traces left by the French poet.

In discussing the setting of Santillana's *Querella de Amor*, we expressed the belief that it reflected the situation of Chartier's *Débat reveille-matin*.⁹² Another poem of Santillana, the *Comedieta de Ponça*, also reproduces this same situation and contains besides strong evidence of imitation of Chartier's *Livre des quatre Dames*.

<i>Comedieta</i> , 97, Strophe IV. for parallels to this passage see pages 73-74	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 4em; line-height: 1;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <p>"Al tiempo que al pasto salen de guarida Las fieras silvestres, é humanitat Descansa e reposa, . . . Forçada del sueño la mi libertat, Diálogo triste e fabla llorosa Firió mis orejas, . . ."</p> <p>" . . . é vi quatro donnas, Cuyo aspecto ó fabla muy bien denotava Ser quasi deesas ó magnas personas."</p> </div>
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Quatre Dames, 598. "Et de loing issir d'une tour
Quatre Dames en noble atour."

Santillana makes one of the four ladies say:

Comedieta, XIV. " . . . Poeta, mi mala fortuna
Non piensses de agora, mas desde la cuna
Jamás ha çessado de me perseguir."

Similarly, one of the four ladies in Chartier's poem says:

Quatre Dames, 623. "Mais pour entendre
Son fait, depuis l'enfance tendre
.
Fortune ne vout plus attendre
A l'assaillir. . . ."

For another situation found in *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*, 506-507, in Santillana's *Villancico*, II, and Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, I, see page 74.

As in the case of Machaut, we note probable imitations of proverbs or sententious sayings:

⁹² See p. 73.

Santillana's "Ca el fin es loor de buenos." *Bias*, 196, xxxii seems closer to Chartier's "Puisque la fin fait les euvres louer" *Bréviaire des Nobles*, 592: on 'Perseverance'—than to the Latin:

"Finem coronat opus"—remembering that the Marqués probably did not know Latin.

The reading in *Proverbios*, 49–50, lv:

"Antepon la libertad
Batallosa
A servitut vergonçosa"

resembles the refrain of the ballad on *Prouesse*, also in the *Bréviaire des Nobles*, 585,

"Mais choisisse comme pour avantage
Honneste mort plus que viure en vergongne"

Likewise, the passage in praise of perseverance:

El Sueño, 354, xxxvii. "Mas como el perseverado
Trabajo con aspereça
Sojudgue toda graveça

can be compared to the line to 'Perseverance' in the *Bréviaire*, 592. "Car tu vains tout par ta ferme constance."

For the references to the inevitableness of death, see page 82.

Achille Caulier's *Hospital d' Amours*⁹⁸—wrongly ascribed by the Marqués, and many others, to Alain Chartier and printed among his works—has had no perceptible influence on Santillana.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages, we have placed before the reader all the evidence which could possibly be adduced in the discussion of the relations of the leading French poets of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, to the Marqués de Santillana, as representative of the court poetry of Spain during the first half of the XVth Century. We have discussed: (1) The widespread influence of France upon Spanish life and literature from the earliest times to the XVth Century.

⁹⁸ A. Piaget, *Romania*, 31.

(2) The Marqués de Santillana, his place in literature, his references to French poets of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. (3) The character of XIVth Century French literature; the rise of Guillaume de Machaut and his school; his fame. (4) The contradictory opinions of leading literary critics on the question of French influence. (5) The evidence obtained from a critical study of the authors mentioned. Our conclusion is: that the Marqués de Santillana came under French influence, although that is not manifested in such a degree as we were led to expect from the Marqués' own inclinations and the whole antecedent development of Spanish literature. The influence, where it shows itself, is positive but not conclusive in any one direction, except in the case of the proverbs. We find no imitation of Machaut's or Chartier's long-drawn out amorous debates,⁹⁴ which were the delight of the period; but, as stated above (p. 72), Santillana gleaned freely whatever took his fancy, whether from lyric or dit.

Our opinion is that the Marqués was more profoundly influenced than the definite evidence shows. Verbal similarity is, after all, only one form of testimony, and the many intangible traits which aid in giving the atmosphere, in setting the tone to a composition, cannot be wholly disregarded, although they are, by nature, not subject to proof. A most important factor to consider is that Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio were beginning to dispute the French supremacy in the world of letters; under these circumstances, the fact that Guillaume de Machaut and Alain Chartier were able to leave their mark is a valuable tribute to the strength of the French literary tradition in Spain.

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⁹⁴ Gaston Paris, *François Villon* (1901), p. 91-92.

ROBERT CIBOULE AND HIS *Vie des Justes*: AN ACADEMIC
MORALIST OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

FOR a student of the end of the Middle Ages there will now and then stand out a moral physiognomy as distinct and personal in expression as if its outlines were not dimmed by the strange shadows of the background. In this background the blending of colors, crude or anciently brilliant, may have resulted in an effect of grey monochrome. But recognizing in fairness the mediaeval, impersonal, blend behind a figure, "modern" in civilized direction and control of its complex, assimilated, culture, one may yet feel that in simple fidelity to the dominating expression, character should be one's concern. Such a figure, I have seemed to detect in the writing of Robert Ciboule, notably in the first part, "La Vie des Justes," of his *Livre de Sainte Meditation en Congnoissance de Soy-Mesmes*. As the concluding rubric to the volume informs us, "Expleit a esté ce present livre le jour Saint François, quart Octobre, l'an mil IIII^e X II, par R. Cybole, docteur en theologie & chanoine de Paris."¹

¹ MS. 58, New York Public Library. My friend, Miss H. E. Allen, called my attention to the MS., an unusual one to find in America, apart from its special interest for my own line of study.

M. Antoine Thomas, in his notice of Ciboule in the *Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. ii, p. 344, mentions other MSS. which I hope I may consult at some happier time in Paris, 447, and 999, Fonds français, Bibl. Nat. The New York MS. contains a kind of bibliographic note, apparently added by a scribe or editor, as follows:

"S'ensuit cy apres intitulation de ce present livre ou volume nommé et intitulé, le livre de sainte meditation en congnoissance de soy-mesmes. Le quel livre ou volume a esté fait par Reverend notable et discret homme, Maistre Robbert Cybole, Chancelier de Notre Dame de Paris. Et est divisé ce present livre ou volume en trois parties, desquielles trois parties, une chascune partie contient plusieurs chappitres ainssi que pouvres veoir par les taibles d'une chescunes partie mises au commencement d'une chascune partie. Dont la premiere partie se commence ainsi, La vie des justes en ce monde est exercitée en cinq choses. La seconde partie de ce present livre ou volume se commence, Nous avons devant comme les justes, etc. La tierce partie de ce present livre et volume se commence, La tierce maniere de sainte meditation est sur les commandemens & divines institutions etc."

Ciboule, then, as canon, and afterwards Chancellor of Notre-Dame (*L'Eglise de Paris*, or "of Paris" simply, as it is often expressed), in distinction, sometimes missed by historians, from the temporary and political Chancellor of the University, is an academic person by vocation. The one Chancellor held under the other in direction of public education, beginning with the cloister school, much as the present Vice-Rector of the University holds under changing Ministers of Public Instruction, not always, then as now, in complete accord. For with Gerson's voluntary withdrawal from the Rectorship of the University and Cauchon's succession soon after, in 1403, there begins a state of long-drawn contest between the Sorbonne and Notre-Dame, the University and the Cathedral Chapter, whither Gerson had retired. The Chapter, then, until the accession of Chuffart, Cauchon's creature, on Gerson's disgrace in 1414, as Chancellor, and after Chuffart's day again, represents the liberal current which received its impulse in the Christian Renaissance of Charles le Sage. As an organic national expression, mystical and humanistic, the Movement ends with the Trial of Revision of Joan of Arc in 1455. Robert Ciboule, recommending the new *Procès de Réhabilitation*, and deposing in favor of Jeanne, stands out here Gerson's faithful disciple, even pragmatically.²

This reforming tendency, which includes, bound up together, measures looking to the humanization of social politics, religion, education, and even French writing,³ would seem to have derived its conformation from the habit of Pierre d'Ailly's⁴ mind, initially. A train of thought with Gerson's master and friend, an association of ideas, generated by instinct to meet external necessities out of a pe-

² Quicherat: *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*; Paris, 1849; vol. iii, p. 326, and v, p. 467. Cf. too, for the summary of recent historical researches, a summary stamped with practised political acumen, M. Gabriel Hanotaux's *Jeanne d'Arc*; Paris, 1911, p. 267, and *passim* as to Gerson's and Cauchon's quarrel. But the metaphysical and epistemological questions at issue are barely touched, p. 142 ff.

³ In the notes to my article, "Fronton du Duc's *Pucelle d'Orléans*," *Modern Philology*, December, 1914, p. 119 ff., I have printed a few of the striking and characteristic expressions of Gerson and his following.

⁴ He is a kind of Turgot or Taine to his time; men follow him because he dominates their thinking itself. He lives in even-souled contemplation of "L'Idée, du sein de laquelle on verrait se dérouler, par des canaux distincts et ramifiés, le torrent éternel des évènements et la mer infinie des choses." Taine, *Les Philosophes classiques*, Ch. xiv.

cularly rich and benign cultivation, it becomes with Gerson himself a personal gospel, passing into a program of reform. The apperceptive power of the French peasant's intelligence at its highest, fastening with exasperated sensibility on the distresses of the age, at the same time as on all the antique culture available, gives Gerson his heroic genius, his temper of the martyr and saint. He adds a fourth part to the *Imitation of Christ*, his *Sacrament of the Altar*; he harangues King and Court in behalf of Justice and Peace that once had kissed each other; he brings down Neo-Platonic psychological ethics *pour endoctriner simples gens*. His most enthusiastic adherents, hailing him promptly as "elect among the elect," are the *gens de lettres* of the Court, as against the Conceptualist and pro-English doctors of the University of Paris. Of these poetically Realist *gens de lettres* of the Orleans faction, Eustache Deschamps and his literary disciple, Christine de Pisan, stand out, Christine increasingly moved by Gerson's humanistic and royalist-democratic evangel, from the Quarrel over the *Romance of the Rose* in 1401-1403, to her final *Nunc Dimittis* on Jeanne d'Arc in July, 1429, following Gerson's tract of May (Quicherat, *Procès . . . de Jeanne d'Arc*; Paris, 1849, vol. V, i, 464; III, 248). There is Jean de Courtecuisse,⁵ a moralist of elegance in his style, and of imaginative quality in his thought, Gerson's disciple and successor as Chancellor of the University. Associated too with Notre Dame are the two Chartiers, Alain, troubled or excessive by moments, yet reaching oftener the most exquisitely just and lucid expression of the common vision and aim.⁶

⁵ Cf. Hauréau: *Histoire Littéraire de Maine*, 2d edition; Paris, 1870, vol. iii, p. 148 ff. I hope to print, when opportunity offers to correct my transcripts, Courtecuisse's Paraphrase of the pseudo-Senecan *Formula de Honesta Vita* (MS. fr. 25548, fol. 282 vo.; Bib. Nat., Paris) along with Christine de Pisan's *Livre a l'enseignement de bien vivre*.

⁶ *Illic prudentia est ipsa mens divina* (Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis*, Lib. I, cap. VIII), is a kind of motto for the School. Cf. Christine de Pisan, in her critical paraphrase of the Pseudo-Senecan, *Quatuor Virtutes* (Appendix to Teubner edition of Seneca, III, p. xxi), *Le Livre a l'enseignement de bien vivre* (MS. fr. 2240, fol. 33).

"L'entendement, bien disposé, investigue et encherche premierement prudence, enquiert voye de la trouver, et comment sa conscience en puisses a son roy, c'est a dire a son cuer, dire vraies nouvelles, et les mettre en sa habitacion. Et ou la quiert-il; est-ce es voies communes? Non, mais en la maison des vertus."

The theological definition seems to me well started here on its road to become

Coming after these writers of genius or of brilliant talent, Robert Ciboule, lacking both, is yet their logical product; he summarizes their divigations with precisely the clarity, logical order, moderation, and justice of mind they had inculcated with so touching an ingenuity and so impressive an exuberance. He is the just man, "discreet," as the bibliographic note to the volume calls him, who was the goal of all the didactic zeal of his predecessors, a liberal, enlightened thinker, an *honnête* servant of the State, a good writer. Shall I call him the first French classic *philosophe*? This sounds perhaps a little frigid, and one has to add that one's impression is not of a Condorcet or of a Cousin; the reserved intimacy of Ciboule's manner has something rather suggestive of such doctrinaires as Maine de Biran,⁷ and of such modern academics as Octave Gréard, the lay *pensée*. A new liberty has come into the manner, and a more decided intimacy into the matter. One may compare, for the difference between the humanistic and the scholastic accent in dealing with the subject, MS. fr. 1142, Albertano of Brescia's *Livre dou consolement & del conseils*, in what is apparently an early fourteenth or late thirteenth century version:

De Prudence.

Prudence est discretion des bones & des mauvaises choses . . . par eslicion de bien & par chacement dou mal. Et certes prudence espacée est sans trevail & sourmente toutes choses. . . .

Quels sont les parties de Prudence.

Les parties de prudence sont VI, c'est raison, entellet, pourveance, entour gardement, & enseignement. Raison est arbitre des biens et des maux & la raison ensuit la nature. Donc que est raison? ensuivrement de nature. Est encore ensi définie: Raison est devinitive dou bien & dou mal, dou lessant et dou non lessant, del honeste et dou deshoneste, par eslicion dou bien, & par chacement dou mal. De ce encore est raciocinacion, c'est encherement de raison. Entellet est esgardement de la verité. Pourveance est present connoissement des choses qui sont a venir, en cherchant l'esfet. Entourgardement est garde des vices contraires, garde & connoistre & despartir les vertus des vices qui ont semblance de vertus. Enseignement est vertus d'enseigner.

De la fin de Prudence.

La fin de Prudence est son pourfit, la beneurté. Car qui est prudens est beneuré & a vie beneurée. Sole prudence souffit. Car Seneque dist es espistres. Qui est prudens est atempres. Qui est atempres est constans. Qui est constant est non troublés. Qui est non troublé est sans tristesc. Qui est sans tristesc est beneuré. Donc le prudens est beneures.

Coment s'acquiert prudence.

Prudence & sapience & toute sapience s'achate par bon enseignement & par bon maistre, done, & par perseverant estude. . . . Et usage sourmonte les comandemens de tous maistres.

⁷ Taine quotes in his *Philosophes classiques*, in his chapter on Maine de Biran, what is probably to be taken as the "secret" of all the intellectualists, faith in a "lumière intérieure, un esprit de vérité, qui luit dans les profondeurs de l'âme et dirige l'homme méditatif appelé à visiter ces galeries souterraines. Cette lumière n'est pas faite pour le monde; car elle n'est appropriée ni au sens ni à l'imagination."

in his *De la Morale de Plutarque*. He has found grace along the narrow way.

I cannot speak here of Ciboule's detailed sources. The authors chiefly cited, are, in order of frequency, and importance, St. Paul, The Gospels, especially St. John's, Augustine, Jerome, and Aristotle; Bernard, Ovid, Cicero, share the honors, by way of decorative quotations. The most immediately active of remote philosophic influences is certainly that of Boëthius, generally,—in particular Book V of the *Consolation of Philosophy*. This is the token of the School of Notre Dame. The Church of their "Saint-Séverin," indeed, has an importance for the group analogous to that of St. Mary's in the Oxford Movement, or of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont for the Jansenists. The architecture, itself, and the sculptures, recalling Ravenna as they prophesy of Michael Angelo, have in their clear austerity and Latinized taste, a curious contrast with nascent flamboyance. The ideas, the transcendental system, of Boëthius, at the same time that his form makes its aesthetic appeal, are the more recommended to them because they recognize him as one of their spiritual kin, in whom also, as with St. Augustine, in the anguish of the Fall of Rome,

"By pain of heart now checked and now impelled,
The intellectual power through words and things,
Went sounding on a dim and perilous way."

In default of the "true commonweal which is God" they are seeking the consolation of psychology. Augustine's *Tract on the Trinity*, in the Victorine interpretation which has its fountain head in Hugo's *De Anima* (vol. ii, p. 133 ff., Rouen 1648), the *Confessions*, *The City of God* and, above all, the *Epistles to Volusian*, and to *Hilary and Prosper*, are then scarcely less dynamic for them than the pseudo-Senecan *Formula de Honesta Vita*, summarizing the authentic Seneca, and chiefly preserving for their revitalization the corner pillars of Socratic Ethics. In the waste of the Hundred Years' War the Christian Stoic's is the better part.

That is to say, Ciboule's mysticism like that of his predecessors, remains orthodox and intellectual in tone; as a moralist he is, with his masters, critical and humane at once. As a work of piety *La Vie des Justes* seems to me in natural sequence with Gerson's French

Dialogue de cuer mondain et du cuer seulet (vol. iii, col. 868 ff.), and his *Montagne de Contemplation*, on the one hand, and, on the other, with his masterly scholastic Latin work, written in retirement at Lyons, *De Theologia Mystica*.⁸ Ciboule keeps somewhat of the intimacy of the French works of piety and somewhat more of the structure of the Latin tract. Historically *Le Livre de Sainte Meditation en Congnoissance de Soy-Mesmes*, written in French as a matter of course, it would seem, though visibly designed for cultivated persons, perhaps young divinity students, would take its place not far behind the *Memoirs of Commynes*. The amateur touch which sometimes makes Christine de Pisan seem by comparison more "modern," and the extreme poetic sensibility which gives the same effect to Alain Chartier's later French verse and his prose, are a little misleading; both address courtiers rather than scholars. The *Internelle Consolation*, of Gerson or someone of his school, paraphrasing the four parts, including Gerson's *Sacrament of the Altar*, of the *De Imitatione Christi* (the first MS. is of 1440) proceeds by the same method as Ciboule's in interpreting long received matters by the light of general opinions held. If the translator in the one case, the author of a synthesis in the other, travels out of the record it is the better to expound the matters involved, as he takes them to be in their universal and experiential aspect. Thus Gerson pleads, *Credite mihi, sed non mihi, sed Apostolo Sancto Paulo, Senecae, et experientiae*, in his original criticism of the *Romance of the Rose* (vol. iii, col. 297 ff.). This is less the method of the modern popularizer than it is nowadays of creative artists and critical thinkers, or the highest flight of professional scholars;⁹ in the sixteenth and

⁸ Gerson here draws up the line of his own philosophic masters,—Realists, as he himself tends to become by reaction,—*qui devotionem habuerunt secundum scientiam*, "Augustine, Hugo, St. Thomas, Bonaventura, William of Paris, and others not a few," *Opera omnia*, ed. Dupin; Antwerp, 1706, vol. iii, col. 369. It was apparently St. Bonaventura's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* that swung Gerson's mind from Nominalism towards the poetic Realism which is his characteristic literary disposition,—the agent of his first Conversion,—and this is an important source, direct or indirect, for Ciboule, too. The systematic form of Victorine psychology is due to Jean de la Rochelle (Hauréau: *De la Philosophie Scholastique*, Ch. x; Paris, 1870), who incorporates Avicenna's doctrine of the soul.

⁹ It is of course the method of all properly "original" minds that are also trained ones; M. Bédier's *Legendes Epiques* is a contemporary illustration of the

the seventeenth century it is perfectly illustrated by Montaigne's *Apologie de Raymond Sébond*, as it is by Cinna, *Bérénice* and *Athalie*. It had been the way of the transcendental school of Latin scholastics from Boëthius to Gerson: with Ciboule the method passes into serious composition in French. Gerson is still fast in allegorical construction; the allegory for Ciboule remains just enough recollected to give an occasional figurative touch to his expression; a generation intervenes between the two. He begins:

La vie des justes en ce monde est exercitée en ce monde en cinq choses, par lesquelles ainsi que par degrés elle est sublevée a la perfection, qui est advenir en la vie immortelle. La premiere chose est doctrine, la seconde est sainte meditation, la tierce est oroison, la quatre est operation.

S'ensuit la cinquiemesme chose qui est contemplation, en laquelle aussi comme on servit des quatres precedentes on goust en ceste mortelle vie quel louter ou gueredon on aura en l'autre, des operations meritoires esquelles on s'est exercité. . . . Des cinq degrés ou eschellons le premier est lecion ou doctrine, et comment aux commencemens, c'est a dire a ceulx qui commencent a monter en la montaigne de parfaite vie,¹⁰ celle que doit estre la vie des crestiens, qui doit estre en stabilité de bonnes meurs. Jouxte ce que dit notre seigneur, *Sancti estote quia ego sanctus sum*. Soyés sains car je suis saint. Et a fin que tu puisses mieulx entendre tu dois savior que le premier pas ou degré c'est assavoir lecion ou doctrine donne intelligence, soit par lecion leue, ou livre, ou par doctrine ouy en predication ou autre maniere d'instruction, par language. De lecion ou doctrine ton entendement acquiert science et appercevoir qui est a faire, qui est a laisser. La seconde, c'est assavoir meditation, donne advis et conseil sur ce qu'on a appris par lection. Oroison demande operation, quiert le louer. Et contemplation le termine, et a dont se tu lez ou si tu oyés aucune doctrine, si que tu l'entendes et par ce tu congnoisses ce qui est a faire pour bien vivre, tu as bon commencement. Mais il ne te souffist pas. Tu n'es pas encores parfait. . . .

Ovid and Aristotle here support the necessity for the mystical assent, and we come straight to the Augustinian grace, in order to merit *la vie pardurable*, which properly belongs to man as the *vie éternelle* to God. His Kingdom is properly within you:

operation of a mind at once synthetic and independent. The "scholastic" mind is by comparison almost wholly analytical.

¹⁰ Cf. Gerson: *La Montagne de Contemplation*, vol. iii, col. 541, *Opera omnia*, ed. Dupin; Antwerp, 1706. This is probably the nearest, as St. Augustine's *Confessions*, VII, xvii, is the ultimate, model.

Demande par oroison que la grace de Dieu qui t'aprevet en illumination de ton intelligence,¹¹ en te donnant congnoissance de ce qui est a faire, veuille cy cust a dresser tes pies, tes affections, *In viam pacis*, en la voye de paix et de justice,¹² et tellement que ce qui est en ta volenté par propos de bien faire tu le puisse mener a effet de bonne operation. . . . Bonne operation est la voye par laquelle on va en la voye éternelle; qui court par ceste voye il quiert la beatitude. Conforte toy doncques & faytes euvres vertueusement. Ceste voye de bonne operation a son louver toutes les foiz que fatigés des labeurs de ceste mortelle vie il plaise a Dieu nous regarder par illustration de sa grace, par laquelle nous sommes alleviés et soulegiés en contemplant sa grant bonté et la grant multitude de ses benefices. Et par ce nous assavourons et goutons par experience que Dieu est souef, doulx & bening ainsi que disoit le psalmiste . . . *Exemple en particulier.* Cellui qui est ja acoustumé de faire œuvres vertueuses comme vivre humblement, vivre a trempéement & chastement, il descent au degré d'oroison et se retourne a prier a Dieu qu'il ne faille a perseverer en ses bonnes operations.¹³

¹¹ Christine de Pisan in her *Livre a l'Enseignement de bien vivre* (MS. fr. 2240, Bibl. Nat., Paris), reaching her definitions by way of "Hugues de Saint-Victor et les sains docteurs," defines this intelligence as "seulement clere congnoissance de Dieu et des ydées, et de la premiere matiere et des substances espirituellenes et corporelles." She is saturated with Boëthius above all in commenting on Seneca's ethics. One may compare her gloss on the pseudo-Senecan:

Quaecunque autem ex rebus transitoriis possides, non mireris nec magni aestimes quod caducum est, nec apud te quae habes, tamquam aliena servabis, sed pro te tamquam tua et dispenses et utaris.

O digne enseignement et parole de grant substance! Les choses transitoires ne sont-ce pas richces & bonbans humains, et les hommes eslevés es hauls estas, sont ycestes choses a reputer grandes? Certes, non. Car elles sont choisibles et faillibles et dehors soy, mais les choses qui sont entour l'omme, c'est assavoir en lui, sont dignes d'estre gardés; et que l'omme en use comme des siennes propres & quelz choses sont ce bien, le declare Boece, qui ad ce s'accorde là ou il dit: "O gens mortieulx, pourquoy [chercher] beneurté hors de vous, qui est dedens vous, et de quoy vous pouvez user comme de vos choses propres."

One must add, as chemically assimilated with Seneca and Boëthius, Augustine's *Quae retardent a cognitione divinerum*, concluding,

Et pervenit ad id quod est, in ictu trepidantis aspectus. Tunc vero invisibilia tua, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspexi; sed aciem figere non evalui: et repercussa infirmitate redditus solitis, non mecum ferebam nisi amantem memoriam, et quasi olfacta desiderantem quae comedere nondum possem. *Confessions*, Book VII, ch. xvii.

¹² Cf. Gerson's application of the doctrine. *Veniat Pax*, vol. IV, col. 626. *Opera omnia*. In French in a collection of State Orations, Paris, 1561, in the Library of the Sorbonne.

¹³ Cf. Alain Chartier, *Le Breviaire des Nobles*,—*Perseverance*,
Excellente & haulte vertu divine

Qui tout parfait, accomplit et termine, etc.

The ultimate source is Matthew, X: 22, developed by Augustine in his reply to Prosper and Hilary.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this ethical intellectualism is of a type radically different from the exaggerated affective exercise which is commonly associated with the term, mystical. It may be pointed out that this Plotinian¹⁴ type is steadily opposed by Gerson, who is tacitly followed by Ciboule, to the ultra-affective. The divergence in France at least dates apparently from the rival schools of St. Victor and the followers of Bernard. The humanism and the relative historical justice of the Victorine perspective come out in such passages as this from Ciboule's 9th Chapter,

"Quelle congnoissance avoient les philosophes des creatures et du createur."

Les philosophes naturelz devant la venue de Jhesu Crist se estudierent a congnoistre la nature des creatures et specialement des choses materieles, comme Socrates, Platon, Aristote, Pithagoras, Anaxagoras, at les aultres. Et estoit leur consideration a congnoistre la naturelle condition d'une chascune creature pour la mathiere et la forme de la chose. Et par ces deux causes materielles et formelles ilz venoient jusques a la congnoissance de la premiere cause efficient qui n'est pas aultre que Dieu.

Yet they fell into idolatry, and a better way than theirs has been vouchsafed to us. Let us consider ourselves:

Or quant tu penseras bien quel degré tu tiens entre les creatures et comme toutes ces choses materielles sont faites a ton usage et que generalmente toute creature est faicte pour toy, et comme apres les angelz tu es la plus digne creature de condition naturelle, et que tu es aussi comme president a toutes les aultres qui ne sont pas raisonnaibles, tu mediteras lors la bonté de Dieu de laquelle tu as si grant participation. . . .

¹⁴ No student of M. François Picavet can fail to have more obligations to his lifelong study of Plotinian mysticism than can be acknowledged by references to his writings alone. One is bound to mention, however, for the general perspective, his *Plotin et Saint-Paul*: "Comment Plotin est devenu le maître des philosophes du moyen-âge"; *Séances & Travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, Paris, 1904, p. 599 ff.

"Ce qui caractérise les penseurs du Moyen-âge, c'est qu'ils font porter leurs recherches sur Dieu et sur les moyens de nous unir ou de nous réunir a Lui; c'est qu'ils superposent ou opposent, par conséquent, un monde intelligible, régi par le principe de perfection."

See, too, *Essai de classification des mystiques*, in *La Revue Philosophique*, juillet, 1912.

Nevertheless, "ne te semble il pas quant tu regardes en clere lumiere sans quelque ombre de dissimulation que tu te trouveras en une region estrange, loing de la perfection divine et moult deffaillant en plusieurs choses?"¹⁵

Happily we have (Chap. xiiii) a *Nature raisonnable*, une ame raisonnable, . . . intellectuelle, qui donne au corps a quelle est vive estre de vie et le fait mouvoir, et est receptive des illuminations divines. . . . Elle n'est point plus grande en ung grant corps qu'en ung petit, et est aussi grant au commencement de la vie d'un petit enfant comme elle est jamais.

Humane education of children was so large a part of the liberal movement, and sympathy with the *petits* so prominent in its social action, that this psychological pronouncement as part of academic instruction has its point.¹⁶ For the development of habits of French speech, the following is scarcely less significant:

On l'appelle aucuneffoys ame, pensée ou esperit, ou couraige, ou raison ou sens. Elle est ditte ame pour ce qu'elle anime et vivifie le corps; elle est ditte pensée pour ce qu'elle recole les choses passées, elle est ditte couraige pour l'operation de la voulenté. Ainsi comme nous disons, Tu as bon couraige, c'est a dire bonne voulenté. Elle est dit raison pour ce qu'elle juge de vray et de faulx; elle est ditte esperit pour ce qu'elle souspire et respire au corps, elle est ditte sens pour ce qu'elle sent les choses sensibles.

The senses are next considered, the five external, and then the internal, having each its due seat in the head:

¹⁵ Cf. Alain Chartier, *La Consolation des Trois Vertus*, ed. 1617, Duchesne (Harvard Library copy):

Dont vient cest aveuglement
Que si maleureusement
Et tant douleureusement
Par faulte d'entendement
D'avis, et de sentiment
Maintient cest eloignement
Si longuement.
Entendez l'enseignement
Du createur, qui ne ment,
Qui pardonne largement,
Et vous fait commandement
Par loy et par testament
De vivre paisiblement.

¹⁶ Gerson: *De Parvulis ad Christum trahendis*, vol. iii, col. 277, *Opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1706.

Il y a trois puissances sensitives apprehensives, c'est a dire par lesquelles on congnoist les choses sensibles, et sont l'ymaginative, qui est tout ung avec la fantaisie . . . la cogitative, qui est ditte es bestes, estimative. La tierce est la memoire.

These are described in order; we are warned of their right use and abuse,—the over-imaginative especially:

Plusieurs sont qui sont trop soubdaine en ceste partie, car tantost a l'apprehension des choses mondaines ou charnelles ilz se laissent couler en malz, n'attendent pas le jugement de leur estimative par penser aux circonstances particuliers.

These apprehensive powers, however, are not to be despised; on the contrary. They are:

Comme moyennes entre le corps et l'entendement, et de cela vient que la bonté dicelles, specialement de l'ymaginative, est une tres prouchaine disposition a avoir bon entendement.

This may be seen even from the readily "troubled" condition of imaginative persons,—“Et pour ce on ne doit james faire violence a son ymaginative.” The warning includes those, not only who overindulge their affections, but also “ceux qui se donnent a l'estude ou a contemplation, & mesmes a indiscrete oroison sans prudence.”

But the imaginative, figurative, visions of the prophets and saints, and such as live humbly, are authentic and precious, good angels only inspiring them:

Or est vray que le bon ange quant il fait telle chose il enlumine avecques ce et reconforte l'entendement, il n'y a james deception. . . . On doit eviter toute elation et soy humilier envers Dieu par reconnaissances des benefices de Dieu et de fragilité humaine. . . . Et il n'y raigle generale que là ou il y a vraye humilité sans faintise, le deable n'a point de puissance.

The case of Joan of Arc is thus covered.

Vray est qu'il n'est pas possible en ceste mortelle vie qu'on n'ait aucunefoiz des mouvemens de vayne gloire, specialement et plus es biens spirituelz que es aultres,—but all these sins are not mortal, happily. Ciboule is no fanatic, even of humility! (Chap. xxiv):

Car operation vertueuse n'est aultre chose que l'affection ou

passion modérée, conformément a raison, et ne se acquiert pas telle vertu morale a une foiz, mais par plusieurs.¹⁷

And so we see that the ancient philosophers acquired virtue by practise, and the light of *raison naturelle*. Sinners even have this, yet it most inclines to the reception of grace. When we consider what it is, this *portion intellectuelle*,¹⁸ we find that it is made up of the understanding and the will:

L'entendement est la partie apprehensive, le voulenté est la partie affective ou appetitive. L'omme par ceste portion est dit raisonnable, et par elle il differe des bestes et communique avec les choses spirituelles, intellectuelles, c'est assavoir Dieu et les angelz. En ceste partie et par ceste portion de l'ame il est capable de la vision et sanction de Dieu, en quoy est notre beatitude et felicité pour ce que par ceste portion l'ame est l'imaige de la sainte Trinité, du pere et du filz et du saint esperit, qui sont trois personnes en une deité.

Sub-divisions do not dim the ardor with which the inspiration and the comfort of this ultimately Plotinian¹⁹ doctrine is grasped and applied:

Entendement, (Chap. xxxi) est une puissance de l'ame qui est aucunefoiz nommée Raison, car tu doiz savoir que ceste vertu d'en-

¹⁷ From the countless later French eulogies of *mesure*, one may choose that of Octave Gréard (*De la Morale de Plutarque*, Préface de la deuxième édition) to approach to this, for the same note of large academic experience and discrimination. "L'esprit de mesure était de l'honnêteté, ou plutôt l'honnêteté même; le nom qu'ils appliquaient à l'homme de mesure leur servait à caractériser l'homme de bien. Plutarque est un des représentants les plus autorisés de cette sagesse, hors de laquelle il n'y a, pour les sociétés, comme pour les individus, ni vraie dignité, ni force durable."

¹⁸ One might multiply the enthusiastic expression of this doctrine from Cibolet's immediate forerunners. Alain Chartier's *Consolation des trois vertus*, the dialogue between *Entendement*, a sensitive, easily discouraged, but aspiring *jeune bachelier*, and "Foy, Dame secourable, source de confort, & refuge des adoulez" (two very true French types, one may note) rises steadily to enunciate the theme: "Ne sces-tu que le hault Maistre des euvres, dont la providence ne fait riens en vain, t'a mis en corps d'omme pour toy exercer, & pour dompter l'appetit sensuel, & le mener par discipline a raison?"

Christine de Pisan, *Le Livre a l'enseignement de bien vivre*, MS. fr. 2240, Bib. Nat., Paris. Glose: "Le prudent haste les choses tardives, quand par diligence & bon sens il despesche choses fortes . . . quant par la noblesce de son entendement il est equivoise aux anges."

¹⁹ Plotinus, *Enneades*, VI, ix, 3, and III, vi, i. The best translation, the French one of a priest, Bouillet, Paris, 1857, uses a vocabulary very close to that of the fifteenth century Neo-Platonic thinkers.

tendement a regard aux choses de dessus et aux choses dessoubz. Quant au regard des choses qui sont sur elle ou des natures simples qu'elle conçoit et congnoist elle est appelée intelligence ou entendement, mais au regard de ce qui est souz elle comme less aultres creatures et mesmes les operations de tout l'omme qui sont au gouvernement et adressement de ceste puissance elle est ditte et appelée raison. Ceste puissance a deux operations, l'une est speculative ou contemplative, l'autre est pratique, ou active. . . . Et en ces deux operations sont fondées les deux vies dequoy on parle souvent, la vie contemplative et la vie active. La vie contemplative prent perfection en l'ame du contemplatif, par ce qu'elle conçoit et congnoist les choses intellectuelles. La vie active prent perfection en ce qu'on fait a autrui et pour le bien d'autrui comme paistre le povere, visiter le malade et ainsi des aultres.

After somewhat fuller exposition, "la nature de l'entendement speculatif ou contemplatif" is left to "clers studieux," less ironically perhaps than Cardinal Newman left beating the air to "the Schools," while Ciboule hurries on to consider what impassions his mind. Those parts of the active understanding which he calls "loy de nature,"²⁰ la conscience, et une autre vertu qu'on appelle *synderesis* ou remurmure naturellement contre le mal et qui demeure mesme es dampnés." His best perspicuity and finest enthusiasm goes into expounding the Law of Nature, "participation expresse de la loy de Dieu eternelle:"²¹

²⁰ Exactly the inspiring force of this conception for the early fifteenth century vernacular writer, comes out strikingly in Christine de Pisan's Prologue to her *Vie et bonnes meurs du sage Roi Charles V* (memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, ed. Michaud & Poujoulat, Paris, 1836, vol. 1):

Pour ce, moy, Christine de Pisan, femme soubz les tenebres, d'ignorance au regart de cler entendement, mais douée de don de Dieu et de nature, en tant comme desir se peut estendre en amour d'estude, suivant le stille des primerains et devanciers noz edifieurs, en meurs redevables, a present par grace de Dieu et sollicitude de pensée, emprends nouvelle compillacion menée en stille prosal et hors le commun ordre de mes autres passés.

One may perhaps paraphrase:

'Lacking any extraordinary illumination, I yet recognize in myself the same order of practical comprehension as that of the Latin scholars and moralists, and I intend to try orderly, and if possible, eloquent, composition now in French prose.'

For the whole group of Gerson's disciples one prime source, direct with some, indirect with others, is doubtless Hugo of St. Victor's, *De Sacramentis Legis Naturalis et Scriptae*, Migne, *Patrol*, vol. 176, col. 17.

²¹ Christine de Pisan: *Livre a l'enseignement de bien vivre*, MS. fr. 2240.

"Glose. Cette maniere de parler fait Boece la ou il dit, 'Se tu te fiches en Dieu tu seras Dieu toy meismes—Car tu seras beneurté et beneurté si est Dieu.'

Or Dieu par sa divine sapience a donné a chacune creature naturelle inclination a son bien et a sa perfection qui luy est donné comme j'ay dit devant. Et ceste inclination est une participation en la loy eternelle qui est en Dieu et de tant comme la creature raisonnable est plus parfaite que nulle autre, comme sont les angelz et les hommes, de tant telle nature raisonnable est une maniere plus excellente soubz la divine providence a gouverner soy et aultruy soulz Dieu. . . . Ceste lumiere, ceste loy naturelle, bonne, estoit clere en Adam en estat d'innocence devant le pechié, mais par le pechié elle a esté moult troublée et obscurée. Jamaiz n'y povoit avoir erreur en l'entendement se Adam n'eust pechié, mais par pechié ignorance est entrée. . . . Toutefuoyes la raison naturelle par pechié n'est jamaiz si obscure, maiz que l'omme soit sain, que ceste lumiere naturelle ne congnoisse bien aucunes reigles generalles qui sont comme principes moralz, lesquelz principes universelz.

This is the doctrine so engrained in French ethics that from Rabelais to Vauvenargues, in Montaigne and Charron,²² in Malebranche, and in the seventeenth century dramatists and the theologians, we seem to hear one steady variation on the theme of this *raison* which is not the same as the geometric logic (for Pascal they dress themselves as antinomies in a personal tension of mind) but which mounts on the *raison raisonnante* to a moral supremacy. When Corneille's Pauline makes her psychological constatation (*Polyeucte*, II. ii) sometimes thought a trifle boastfully self-confident:

" Et sur mes passions ma raison souveraine,
Eut blâmé mes soupirs et dissipé ma haine."

what she means is that she recognizes in herself a sense of eternal law, above the sway of personal feeling; it does not mean coldness of heart,

" Une femme d'honneur peut avouer sans honte
Ces surprises des sens que la raison surmonte."

but rather, as we put it, self-control, deriving from the principle of self-respect.

Thus Ciboule proceeds to illustrate,

Comment les commandemens & les vertus moraux sont de la loy de nature, (following Gerson's *Mystical Theology*,) *Synderèse*,

²² Cf. "Fronton du Duc's Pucelle d'Orleans," my article in "Modern Philology," December, 1914, p. 119.



Sinderesis (Chap. xxxiiii), aucunefoiz appellé le souverain indicatoire de raison, aucunefoiz la loy naturelle, de quoy avons maintenant a parler. . . . Et de ce parle Saint Augustin au second livre de ses Confessions la ou il dit, *Lex, inquit scripta, est in cordibus hominum qui nec ulla delet iniquitas*. Il y a es cueurs une loy, une congnoissance escripte que iniquité quelconque ne peut effacer, et c'est celle qui a tousiours l'ueil a bien et murmure contre le mal. . . . C'est bien signe (the remorse of the damned) que le mal est contre naturelle raison et le bien est amy de raison. Et pour ce dit Aristote, De prie tousiours aux bonnes choses selon raison. *Ex ratione semper deprecat ad optima*. Et de ceste inflexible congnoissance vient une operation envers les choses particulieres que on appelle conscience.

In treating of this application (following Gerson's *Doctrine contre conscience trop estroite*, vol. iii, col. 241) good sense and moderation rule Ciboule's exposition:

Car la multiplication de scrupules est perilleuse et donne grande affliction d'esperit. Et pource on doit croire au jugement raisonnable de soy ou d'aultruy quand on conseil d'aultruy. . . . Car la ou il y a erreur en l'entendement la volenté est sanz sa droite lumiere et ne peut faire bonne operation. Car la volenté doit estre adressée de raison qui est comme l'ueil de la volenté.

Will is finally equated with charity,²³ as having its end in the goodness of God, and in loving Him, being free to this end. The parts of the body are next examined in relation to the head, as to the seat of the image of God. Following Isidore of Seville in this section, Ciboule yet restrains himself from extreme fantasy, and completes his psychology with a relatively just, if elementary, physiology.

The work thus comes to be a sort of brief manual of general philosophy, a natural ancestor of the type of instruction in the last years of French *lycée* study, a baccalaureate survey. Conceivably the work was intended for the cloister school of Notre Dame itself. Its value for us seems to me in lighting up the meaning of the terms, psychological and ethical, since most used in French

²³ Gerson's *Dialogue du cuer mondain et du cuer seulet* (*Opera omnia*, ed. Dupin, Antwerp, 1706, vol. iii, col. 868) handles the Augustinian equation with more ingenuity and ardor, at once evangelical and political in animus. Ciboule takes it as established, apparently, in contemporary understanding.

criticism, at the moment of their academic crystalization in the vernacular. Its own method is often philologic, however gropingly. The "quarrel of the mediaevalists and moderns" if such there be, might receive an element of mediation and reconciliation through due attention to the civilizing work of fifteenth century thinkers, philology itself even playing into the criticism of ideas. This criticism, realizing the better the pit whence it is digged, can hardly fail to grow in moderation. Yet we may also take heart of grace, even in the present violation of intellectualism, from its coherent expression in the still more militant and material fifteenth century. We too must take where we can find them the Consolations of Philosophy.

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THE YOUNG KING IN THE RÉCITS D'UN MÉNESTREL DE REIMS, AND RELATED CHRONICLES

THE path of glory for the Young King seemed truly to lead but to oblivion. We may well recall the epitaph said to have been placed over the grave of his father:

“Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multiplicique modo, duxque comesque fui,
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terrae
Climata terra modo sufficit octo pedum
Qui legis haec, pensa discrimina mortis et in me
Humanae speculum conditionis habe.”¹

By the thirteenth century, we find that the Young King is seldom or never mentioned by any serious chronicler in France. On the other hand, his name, but not his memory, is kept alive in the fictions of the *Ménestrel de Reims*, intended in all likelihood to be recited by *trouvères*,² and rightly classified as romance rather than as history.³ It is true that the proverbial qualities of courtesy were attached to the Young King still, but there remained little more than a feeble echo of his erstwhile renown, and strange were the confusions about the events of his life and the manner of his death.

The *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*⁴ contains a curious tale concerning the Young King and his father, Henry II. of England. The version of the *Ménestrel* is copied, at times almost *verbatim*, in the chronicle of Pierre Cochon⁵ and in the *roman d'aventures*

¹ Roger of Wendover, *Rolls Series*, I, p. 160. Also Ralf de Diceto, *Rolls Series*, II, p. 65.

² *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, p. viij (ed. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1876).

³ *Ibid.*, p. ix—“[La vérité] y figure seulement comme un accessoire de la fiction.” On p. x: “En un mot, ce n'est pas un chroniqueur, c'est un conteur . . .” Again, p. xj: “. . . on y apprend quel était le genre de fictions et de satires par lesquelles un ménestrel pouvait plaire à certains auditeurs.”

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-14.

⁵ *Chronique Normande de Pierre Cochon*, ed. Ch. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, Rouen, 1870, pp. 5-6. Cf. p. xxxvii, and N. de Wailly, *op cit.*, p. xv.

beginning on folio 16 of the Fr. MS. 9222⁶ of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Somewhat different versions are found in the *Cronique de Flandres*⁷ and in the Fr. MS. 5003⁸ of the Bibliothèque Nationale. However, the story is essentially the following: *Henry II., King of England, asked for the hand of Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. of France, in behalf of his son, Henry of the Short Mantel. The suit was successful, and Margaret was sent to London. There she discovered that her intended husband was absent from the city, while the King himself, inflamed at her beauty, violated her. She retired to France, where she was afterwards married to William, Count of Ponthieu. Young Henry, when he learned of the fate of his betrothed, expired from grief. King Philip of France, brother of Margaret, vowed vengeance for the mistreatment of his sister. He found King Henry at Gerberoy, where he nearly succeeded in killing him. Henry, in mortification at this misadventure, hanged himself with a rein. The body was borne to Rouen, and there interred.*

The widest divergence from this summary narrative is found in the Fr. MS. 5003. At the close of the account, instead of the tale of the suicide of Henry II., is the statement that Richard Coeur-de-Lion fell in love with Margaret after his father had violated her. Henry, for reasons best known to himself, forbade his son to touch her.⁹

It is clear that in all the "chronicles" under discussion the characters of Margaret and Adela, daughters of Louis VII. of France, have been confused.¹⁰ Margaret was chosen as the bride of young Henry in September, 1158. She was then six months of age, while Henry was three years older. As young Henry had been declared heir apparent to the throne of England in case he survived his brother William, who died in infancy, the father seemed destined

⁶ N. de Wailly, *l. c.* The story of the illicit passion of Henry for his son's fiancée is found in folios 18 ff. of the Fr. MS. 9222; the suicide of Henry II. is narrated in folios 22 ff.

⁷ Ed. Denis Sauvage, Lyons, 1562, p. 14.

⁸ Folio 199.

⁹ The Fr. MS. 5003 prefaces its account with the words "Autres croniques racontent que," etc. If we are to interpret the use of the plural literally, there was more than one chronicle which presented the peculiarities found in this manuscript.

¹⁰ Cf. M. de Beaurepaire, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1.

to a complete mastery of both England and France, until his bold design was frustrated by the birth of Philip, son of Louis VII.

In 1160, when Margaret was three years of age, the nuptials of the babes were celebrated at Newburgh, distinctly in advance of the time stipulated. Clearly there is no evidence of any paternal opposition to this marriage. The only difficulty arising from the intrigue occurred in 1170, when King Louis of France became furious because his daughter was not crowned Queen at the time of the coronation of the Young King.

To explain the story of the violation of Margaret, it is necessary to remember Adela, the daughter of Louis VII., who was sent to England to marry Richard in 1174. She remained, not a few days as our "chronicler" seems to believe, but twenty-one years, returning to France in 1195, or six years after the death of Henry II. It was she, and not Margaret, who was married to William II., Count of Ponthieu.

So far, there is nothing in our historical records to furnish an inkling of the faithlessness of Henry II., or to indicate in effect that he forbade his son to marry his former mistress. There was, however, a tradition of the unlawful love of Henry for Adela, found in the work of John Brompton. This chronicle (perhaps spurious and filled with legendary and miraculous matter) must have been composed after the middle of the fourteenth century.¹¹ The story of Brompton's, while possessing strong marks of resemblance to that of the French "chroniclers," particularly those quoted in the Fr. MS. 5003, is yet sufficiently distinct to be set quite apart. It runs thus: "He [Henry] also had formerly taken the daughter of the King of France into his custody in order that he might marry her to Richard his son, Count of Poitou. After the death of Rosamond he violated her, wherefore Richard then declined the marriage. Thereupon the King himself proposed to marry the girl, and to that end recently invited Cardinal Hugh to obtain a divorce between himself and Queen Eleanor, in order that having thus obtained greater favor in the eyes of the French, he might disinherit his own sons.

¹¹ Sir T. D. Hardy: *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain*, II, pp. 539-541.

When the Queen refused to obey him, he begat numerous illegitimate children."¹²

We find, then, parallel currents of tradition in France and in England, lasting in France at least into the fifteenth century, when the chronicle of Pierre Cochon must be dated, and equally late in England, even if we exclude from the reckoning the historians who have followed Brompton's chronicle as authentic. Margaret and Adela have not been confused outside of France. The author of the Fr. MS. 5003 is the only French "chronicler" aware of the fact that Richard figures in the story. Needless to observe, the "chroniclers" have no knowledge of the proposed marriage of Adela to John, after the abandonment of the engagement with Richard.¹³

What is the origin of the story of the death of the Young King from grief over his wronged *fiancée*? The historical young Henry died from fever at Martel, France, in 1183. Sorrow may have hastened the end to some extent, but the sorrow was for his own ingratitude towards his father. "Trahite me a lecto isto per hunc funem," he is reported to have cited, "et imponite lecto illi cinereo . . ."¹⁴

It is equally inadmissible that the death from grief had any connection with Richard. The Lion-Hearted was killed by an arrow while besieging Châlus, in Limousin.¹⁵ The account of his death became confused with that of the Young King in certain Provençal and Italian traditions, but there is obviously no such amalgamation here.

Yet, if we are to seek for an historical origin for this story, there is a celebrated instance of a Plantagenet's dying from grief. The

¹² *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, vol. x, col. 1151 (ed. Roger Twysden). The last sentence is identical with the following quotation from one of John Brompton's sources, the chronicle of Walter of Hemingburgh, I, p. 136 (ed. H. C. Hamilton): "... regina enim desinente parere, multos fecit spurios."

¹³ Miss Kate Norgate: *England under the Angevin Kings* (1887), II, p. 314.

The violation of Adela was not the only species of incest attributed to Henry II. John Brompton further relates [*op. cit.*, cols. 1044 and 1045]: "In the first place, he took unlawfully Eleanor, Queen of the French, from her lord Louis, and thus became her mate, despite the fact that it was impossible for him to do so rightfully; for his father Geoffrey had forbidden him to touch her, because he himself had known her carnally while he was seneschal of the King of France."

¹⁴ Roger de Hoveden, *Rolls Series*, II, p. 279.

¹⁵ Miss K. Norgate, *op. cit.*, II, p. 384.

death was one of the most famous in the Middle Ages: indeed—so far as the twelfth century is concerned—second only in notoriety to that of Becket himself, for it had all the appealing qualities of the 'Et tu, fili mi' tradition. Henry II. died June 6, 1189, at Chinon, France. He is said to have expired shortly after reading the name of his favorite son John at the head of the list of rebels.¹⁶

It is not difficult to surmise why there should be confusion in the minds of our "chroniclers" regarding the manner of the death of the Young King. In France, as in England, we have noted, the Young King's reputation was spread too thin to be permanent. The statement of the *Ménestrel de Reims* is significant: ". . . li ainsneiz ot non Henriz au Court Mantel, qui fu preudons et bons chevaliers, mais pou vesqui; et li autres ot non Richarz, qui fu preuz et hardiz et larges et chevalereus . . ." ¹⁷ The expression "mais pou vesqui" is here ominous for the permanence of the Young King's reputation. One thing saved his memory, the title "au Court Mantel." We may see now how our personage was constructed. He was given the bride of Richard, and possibly the death of his father.¹⁸ The identity of the real "Court Mantel" was so far lost that the

¹⁶ Roger de Hoveden, *op. cit.*, II, p. 366. Walter of Hemingburgh, *op. cit.*, I, p. 135. Miss K. Norgate, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267, etc.

There was another story that illustrates the capacity of Henry II. for passionate sorrow. The Young King's death and beautiful repentance, which had a dramatic element that aroused the sympathies of all Western Europe, and even won compassion from the formal Pierre de Blois, wrung the most heart-rending sobs from Henry II. [For this tradition, cf. V.-P. Laurens: *Le Tyrtée du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1875, pp. 123 ff.] Henry waited, we are told, on the banks of the Vienne, anxious for news of the Young King's fate. A monk from Grandmont entered his tent and inclined before him without making the usual supplication.

'Well!' cried the King, 'what news do you bring?'—'Prince,' responded the messenger in a low voice, 'I do not bring good news.'

Henry fell three times in a swoon, and when he became conscious burst into heart-rending sobs. He refused to see visitors and was unable to be present the next day at the funeral of his son, which was to be held at Grandmont. Cf. Benedict of Peterborough, *Rolls Series*, I, 301: "Sed cum pro certo ad notitiam ipsius venisset, quod rex filius suus exspirasset, semel et secundo et tertio in extasim cecidit. . . ."

¹⁷ *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, p. 7.

¹⁸ Not unlike the confusion of the "valorous brothers," Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, by the troubadours.

"Cronique de Flandres," as well as the chronicle of Philippe Mousket, give the cognomen to Henry II.¹⁹

It is perhaps not necessary to assume that the narrative of the death of the Young King rested on an historical medley. There yet remains the supposition that the *dénoûment* found in these historical romances was purely literary. Only two refuges comporting with poetic justice remained to the Young King after the betrayal of his betrothed—a bloody vengeance, wholly contradicted by history, or death from grief.

There is every reason to allow the possibility of a purely literary *dénoûment*. If we examine the account in the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, or in the chronicle of Pierre Cochon, we shall discover only two features which suggest the historical Young King: first, and principally, his nickname "au Court Mantel," which properly belongs to his father; second, the statement that his wife would become Queen of England in case he survived his father. Here the resemblance ends, although it is necessary to add one more confusion of history in the *Récits*. The *Ménestrel* states:²⁰ "Li cors le roi²¹ fu atourneiz et enseveliz, et fu porteiz à Rouen en Normandie, et fu enfouiz en la mere eglise," To this statement Pierre Cochon adds the explanation "car estoit duc de Normandie."

Allusion has been made to the historical death of Henry II., which took place at Chinon, June 6, 1189. The body was then taken to Fontevrault.²² The Young King, on the other hand, was interred at Rouen, under circumstances likely to attract attention. The quarrel over his corpse at Le Mans is mentioned by numerous chron-

¹⁹ The chronicle of Philippe Mousket, while sometimes confusing in the use of pronouns, clearly gives the title *Henris al-Cort-Mantiel* to Henry II., and not to his son. (Likewise the *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*—*Société de l'Histoire de France*—ed. Francisque Michel, p. 81.) In the chronicle of Mousket we read:

19060 Mais avenut iest de noviel
Que rois Henris al-Cort-Mantiel
Fist en Engletière son fil
Couronner, Henri le gentil.

Mousket explains the origin of the title in vv. 18880 ff. (*Chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket*, ed. baron de Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1845).

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, § 27.

²¹ The King meant is Henry II.

²² William of Newburgh, *Rolls Series*, I, p. 279. Ralf de Diceto, *Rolls Series*, II, p. 64.

iclers,²³ while the many miracles effected by the "martyr" form the subject of a lengthy account by Thomas Agnellus.²⁴

²³ Benedict of Peterborough, *Rolls Series*, I, p. 303, etc.

²⁴ (*Sermo de morte et sepultura Henrici regis junioris*, *Rolls Series*, pp. 263-273.) Some of the chroniclers made of the Young King a saint. William of Newburgh, while hostile to the Young King, observes that nevertheless "Stultorum infinitus est numerus" [*Ecclesiastes*, I, v. 15. Cf. *Rolls Series*, I, p. 233]. Wonderful things were said of the man after his death. Sick persons were reported to have been healed at his sepulchre—whether it was considered that he had a just cause against his father, or that his penitence especially pleased God.

Indeed, the cause must have been very just, or the repentance exceptionally pleasing, if we are to accept the account given by Thomas Agnellus, a partisan of Queen Eleanor in her long captivity as prisoner of state. In A. D. 1182, says this faulty chronologist, young Henry was about to die of fever, when the divine will manifested itself by a splendid miracle. One of the ecclesiastics who gathered around him during his waning moments noted that he still wore a ring on his finger, and cautioned him that earthly possessions were an impediment to eternal welfare. Henry ("beatus vir") replied that he had no earthly desires, but retained the ring, not for the sake of his earthly possessions, but to have proof of his forgiveness before the great Judge. In fact, the ring would scarcely come off, a proof of the divine commiseration, for the finger was wasted by fever.

When the body of the Young King was being transported to Rouen, numerous miracles occurred, attested by irrefragable evidence, as such evidence goes. The body of the blessed martyr was kept for the night at the church of S. Savinus. In the heat of the summer, a shaft of wonderful light shot down from Heaven and appeared above the church, remaining fixed for a long time, but disappearing when the body was removed.

When the body approached Le Mans, a circle of bright light, as it were, consisting of a cross, appeared in the heavens, so brilliant that one could scarcely bear to look at it. The light shone down upon the bier, until the body was borne into the church of S. Julian. The people and the clergy unanimously decided that the remains should therefore be associated with S. Julian. A high mound of regal honor was erected for the body. Persons affected with fevers, paralysis and divers debilities were healed by coming thither, according to credulous tradition.

By the influence of the Dean of Rouen, the body was removed to that place, amidst many evidences of piety and devotion among the people. Public streets were strewn with herbs and odoriferous flowers. Many with joy and exultation, many with effusive tears, tried to display all manner of worship and devotion. Persons who touched the bier or attended the church with pious intention were healed.

After the corpse was buried, the Young King appeared in a dream to Queen Eleanor, wearing on his head two crowns. One was of a splendor and brilliancy above anything on earth; the other was less bright. Thus the mother learned of the death of her son, and was the better prepared to receive the official report of it later, knowing as she did that he was in celestial glory. One of the crowns that he wore was brighter than appears to human senses, "for eye hath not

Confused as the narratives are, they form a decided contrast to the legends in Italy concerning the Young King. The French romancers appear to get their matter, in part at least, from a muddling of history.²⁵ The *novellieri*, on the other hand, are apparently independent, for the most part of outside influences. Their tales have no true connection with the Young King, but are rather anecdotes that stick like burs to a semi-mythical name, sufficiently unknown to the public to permit of any sort of anachronism.

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seen, nor ear heard, nor hath the heart of man understood the things which God reserveth for the faithful." The crown of lesser brilliance signified that earthly things begin to grow dim in comparison with the joys of heaven.

²⁵ It should be added that there is evidence in the Fr. MS. 5003 [Folio 199] of a certain knowledge of the physical appearance of the Young King. "Mais une chose tourna a grant anuy ala dite Marguerite," we read, "de ce que le Jeune Henry quelle atendoit aoir a mari nestoit pas lors en Engleterre et elle le desiroit moult a veoir car il ne ressembloit en Riens son pere. . . . Car le Roy estoit entache de moult mauvaies thaches . . . et le jeune Henry estoit bel et avenant, garni de toute bonnes meurs."

ETIMOLOGIC NOTES

Acerbu

VENEZIAN *garbo* has the meaning ov *acerbu*, but the coneccion ov the tuw werds iz cwestiond by Meyer-Lübke in his etimologic diccionery. This seems inconsistent, for he admits Port. *lagarta* < *lacerta*. We may asume that in erly Latin, hwen the stress woz on the inicial silabl, the *e* ov each werd woz sumtimes chanjed to *a*, giving later **acarbos* and **lacarta* with strest *a*. The chanje ov *e* to *a* cood hav bin asimilativ, or du to the opening influence ov *r*; paralels ar found in Span. *ánsar* < *ansere*¹ and Port. *pásaro* for **passere*.

Acidu

Provencial *aisse* has the same meaning az *acidu*, but the form dus not seem to correspond: we shoold expect **aze*, sinse *coq(u)ina* makes *cozina* > *couzino*. We can asume that after **plattia* had developt to **plattsa*, **atšedo* or **atsedo* became **attseo* by a disimilativ chanje sumhwot like thôs ov **fauvar* > *falar* in Portugees, **deterir* > *derretir* in Spanish, *palpebra* > **palbrepa* > **plabepa* in Rumanian.² In thees werds tuw successiv silabls began with similar sounds, and a chanje rezulted from the dislike ov such werd-forms. In **atsedo* > **attseo* the second ocluwsiv woz not meerly dropt, az we miht expect from a development like *prò* < *proa* < *prora*: it woz transferd to a pozicion that made its utteranse eazier, tho at the same time it neceserily became voisless. In acord with *plaço* < *plaça* < **plattsa*, the *tts* ov **attseo* developt to a voisless fricativ. In sum rejons **attseo* lost the final vouel and made *asse*, a variant ov *aisse*. In uthers a longer retencion ov *o* permitted **attseo* to becum **attsio* > **aššo* > *aisse*, in acord with *beissà* < *baissar* < **bassiare*. The variant *aiche* (= *aïše*) iz found in dialects that hav *beichà* or *baichà* az the derivativ ov **baššar*.

E. H. TUTTLE.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, IV, 480.

² ROMANIC REVIEW, I, 432.

BOOK REVIEW

La Chastelaine de Vergi, poème du XIII^e siècle, édité par Gaston Raynaud; deuxième édition revue par Lucien Foulet. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1912. Pp. vii, 35.

The second edition of this charming poem, following so soon that of 1910, shows a sincere effort to make the *Classiques français du moyen âge* the most valuable series which we have, in inexpensiv form, for the study of Old French and Old Provençal literature. The second edition was ably reviewed in these pages (vol. II, pp. 214, 215) by Professor Sheldon. The new edition adopts corrections suggested by Professor Sheldon (and in some cases by others) in the following lines: 118, 223, 262, 720, 928. I think that the editor wud have done well to adopt Professor Sheldon's defence of the suggestion of M. Louis Brandin for the difficult passage in line 393.

The new edition is, like its predecessor, based on MS. C (Bibl. Nat., Paris, français 837, close of the XIIIth century), but frequently employs variants drawn from other MSS. The editor is able to utilize a MS. (K) found to exist at Rennes, whose variants were collated by M. Emmanuel Philipot. One can generally, but not always, be sure from which MS. an adopted reading has been taken.

A few points concerning the text may be mentiond. The variant given for l. 96: *Come de fere tel desreson* (MSS. A, B, E, F, H) does not do full justice to A, which has: *Comme de faire desraison*.—The variants do not indicate that MS. C has *Ha*, in common with A, E, H, in l. 99.—In l. 121 the MS. has *quoi*, just as in l. 252. Why read *quoi* in one case and *qoi* in the other?—In l. 155, as frequently happens, there is no indication that the text does not offer the reading of the MS., which here has *aus*, the abbreviation for which recurs a number of times. In fact, we find ritten out *en toutes lettres* in l. 372 *Entraus* and *aus* in l. 421.—The riting is so effaced at the close of lines 207, 208 that the last words are almost illegible. L. 208, for example, shows *ne*, but one may have douts of *nen*.—L. 250 includes a misprint and shud of course have *vostre*.—The reading *o* in l. 275 is that of C and is preferable to the one adopted by the editor.—It seems to me that C does not have the reading indicated in the variants for l. 206; also that MS. A reads for this line *Ne vous vaut rien li escondit*, and not as given.—The version of C for l. 329: *Quar s'il*, can be defended, tho the editor has rejected it. If it is retaind, the sentence ending in 331 wud be followd by a dash and point of exclamation: the fact that the sentence is not finisht wud then indicate the emotion of the speaker.—I shud favor a comma after *doi* in l. 335.—*Assemblerent* in l. 373 is indefensible. The reading of the MS. should be retaind.—In the variant MS. D, l. 393, one shud read *yssir*.—Cud one substitute for the word *chambre* of l. 392 the *anglet* of l. 33?—The variant of D in l. 437 shud read *cent*, and that of A in 439, *amans*.—MS. C has *nuis* in l. 454.—The form *por* of MS. C in line 544 is preferable.—Why change the *ainc* of l. 625 to *ains* (cf. *ainc*, l. 663)?—The reading *m'afi* of l. 637 requires no change.—The text given for the difficult lines 817, 818 is satisfactory, but the variants might have offerd the reading of C for the latter of these lines: *Ne puis* (or *pus*) *vivre ne je ne vueil*.—In 864 occurs a probable misprint for the reading of the MS., which is *descoloree*. Similarly, the MS. has *cest*. in l. 944, and not *cet*.—The MS. has *quar* in l. 775.

R. W.

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RABELAIS: AN APPRECIATION

RABELAIS had just reached the age of maturity at the moment when the Renaissance and the Reform began to make themselves widely felt in France. If he had come a few years earlier, his youth would have been consumed in the effort to receive the new ideas and to give them currency; he would have had to help bear the brunt of the ungrateful task which always falls to the lot of precursors, the lot of Budé and of Lefèvre d'Étaples. He appeared opportunely, when the preparatory work had been accomplished and France was ready to accept the new gospels. In the year 1530, the royal lecturers were installed by the king; shortly after this Rabelais began to give his work to the world, at first timidly, but soon with confidence.

He belongs both to the Renaissance and to the Reform. His years of *moniage* at Fontenay-le-Conte trained him for his rôle in both domains: it is there that he acquired a hatred for monasticism, for asceticism, and for the superstitious elements of the accepted religion; it is there also that, guided by his friend Pierre Amy, he was initiated into the secrets of ancient literature. He did not remain, however, wholeheartedly an apostle of either of the new gospels; he never ceased to hope for reform within the church, and he was never willing to forswear his national spirit by an unconditional surrender to the classics; he never ceased to be a Catholic and a Frenchman; he never renounced the church of Rome, and he never even understood certain essential tendencies of the Renaissance. At the beginning of his career he was one of the large group of earnest men who hoped for reform without schism; later he stood almost alone, a conservative at a time when the world was

divided between uncompromising champions of the *status quo* and equally uncompromising revolutionists. The result was, naturally, that he became an object of suspicion and even of abhorrence to both camps. Yet it is his clearest title to fame that at such a moment he had the power to see with eyes unblinded by passion, and the courage to remain firm in his convictions; he had the strength to stand alone, to be his own party. Such men have always been rare.

His position was a perilous one. It was only by ingeniously securing the favor of powerful persons, by careful rephrasing of offending passages, and by judicious disappearances, that he escaped the fire which the Catholics would have rejoiced to light beneath him; Calvin threatened him with a similar fate if he ever came to Geneva.

He was unacceptable to the humanists: in the eyes both of the Calvinists among them, and of those who fostered the Catholic reaction he was an atheist. Furthermore, he contravened the principles of the first generation of humanists by urging the use of the vernacular in literature; he was totally out of harmony with the second generation in that he had nothing of Platonism and little of the idea of art. The maledictions of the Estiennes and Ronsard far outweigh the kindly words of gentle Du Bellay.

If the humanists, of whom Rabelais was one, had little love for him, it is not to be expected that he should find favor with their opponents, the theologians. His protectors, even though powerful, were few in number, his opponents many; enemies forgot their mutual hostility to combine in an attack on the defier of codes, the heedless independent: it is amusing and tragic at the same time to hear Robert Estienne from his refuge in Geneva censuring the theologians of Paris for not having burned Rabelais, the atheist.

Rabelais could not have been himself if he had become inextricably involved in any movement: he needed room, and movements entail restrictions. He surely could not have been himself if he had adhered to any of the parties which at that time divided the allegiance of thinking men, for they were all distinctly aristocratic, while he was of the people; he was democratic in his attitude toward social, religious and intellectual matters; he thought for himself and he demanded this privilege for every man; he denied the right of

Catholics and Protestants to fix limits of belief; he denied the right of humanists to fix literary laws; he is the champion of a more complete individualism than the Renaissance had yet conceived, an individualism which if carried to its logical conclusion would mean anarchy, as we know only too well when we consider the ills of our own time. Rabelais was deeply affected by both Renaissance and Reform; by both his natural independence was fortified, but the discipline of both was foreign to his essentially plebeian genius and repelled him.

I

His great work undoubtedly had as its point of departure a popular giant story. Whether or not he wrote the *Grandes Chroniques*,—and there is considerable probability that it is his revision of a tale in which the people had taken sufficient interest to justify a new edition,—this work is certainly the first installment of *Gargantua et Pantagruel*. So we find him at the beginning of his literary life intimately concerned with the predilections of the people. He remained always in close touch with that lower stratum of society which delights in giant stories: his inspiration springs from the old Gallic root. In the first book of *Pantagruel*, which was doubtless written before *Gargantua*, the tone of the *Grandes Chroniques* prevails. In fact only bits here and there and, in particular, three chapters,—which are consecutive and therefore presumably the product of one moment of inspiration,—mark the intrusion of a more serious intention. Though slight in bulk the scattered touches and the three chapters referred to (VI, VII, VIII: the Limousin scholar, the Library of Saint-Victor, the letter from Gargantua to Pantagruel) are a promise of complete transformation of the giant story. The heroes become less and less superhuman: the giant story predominates in Book II, it is prominent in I, it appears only occasionally in III, and less often still in IV.

The persistence of the giant story is of little importance in itself. Rabelais might have dealt exclusively with giants; he might have kept his story always in the realm of the fantastic, as Swift did. Indeed, there are some indications that he still felt his characters to be giants, even where they seem to be normal men. But what is significant in all this is that, generally speaking, the giant story

appears plainly only at times when Rabelais is writing with humorous intent, that it belongs to the popular fund from which he drew so copiously, and that its gradual disappearance marks a shifting of interest on the part of the author from the sort of comedy that was dear to the lowest class of readers to a form of satire that appealed to a more enlightened public. Yet it will be always abundantly evident that Rabelais never renounced his origin, that he never got far away from the people as an artist, and that as a thinker he had always in mind the third estate.

He credited his audience with the ability to discriminate the humorous and the serious. The prologue to the first book contains a contradiction. Rabelais ridicules there those who cannot penetrate below the surface (the story of the Sileni and the dog with the bone) and also those who absurdly set out to uncover in a work doctrines which the author never dreamed of hiding there (medieval interpretations of Ovid). It may be that he wished the former to be taken seriously, and the latter to serve as a means of defence against persecution, but it is more probable that he intended to indicate by this contradiction that the reader must exercise his judgment and that he must expect to find amusement and nothing more in much of the work, at the same time holding himself ready to consider in quite a different frame of mind whatever suggestions might be offered for the amelioration of conditions.

The humorous and the serious are merely juxtaposed, not interwoven,—it is surprisingly easy to separate them,—and Rabelais could not have imagined that anyone would find difficulty in distinguishing the two. He rightly felt that when the dividing line is clear, the serious does not suffer from the propinquity of the humorous, and that the humorous gains a decided advantage from being placed alongside the serious.

In details this same means of producing comic effect is very frequently resorted to. Enumerations are made up of the real and the unreal, as in the case of the catalogue of the library of Saint-Victor. Throughout the work the true and the fanciful are side by side. Contemporaries realized that the Picrocholine war of giants was fought in a region which stretched out in a radius of a few miles about the Rabelais homestead, La Devinière. It was amusing to those who knew the country to hear of terrific battles fought in so

limited a space, and to see the peaceful Chinon region transformed into the haunt of such strange beings as those who made up the courts of Grandgousier and Picrochole. So too, the entrance of Gargantua into Paris on his great mare would have lost much of its salt if, instead of to Paris, the author had taken his hero to Brobdingnag. This episode is borrowed from the *Grandes Chroniques*; it thus formed a part of the popular tradition and was originally composed with a view of appealing to readers of chapbooks.

Rabelais, then, started with a medieval giant story of the popular type; he gradually transformed this, but in the broad lines of construction, as well as in details, he sought the simple means of comic effect which consists in setting side by side the fanciful and the real, and he did not scruple to bring humorous and serious into close proximity without any correlation. A primitive, perhaps the most primitive, means of comic effect is thus at the basis of the work; the most naïve simplicity is manifested in the obliviousness to the artistic imperfection inherent in the failure to fuse harmoniously the serious and the comic elements.

The result is not what might have been expected. The artlessness and simplicity evident here and in all aspects of the work misled many into the suspicion that extreme artfulness and complexity were concealed beneath a deceptive exterior, and that Rabelais usually meant more than he said. The remarkable ease with which the humorous and the serious could be discriminated seemed a dangerous pitfall to those who believe that a great work may not be simple, and contributed to confuse critics until Rabelais' interpretation became burdened by a formidable incubus in the shape of the enigma theory.

II

Already in Rabelais' own time the word enigma was passed and such an imputation is not easily hushed, rather it gains strength as time goes on and increases to Gargantuan proportions. In recent times the tendency towards a saner view is marked, but it cannot be said that the old conception is dead. There is considerable discrepancy in the understanding of the basis of the difficulty. This unfused agglomeration of beautiful and ugly has been an enigma to some, because it seems impossible that so great a scholar

as Rabelais should wittingly contaminate the fair flowers of learning by sowing indiscriminately among them the tares of absurdity and triviality; to others, because it seems impossible that so many pages of obscenity and corruption should be suffered to remain along with so many pages of purity and edification; others cannot reconcile the scoffer with the believer, the writer who adopts the manner of the *canaille* on one page with the exquisite stylist of the next page; others still are convinced that Pantagruelian carousal is incompatible with right thinking. The readiest refuge is along the esoteric path of allegorical interpretation; Rabelais himself may be said to have blazed this trail in the prologue of the first book and elsewhere, but he at the same time gave warning that it would prove nothing but a *cul-de-sac*. Improproprieties and trivialities could issue from the gentlest lips in the time of Marguerite of Navarre as everyone knows; the only wonder is that anyone should have marvelled at this in the greatest satirist and buffoon of the age. A judicious examination of the book surely leads to the conclusion that far from being mysterious and enigmatic it is naïvely simple and straightforward. This has already been seen in the directness of the comic appeal and in the ingenuousness immanent in a style of composition which involves the mere juxtaposition of serious and humorous easily discriminated.

The portion of the book in which nothing but entertainment is to be sought is very large. Two distinct types of humor are discernible here. The first bears the hallmark of popular medieval tradition, and is that which is commonly recognized as most peculiarly characteristic of Rabelais; here belong the giant story generally, the drunken passages, the prowess of a hero displayed in detestable acts of cruelty, Panurge's knaveries, the many episodes where unrestrained fancy has led the author to pointless extravagance, the passages whose zest consists in mere exaggeration, play on words like *coupe testée*, derivations such as those of Beauce, Gargantua, and Pantagruel, with the constant play on the various meanings of the last name, accumulation of synonyms, and other verbal effects, great in quantity, small in quality.

Much of this is indefensible from an artistic point of view, much of it is mere clap-trap, much of it is grossly indecent. Rabelais liked ribald jests and there is nothing refined about his obscen-

ity; it is not the coarseness of the Italian Renaissance, such as we see, for instance, in the *Heptameron*; it is the impurity of the French middle ages, of the *fabliaux*, which are full of stench. The Italian Renaissance avoided stench; though, as everyone knows, the obscenity typical of the period was much more insidiously immoral than anything imagined under the inspiration of the old Gallic tradition.

Rabelais succeeds here as far as the limits of this type permit. A second type, much superior, is exemplified by the Dindenault episode, by the many little narratives like the story of Couillatris, the nuns of Fontevrault, the little devil of Papefiguière. This still savors of the middle ages, but it is finer because its excellence does not lie so much in the subject as in the mode of treatment. Exaggeration and play on words are not material for humorous treatment; they do not call for skill on the part of the author; they are as humorous as they can be in themselves; they are an affront to reason,—nothing more,—a cheap form of wit. The second type is higher since it does not consist in the mere presentation of a manifest incongruity; the author must demonstrate his power by giving artistic form to the incongruity. During the storm Panurge kneels huddled on the deck, a victim of abject fear. After the storm is over and land has been reached, Pantagruel, Epistemon and Friar John are philosophizing on the folly of prayer unaccompanied by action. Their colloquy is interrupted by these words of Panurge: "Vogue la galere, tout va bien. Frere Jean ne fait rien là. Il se appelle frere Jean fait neant, et me regarde icy suant et travaillant pour aider à cestuy homme de bien." This whole episode, the "showing up" of Panurge with his cowardice and opportunist orthodoxy, is one of the fine things in French comic literature.

There are then in that part of the book intended merely to divert the reader two types of humor, the one a low type, the other somewhat higher. It must be admitted that even this second type remains relatively low in the scale. Delicacy is the indispensable quality of the highest humor, and no one would seek delicacy in Rabelais. Horace, Lucian, Montaigne, Thackeray, Heine, Anatole France: these names suggest a type of humor of which Rabelais was incapable because he was too completely of the people and too close to the middle ages. Molière was an *esprit gaulois* and some-

thing more. Reticence and restraint are essentials in the mind that will be capable of the finer, more delicate humor, and Rabelais did not know the meaning of these words reticence and restraint: they are utterly incompatible with the type of mind that could create the chapter entitled *Les propos des buveurs*. We are overjoyed by this chapter and by very many other chapters that are brimfull of life and vigor and abundance. Nobody has ever surpassed Rabelais in this sort of thing. But it is sad to reflect that the genius who creates *Les propos des buveurs* must pay the heavy penalty of insensibility to the rarer humor of Montaigne.

The serious portion of the work contains destructive and constructive criticism; the one takes the form of satire and the other the form of exposition. The attack upon scholasticism in the Janotus de Bragmardo incident is illustrative of the former, the Thélème episode is illustrative of the latter. The satire of the first books is humorous and generally good-natured. The last book is bitter; it is probable that not much more than its outline is by Rabelais; in any case, although the fourth book seems to show that he was losing much of his natural *bonhomie*, the bitterness of the fifth book is not characteristic of Rabelais at the height of his power: by nature he is certainly much more nearly akin to Horace than to Persius and Juvenal. However, though Rabelais has Horace's good-humor, the Augustan poet's satire clearly has quite a different tone from that of the robust Frenchman. Horace in all his work fully represents the ripe refinement of his age. Just as we found that Rabelais' humor continues the tradition of the middle ages, so we find that his satire is of the elementary sort that an uncultured age produces; it takes the form of caricature, the simplest type of satire, the least refined and the least artistic. The artifice of a refined mind leavens humor by delicacy and sharpens satire by subtlety. Rabelais, whose mind was simple, honest and unrefined, lacks Horace's subtlety as he lacks Horace's delicacy.

It would be unfair to say that there is no subtlety whatever in Rabelais; touches of it appear not infrequently, though the prevailing tone is direct. Some of the books in the library of Saint Victor are already printed, some are now being printed at Tübingen. The statement that there are already in the Saint Victor library books which have not yet been printed is not particularly good

humor, but the addition that the books in this ultra-orthodox library were printed in Tübingen, the center of heretical presses, is better, more subtle satire.

In his constructive criticism too Rabelais shows his unconcern with matters of artistic composition. It is evident at a first glance that his style is not uniform; he has several manners: the picture of Grandgousier sitting before his fire and Gargantua's prayer at the end of the day are composed in a style that gains beauty and dignity from its simple elegance; Ulrich Gallet's harangue and the letters are couched in the pedantic Ciceronian language of the humanists,—this is the style Rabelais considered appropriate to serious discourse, as we see particularly from the fact that it is adopted by Pantagruel in the fourth book,—the passages in which the author aims merely to amuse the reader are in the abundant, formless style of the middle ages. His destructive criticism falls in the last of these classes, whereas when he turned to constructive criticism he frankly changed his style—a sign of straightforward simplicity: in contrast to the practice of satirists like Horace and Swift, and of avowed critics and reformers, his constructive and his destructive criticism are not cast in the same mould.

Rabelais' simplicity is shown, then, by the fact that he did not seek the art of unifying his book by imposing a similar tone on all parts. It is shown further by the choice of mere exposition—the most direct and naïve means of constructive criticism—as his manner of expressing the ideas which he proposed for adoption. In the Thélème episode he plainly states what sort of institution would best fill the place he hoped would be left vacant by the disappearance of monasteries. The many defects in this ideal plan of a social republic are apparent, but not a single objection has been anticipated and answered. The same is true of the educational scheme; objections are not forestalled, arguments are not advanced; it is presented, nothing more. Exposition is enough for a simple mind; argumentation, not openly, but indirectly, subtly, introduced, is added by the more shrewd and profound. Argumentation is lacking here, just as delicacy and subtlety have been found to be lacking elsewhere.

III

As a writer Rabelais belongs almost entirely to the middle ages; as a thinker he is filled with the ideas of the Renaissance.

He was not a creative philosopher, but his influence as a thinker was extensive: he was a mighty disseminator of the thoughts of others. Though his ideas were not originally his own, he made them his own by thoroughly assimilating them; he correlated and clarified them; he tested them by his touchstone, common sense, and gave them to the world in such a way as to set them forcibly before a very large audience. Erasmus thundered against monks, but he wrote in Latin for the élite. That the effect of the *Praise of Folly* and other works was exceedingly great cannot be doubted; that Erasmus profoundly stirred the most thoughtful is of course true. But Rabelais' satire went farther; it reached the common people, it reached the bourgeois and it reached the court circles; it was presented in a language and in a style whose appeal was direct and immediate. Rabelais was not a creator, but he was a powerful vulgarizer; he did not invent, but he transmitted efficaciously.

His ideas seem to fall into three general categories: (1) the defense of the freedom of the individual, (2) the defense of reason, (3) the defense of the poor. The first two he shared with all the furtherers of the Renaissance movement, the third is more personal, though here too he did not lack guides.

He builds up as he tears down; in the place of the institutions which he would remove he proposes the establishment of new ones.

From bitter experience he had learned that the greatest obstacle in the way of the freedom of the individual was the medieval principles of asceticism and monasticism. So intense was his hostility to these principles that when he propounded a substitute he overstepped himself; he created Thélème. His purpose in this episode was to parallel the monastic system and set up against each detail of that system one diametrically opposed. Anti-monastic sentiment and the defence of liberty on the ground of the natural goodness of man underlie the structure and are thoroughly Rabelaisian. But many other notions which are brought into play here surprise the reader, for though they are entirely of the Renaissance, they are not at all Rabelaisian: the cult of beauty, refinement, social Platonism, aris-

tocracy, luxury, idleness. These are inconsistent with views which Rabelais expresses everywhere else. The explanation is clear: in his eagerness to oppose every detail of the monastic system, he was led to advance a series of Renaissance ideas in which he did not believe. It is for this reason that in a discussion of his thought it is necessary to use discretion when considering Thélème, to remember that many doctrines advanced here were introduced accidentally as a result of the author's scheme of erecting a mundane formula over against every ascetic formula, that though they represent tendencies widely prevalent, they were borrowed by Rabelais for a specific purpose. He used them as arms in the battle he was waging and adopted quite a different attitude toward them as soon as they had served his purpose; they helped each to demolish a particular enemy and were in turn demolished or neglected. The cult of beauty and studied refinement we know were foreign to Rabelais: he shows everywhere that he is incapable of appreciating them; social Platonism he could not even conceive: his attitude toward women is expressed in the words of Rondibilis; aristocracy, luxury, idleness he does not neglect, he attacks them vigorously everywhere; the beautiful vision of a peaceful, sequestered *Academe* is not a realization of Rabelais' ideal philosophical ambient, though it expresses a Renaissance dream: Rabelais' philosopher does not withdraw from life, he enters into the thick of it and, far from sighing for the calm serene of Thélème, he seeks the *palaestra* of Pantagruel's court. Of course Rabelais was sincere when he wrote Thélème: he was not the sort of man to say what he did not mean; he was himself oblivious of the fact that Friar John could never have gained admission to his own monastery; he did not realize that he had established here an ideal many of whose constituent elements he had embraced only momentarily and only for a specific purpose. Surely, however, when studying work produced at intervals in a period of twenty-five mature years it would be unwise for us to reckon as significant ideas which are enounced once, in the stress of one moment of enthusiastic propagandism, and everywhere else neglected or attacked.

It seems certain that some abatement must be made from the unconditional acceptance of the faultlessness of nature as the essential element of Rabelais' philosophy. "Fais ce que voudras. Parce

que gens libres . . . ont par nature . . .”—the passage is known to everybody; the apologue of Physie and Antiphysie elaborated from Coelius Calcagninus; Friar John and Panurge: these seem to show conclusively that Rabelais shared the Renaissance attitude toward nature. But where he is most serious and most philosophic it is not Friar John or Panurge that presents his opinions, it is Pantagruel or Epistemon; and the latter show often not more than tolerant forbearance when brought face to face with the whimsicalities of the two “natural” men: so Rabelais’ approval of unchecked instinct was not absolute. Nature bids man eat and drink copiously, and Rabelais’ heroes are not slow to obey her, but when Gargantua is under the guidance of Ponocrates who expresses Rabelais’ dearest convictions in the matter of education, he eats and drinks in moderation. The pious Grandgousier writes about Picrochole, “Dieu eternal l’a laissé au gouvernail de son franc arbitre et propre sens, qui ne peut estre que meschant, si par grace divine n’est continuellement guidé.” Rabelais is the great defender of the material life and in this capacity he cannot escape the Renaissance notions of individual freedom, joy in existence and faith in the goodness of nature; but there were moments of doubt when the physician, the devout believer in the omnipresence of God, and above all the Aristotelian acolyte of reason and calculating common sense hesitated to embrace Renaissance ideas which derive from Platonic idealism.

In Rabelais’ educational scheme the freedom of the individual is fundamental: the child is to be interested, to be made to wish to learn. After all, this is merely another aspect of the rebellion against the ascetic idea; education was entirely under the domination of the church, and the Collège de Montaigu was regulated according to the monastic plan: acquiring knowledge was a mortification of the flesh in the process of which the willingness or unwillingness of the pupil was of little consequence. To take the place of the scholastic system Rabelais proposes the Renaissance system of Vittorino da Feltre and his successors, which was already making its way in France when he was writing. He added nothing of his own, but here as everywhere served to spread more effectively than any contemporary the new ideas.

His hostility to the church was quite as much in defence of reason

as in defence of the freedom of the individual. It is in defence of both of these that he joined the Reformers, and it is in defence of both of these that he later denounced Catholics and Reformers alike. Freedom of thought, the cult of reason as opposed to acquiescence in the principle of authority,—this Rabelais demanded with an insistent courage which seems to have been little less heroic than that evinced by the greatest martyrs of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It is, perhaps, captious to complain that he held to his beliefs *jusques au feu, exclusivement*; surely the man who sent out the *Tiers Livre* in the midst of threatening thunder from Paris and Geneva was a worthy brother of Berquin and Dolet. In the first book he had already opened the attack:

“Un homme de bien, un homme de bon sens, croit tousjours ce qu'on luy dit, et ce qu'il trouve par escrit . . . Pourquoi ne le croiriez vous? Pour ce, dictes vous, qu'il n'y a nulle apparence. Je vous dis que, pour ceste seule cause, vous le devez croire, en foy parfaicte. Car les Sorbonistes disent que foy est argument des choses de nulle apparence.”

Yet, there is a lacuna here in our knowledge of Rabelais and his times which must be filled before the daring of the author of the *Tiers Livre* can be definitively weighed. The chapter entitled *Comment par la vertu des Decretales est l'or subtilement tiré de France en Rome* is considered one of the boldest in the fourth book. It was published in 1552. On September 7, 1551, the king had issued an edict forbidding French subjects to send money to Rome or to any other dependency of the pope, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of their property in the case of laymen, and seizure of their temporal possessions in the case of ecclesiastics. We know that portions of all the books were timed in such a way as to express the opinion prevailing at court. It is unquestionable that Rabelais was always ready to strike a blow for freedom when the moment was opportune, but the question remains,—Was it not perhaps only in a certain sense that he had the strength to stand alone, to be a party to himself? He selected from the Renaissance ideas and from those of the Reform, not always happily, of course, but at any rate in such a manner as to present a combination which was probably unique in the century. There is no reason to presume that

he was not honest and steadfast in his beliefs, but may not one suppose that in private life he remained silent or was outspoken in proportion as his ideas were consonant with the ideas of his hearers? and did he dare, publicly, in his books, champion a cause before it had decidedly in its favor men whose protection he could fall back upon? Surely no writer ever gave a more complete impression of power and courage, but, in the case of Rabelais are we not perhaps deceived, at least sometimes, by big talk and something which approaches, *absit omen!*, the safe braggadocio of a Falstaff?

His attack upon the church was directed against asceticism in the name of liberty, and against scholasticism—the scholastic system of education, the philosophy of scholasticism and incidental absurdities such as Sorbonnic disputations—in the name of reason. The Sorbonne was the stronghold of scholasticism, and was controlled by its theological faculty, so war upon scholasticism meant war upon the Sorbonne and upon the church.

IV

Rabelais assailed not only the asceticism and scholasticism of the church, but also its superstition. The popular attitude toward saints is roughly handled in Grandgousier's sermon to the pilgrims, in which is shown the absurdity of imputing to the saints a rôle in the infliction and curing of maladies. At the same time the folly of pilgrimages is demonstrated. Rabelais' condemnation of pilgrimages was based not only on the conviction that they were contrary to reason, but also on the fact that they took the poor away from their duties to their families, thus working hardship not only on the pilgrims, but also on those left at home.

Even less harmful superstitions of the church such as interpretations of the psalms to fit the most trivial eventuality of daily life do not escape Rabelais' ridicule.

In place of the religion of asceticism, scholasticism, and superstition he, like Guillaume du Bellay and many other thoughtful men of his day, pleads for the restoration of the religion of the apostles. "Allez vous en, pauvres gens," he says in Grandgousier's words to the pilgrims. ". . . Entretenez vos familles, travaillez chascun en sa vocation, instruiez vos enfans, et vivez comme vous enseigne le bon apôtre saint Paul." That he was profoundly religious is

evident from numerous passages in all parts of the book; Gargantua's denunciation of skeptics in particular strikes a note of deeper passion than is usual in Rabelais, and Gargantua who had some time earlier been "translaté au pays des Phées par Morgue" is restored to our world and reintroduced at this point for the sole purpose that this denunciation issue from the lips of the most respected person in the book. Rabelais' religion is the religion of the simple, honest man; it is the direct worship of God the kindly father, without the intervention of saints and without all the circumstance of ceremonial. It is the religion of the strong man as well as the simple, honest man. Raminagrobis died with calm serenity—"avec maintien joyeux, face ouverte, et regard lumineux"—after having driven out the monks and priests, vermin of every color, who were troubling him: alone face to face with his God, "contemplant, voyant et ja touchant et goustant le bien et felicité que le bon Dieu a préparé à ses fideles et esleuz, en l'autre vie, et estat de immortalité." Rabelais' belief in the immortality of the soul is shown by this passage and others,—“Je croy que toutes ames intellectives sont exemptes des cizeaux de Atropos,” says Pantagruel in a serious passage of the fourth book,—and by the well-known anecdote preserved by Colletet.

It is in the name of reason that Rabelais attacks the law courts, their antiquated and interminable procedure, their masses of testimony, the incompetence of their judges. As a substitute for all this his unfailing common sense,—the wisdom of the simple mind,—suggested the exclusion of technicalities and form, and the simple confrontation of the litigants resulting in a decision based on equity, without the aid of Tribonianus, his Pandects, and their hair-splitting interpreters.

Rabelais nowhere shows the boldness of his intellectual emancipation more clearly than in his attack on superstition, both religious and secular. His familiar treatment of the devil is in striking contrast to Erasmus' respectful surmises. The occult sciences received blow after blow from the time of Petrarch on, yet it is well known what a hold they continued to have not only in the minds of the people, but among the enlightened as well. Rabelais expresses himself in unequivocal language: the whole third book is a merciless excoriation of those who seek to foretell the future. This

book contains whatever systematic philosophy Rabelais has to offer: he suggests here rules for a reasoning conduct of life to take the place of the unreasoning conduct of life made up of superstition and credulity. Panurge comes to Pantagruel, announces that he has determined to marry, and asks his lord's advice. "Since you have determined to marry," says Pantagruel, "there is no reason for further deliberation: go ahead and marry." But Panurge vacillates: he meets every argument both pro and con with an objection. The patient Pantagruel finally remonstrates:

"N'estes vous assuré de vostre vouloir? Le point principal y gist: tout le reste est fortuit, et dependant des fatales dispositions du ciel. Nous voyons bon nombre de gens tant heureux à ceste rencontre, qu'en leur mariage semble reluire quelque idée et representation des joyes de paradis. Autres y sont tant malheureux, que les diables qui tentent les hermites par les desers de Thebaide et Monsserratt, ne le sont davantage. Il se y convient mettre à l'aventure, les yeulx bandés, baissant la tete, baisant la terre, et se recommandant à Dieu au demourant, puis qu'une fois l'on se y veult mettre. Autre assurance ne vous en sçauois je donner."

Pantagruel and Epistemon are Rabelais' spokesmen in the third book and in general throughout the work. The meaning of Pantagruel's words is clear: man must rely on his own judgment, make up his mind, and then *act*, trusting in God and taking his chances. In the chapters that follow, the long-suffering Pantagruel,—Epistemon is not so patient,—makes trial with Panurge of all the known means of foretelling the future, of substituting some occult agency for unaided human reason. After every supernatural means has been found insufficient and there remains only to seek the advice of learned human beings, including the fool, Pantagruel sums up the case by returning to the words he used when Panurge first sought his counsel. ". . . luy montrèrent le dicté de Raminagrobis. Pantagruel, l'avoir leu et releu, dist: Encores n'ay je veu response que plus me plaise. Il veult dire sommairement, qu'en l'entreprise de mariage, chascun doit estre arbitre de ses propres pensées, et de soy mesmes conseil prendre. Telle a tousjours esté mon opinion: et autant vous en dis la premiere fois que m'en parlastes." Such was doubtless always Rabelais' own opinion, and the sarcasm was assuredly patent to all who read in the

second book a contrary admonition: ". . . je ne te dis comme les caphars, Aide toy, Dieu t'aidera; car c'est au rebours, aide toy, le diable te rompra le col: mais je te dis: Metz tout ton espoir en Dieu, et il ne te delaissera point." Here and elsewhere (e. g. I. 6, II. 29) he ridicules the orthodox idea that God does not desire the cooperation of man.

During the storm in the fourth book, Panurge does nothing but weep and pray to God and the saints to save him by some miracle, while the other travellers bestir themselves and help the crew. After it is all over Epistemon says to Pantagruel:

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"Je me donne au diable," dist frere Jean, . . . si le clous de Seuillé ne fust tout vendangé et destruit, si je ne eusse que chanté *Contra hostium insidias* (matiere de breviaire), comme faisoient les autres diables de moines. . . ."

Here is clearly set down Rabelais' philosophy of life. The oracle of the bottle at the end of the fifth book, which may or may not be Rabelaisian, has the same advice to offer, couched in more fantastic terms but almost as easy to read. If this outline is filled in by the addition of such counsels as those involved in his detestation of affectation, *mépris du commun usage*, and the praise of moderation in the woodchopper story, the limits of Rabelais' cult of reason are fairly defined. ". . . me deplaist la nouveaulte et mespris du commun usage," says Pantagruel to Panurge fantastically accoutred, and the Limousin scholar is rather roughly reminded "qu'il nous convient parler selon le langage usité." Rabelais' *médiocrité* resembles only superficially the *aurea mediocritas* of the Latin poet whom he affectionately styles *un ancien pantagrueliste*: "Souhaitez donc mediocrité: elle vous adviendra, et encore mieulx, deuement ce pendant labourans et travaillans." Horace would not

have subscribed to Rabelais' "deuement ce pendant labourans et travaillans," and his *Odi profanum* delimits his golden mean in a sense which renders it unreconcilable with Rabelais' attitude toward life.

Rabelais' philosophy is eminently sane, it is an excellent guide for simple folk, of whom he was one; but it carries a person no farther than to the point where real philosophy begins: it effects the *tabula rasa*, nothing more. It outlines a code for the conduct of life,—the life of the peasant and the bourgeois. Rabelais' reason, like his religion, is nothing more than the seeing of the simple, honest man, it is common sense rather than reason. With such a conception of reason it is no wonder that he had an optimistic confidence in mankind, no wonder that he escaped the pessimistic doubt of Montaigne.

The third of the categories under which Rabelais' ideas may be ranged is his defence of the poor. Everywhere it is evident that he is thinking of the *pauvres et souffreteux*. Nothing shows the good doctor in a better light than his constant preoccupation with the common people during the Picrocholine war: he came from the people and has the people always in mind. He has no mercy on the *huissiers* and *sergents* whom he ridicules in the Chicanous, but it is evident that the source of his animosity is in the fact that they are servants of a detestable system. And finally in the words of Epistemon and Pantagruel his pity for *ces pauvres diables Chicanous* is made clear: "Meilleure . . . seroit si la pluie de ces jeunes ganteletz fust sur le gras Prieur tombée."

It was his solicitude for the poor as much as his intolerance of superstition that prompted his denunciation of pilgrimages. Monasteries with their idle occupants were a drain upon the resources of the land. The bitterest passage in the first four books is the attack upon Homenaz and the decretalists, in which the intolerance and the avidity of the church are held up to execration; especially notable here is the loyal Frenchman's wrath at the greed of the Holy See which each year extorts from his fellow countrymen *quatre cens mille ducatz, et davantage*. The physician who received a special dispensation to offer his services gratis,—*pietatis intuitu ac sine spe lucri vel quaestus*,—knew full well that all taxes are paid ultimately by the poor devils who till the soil and labor in the trades.

The significance of the Picrocholine war may properly be considered in connection with Rabelais' concern for the weak, for, although it is certain that Francis I and Charles V were in his mind, it is equally certain that he is considering the crown chiefly from the standpoint of its effect upon the common people.

The great difference between Picrochole and Grandgousier is in their relation to their subjects. Picrochole has no thought for them, Grandgousier unwillingly enters upon the war which he knows will bring great suffering, but since there is no escape,—

“il fault . . . que maintenant de harnois je charge mes pauvres es-paules lasses et foibles, et en ma main tremblante je prene la lance et la masse, pour secourir et garantir mes pauvres subjects. La raison le veult ainsi: car de leur labeur je suis entretenu, et de leur sueur je suis nourry, moy, mes enfans et ma famille.”

Throughout this episode the folly of war is shown by arguments which make it clear that the welfare of the common people absorbs the author's thought. Already in the second book when recounting the burlesque war against the Dipsodes, he had found the opportunity to make manifest his opinion of bellicose rulers: “. . . ces diables de rois icy ne sont que veaulx, et ne savent ny ne valent rien, sinon a faire des mauix es pauvres subjects, et à troubler tout le monde par guerre, pour leur inique et detestable plaisir.”

Many a humanist had anticipated him in the denunciation of war, especially war for conquest, and in the espousal of the cause of the poor, but in no one of them is there felt the note of deep personal concern, of humanitarianism, springing from sympathetic observation and based on practical knowledge, that is to be found in Rabelais. There is nothing academic or theoretical in his attitude towards life: he read the theorists, ancient and modern, he borrowed his ideas from them, but in his application of these ideas he is guided not by the philosophers, but by his experience: that is why, though there is nothing new in him, all he says has the appearance of original discovery; the theories of others have been vivified by personal experience.

The Picrochole episode is worked out with Rabelais' characteristic naïveté. The contrast between Grandgousier and Picrochole is complete: there are none of the nuances which a student of char-

acter introduces with artistic intention; Picrochole is all bad, Grandgousier all good; Picrochole rushes into the war unreasoningly, Grandgousier with prayers and with lamentations that such a thing should be unavoidable; Picrochole is badly advised, Grandgousier well advised; Picrochole's subjects are unfaithful, Grandgousier's subjects so faithful that they refuse to accept rewards for valor until the war is over.

It is noteworthy that Grandgousier resembles a good country squire to such an extent that many commentators have insisted upon finding in him a portrait of the author's own father. The fact is that Rabelais' ideal king, in whom simplicity was the essential quality, did not differ from a good country squire. The piety of Grandgousier is Rabelais' own, as it has already been defined. In his treatment of the pilgrims Grandgousier is kind and gentle; so too is Gargantua in dealing with the prisoners. Rabelais here reads to princes a sermon on clemency, which later he reenforces by a direct assault on Machiavellianism. His belief is clearly that simplicity and kindness on the part of the king make a happy loyal peasantry, and consequently a secure and happy crown. "Nos peres . . . ont, pour signe memorial des triomphes et victoires, plus voluntiers erigé trophées et monumens es coeurs des vaincus, par grace, que es terres par eux conquêtes, par architecture," he says, paraphrasing Pliny.

Not only in the episode of the Picrocholine war, but throughout the book he is actuated by a spirit of democracy and humanitarianism. With these he combines their indispensable attendant, economy. Grandgousier is a *vilain* according to Picrochole's counsellors because he is economical: "un noble prince," they say, "n'a jamais un sou. Thesauriser est fait de vilain."

Utilitarianism almost inevitably follows in the wake of humanitarianism. Rabelais' hostility to monasticism was stirred by his longing for liberty. His attack on monks is, however, on utilitarian and humanitarian grounds. Monks are mere consumers, not producers: they are an economic waste, they are, he says somewhere, *un poids inutile sur la terre*. They are lazy and useless: they do not work the earth like the peasant, nor defend the country like the soldier, nor cure the sick like the physician, nor preach and instruct like the evangelical doctor and the pedagogue, nor deal in necessary

commodities like the merchant. You object that their utility lies in the fact that they pray for us. Not a bit of it! They disturb all the neighborhood by the clanging of their bells; they murmur a lot of legends and psalms that they do not understand,—all this is scoffing at God, not praying to him. They pray not for us but for fear of losing their bread and rich soup. Let us get rid of these monks and replace them by such men as Friar John.

Friar John is Rabelais' protest against asceticism, which banishes joy from life. He is "honest, joyous, resolute, *bon compagnon*." He is free from the bigotry and hypocrisy which seemed to be natural consequences of a religion that set so much store by form, and did not content itself with the direct worship of Rabelais' own religion. But more than this he is the embodiment of Rabelais' humanitarianism and his utilitarianism. He "labors and works the soil, he is never idle, he defends the oppressed, he aids the suffering."

"Jamais je ne suis oisif," he says of himself. He is an *acting* monk. Action is the pivotal tenet in Rabelais' creed. Monks are the world's greatest sinners because they do not act, are, therefore, useless, and a burden to the poor and the weak.

V

How much place the Renaissance faith in the joy of living, which is bound up with the notion of the goodness of nature, occupies in Rabelais is well known. All of that part of the book, a very large part, which was written with no more serious purpose than the diversion of the reader, is an expression of Rabelais' personal participation in the joy of living. The strongest impression one carries away from a reading of the book is the result of this confident profession of faith in the joy of merely living. It must be confessed that it is the joy of the lower man, partaking only slightly of the spiritual joy of the higher man. Panurge is an animal; he has all the instincts of an animal including superstition, orthodoxy and cowardice: these particulars Rabelais throws in as sidelights; his chief characteristic,—he is the last of the goliards—is an unreasoning thirst for the grosser pleasures of life. He is the natural man of the Renaissance, filled with the joy of living, as Rabelais conceived him. The idea of animality which Rabelais introduced from the

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Here is clearly set down Rabelais’ philosophy of life. The oracle of the bottle at the end of the fifth book, which may or may not be Rabelaisian, has the same advice to offer, couched in more fantastic terms but almost as easy to read. If this outline is filled in by the addition of such counsels as those involved in his detestation of affectation, *mépris du commun usage*, and the praise of moderation in the woodchopper story, the limits of Rabelais’ cult of reason are fairly defined. “. . . me deplaist la nouveaulte et mespris du commun usage,” says Pantagruel to Panurge fantastically accoutred, and the Limousin scholar is rather roughly reminded “qu’il nous convient parler selon le langage usité.” Rabelais’ *mediocrité* resembles only superficially the *aurea mediocritas* of the Latin poet whom he affectionately styles *un ancien pantagrueliste*: “Souhaitez donc mediocrité: elle vous adviendra, et encore mieulx, deuement ce pendant labourans et travaillans.” Horace would not

acter introduces with artistic intention; Picrochole is all bad, Grandgousier all good; Picrochole rushes into the war unreasoningly, Grandgousier with prayers and with lamentations that such a thing should be unavoidable; Picrochole is badly advised, Grandgousier well advised; Picrochole's subjects are unfaithful, Grandgousier's subjects so faithful that they refuse to accept rewards for valor until the war is over.

It is noteworthy that Grandgousier resembles a good country squire to such an extent that many commentators have insisted upon finding in him a portrait of the author's own father. The fact is that Rabelais' ideal king, in whom simplicity was the essential quality, did not differ from a good country squire. The piety of Grandgousier is Rabelais' own, as it has already been defined. In his treatment of the pilgrims Grandgousier is kind and gentle; so too is Gargantua in dealing with the prisoners. Rabelais here reads to princes a sermon on clemency, which later he reenforces by a direct assault on Machiavellianism. His belief is clearly that simplicity and kindness on the part of the king make a happy loyal peasantry, and consequently a secure and happy crown. "Nos peres . . . ont, pour signe memorial des triomphes et victoires, plus voluntiers erigé trophées et monumens es coeurs des vaincus, par grace, que es terres par eux conquestées, par architecture," he says, paraphrasing Pliny.

Not only in the episode of the Picrocholine war, but throughout the book he is actuated by a spirit of democracy and humanitarianism. With these he combines their indispensable attendant, economy. Grandgousier is a *vilain* according to Picrochole's counsellors because he is economical: "un noble prince," they say, "n'a jamais un sou. Thesauriser est fait de vilain."

Utilitarianism almost inevitably follows in the wake of humanitarianism. Rabelais' hostility to monasticism was stirred by his longing for liberty. His attack on monks is, however, on utilitarian and humanitarian grounds. Monks are mere consumers, not producers: they are an economic waste, they are, he says somewhere, *un poids inutile sur la terre*. They are lazy and useless: they do not work the earth like the peasant, nor defend the country like the soldier, nor cure the sick like the physician, nor preach and instruct like the evangelical doctor and the pedagogue, nor deal in necessary

commodities like the merchant. You object that their utility lies in the fact that they pray for us. Not a bit of it! They disturb all the neighborhood by the clanging of their bells; they murmur a lot of legends and psalms that they do not understand,—all this is scoffing at God, not praying to him. They pray not for us but for fear of losing their bread and rich soup. Let us get rid of these monks and replace them by such men as Friar John.

Friar John is Rabelais' protest against asceticism, which banishes joy from life. He is "honest, joyous, resolute, *bon compagnon*." He is free from the bigotry and hypocrisy which seemed to be natural consequences of a religion that set so much store by form, and did not content itself with the direct worship of Rabelais' own religion. But more than this he is the embodiment of Rabelais' humanitarianism and his utilitarianism. He "labors and works the soil, he is never idle, he defends the oppressed, he aids the suffering."

"Jamais je ne suis oisif," he says of himself. He is an *acting* monk. Action is the pivotal tenet in Rabelais' creed. Monks are the world's greatest sinners because they do not act, are, therefore, useless, and a burden to the poor and the weak.

V

How much place the Renaissance faith in the joy of living, which is bound up with the notion of the goodness of nature, occupies in Rabelais is well known. All of that part of the book, a very large part, which was written with no more serious purpose than the diversion of the reader, is an expression of Rabelais' personal participation in the joy of living. The strongest impression one carries away from a reading of the book is the result of this confident profession of faith in the joy of merely living. It must be confessed that it is the joy of the lower man, partaking only slightly of the spiritual joy of the higher man. Panurge is an animal; he has all the instincts of an animal including superstition, orthodoxy and cowardice: these particulars Rabelais throws in as sidelights; his chief characteristic,—he is the last of the goliards—is an unreasoning thirst for the grosser pleasures of life. He is the natural man of the Renaissance, filled with the joy of living, as Rabelais conceived him. The idea of animality which Rabelais introduced from the

spirit of the *fabliaux* is inherent in the Renaissance conception, but was generally mitigated by a cloak of refinement. Rabelais' is assuredly not a high conception but it has the merit of frankness, and it is effective in that it is the conception that will appeal to the great mass of men and thus strike a final blow at the enemy of the age, medieval asceticism. It will have the effect that the *fabliaux* could not have because they came at a time when the world was not prepared to listen, and because it is expressed in a manner to compel attention. Rabelais himself was an indefatigable worker, joy in living meant to him hard work relieved more or less frequently by complete relaxation, but, though for the thoughtful reader the book plainly contains an encouragement to lead an active life, the great reading public will find in it an encouragement to lead a life of happy idleness, with plenty of drink and jovial companions. Friar John and Panurge helped powerfully in the reaction against asceticism, but they, not unnaturally, earned for their creator the reputation which prompted the unsavory epitaph that Ronsard flung after him.

What Rabelais embodies as a general theory in Panurge he applies specifically in Friar John to the monastic system. The ordinary monk is undesirable, for he is a denial of the right of man to enjoy life. Friar John is as different from the ordinary monk as Thélème is from the ordinary monastery. He is *clerc jusques aux dents en matiere de breviaire*, scrupulous in his observance of religious form, but hopelessly ignorant. "C'est chose monstrueuse voir moine savant" strikes one as strange, coming as it does from a man thoroughly convinced of the worth of knowledge for its own sake. The anomaly may be explained on the assumption that Rabelais believed learning should be reserved for the well-born and for professional scholars; such a view, however, is not Rabelaisian, though it is consistent with the ideals of the Renaissance. It may be that Rabelais hoped to see learning transferred from the clergy to the laity. But it is probable that the humorist has caused the humanist to blunder: Friar John ignorant is much more amusing than Friar John learned. And too, as in the case of Thélème, Rabelais seems to have overstepped his mark, in his eagerness falling into the common error of naïve controversialists and adopting the simple scheme of replacing the object of his aversion by a

substitute in every respect its converse, not careful to see to it that the substitute be in itself unimpeachable and consistent with all the other parts of his philosophic system: because the ordinary monk pretended to be learned, Rabelais made his ideal monk frankly ignorant, forgetting that as a democratic humanist he believed in as wide a diffusion of knowledge as possible. Friar John is disgustingly coarse; he steals, and swears freely. But he is always jolly and, as Epistemon says, "il nous esbaudit ici tous." This faculty of bringing joy to the world Rabelais finds of far more use to humanity than the insincere prayers and the pretended learning of the typical monk. So too Friar John is not ill-clad, *déchiré*, and dirty in the manner of the usual monk for he does not, like the latter, wish it to be thought that he despises the joy of life. And he does not by a life of inaction add to the number of drones who eat and do not work, thus increasing the demand while not in proportion contributing to the supply, and forcing the workers to take each so much more upon his shoulders. Monasteries brought heavy exactions and threats of hell to the peasants. Friar John brought a helping hand and a gospel of joy.

Rabelais is an inveterate jester, which is merely another way of saying that the joy of life was dear to him. Even in the most serious passages, where he leaves behind the humorous so far as to change his style, a joke is likely to penetrate.

It is surely with some seriousness that he says his book is intended not for *caphards*, who find no pleasure in life, but for the jolly *buveurs* who seek joy, and for the sick who need the encouragement of pleasant entertainment. Though he is not at all the gay, convivial monk that tradition painted him, he is surely the jovial humanitarian and ardent optimist who considered joy the inalienable birthright of man, the solace of humanity.

An appreciation of the joy of living is an attribute of optimists. Rabelais certainly always looked on the bright side of things. He was living at a time of intense optimistic enthusiasm, the enthusiasm of the humanists, of the new birth, a time when the indefinite progress and ultimate perfection of the world seemed assured. When Gargantua was young, "Le temps estoit encores tenebreux, et sentant l'infelicité et calamité des Gothz," but now, he writes to his son, "Tout le monde est plein de gens savans . . . et m'est advis que, ny

au temps de Platon ny de Ciceron, ny de Papinian, n'estoit telle commodité d'estude qu'on y voit maintenant."

Rabelais' optimism is so complete that he reaches by that route the point at which the Stoics arrive by quite a different one. "Tous les biens que le ciel couvre et que la terre contient en toutes ses dimensions, hauteur, profondeur, longitude et latitude, ne sont dignes d'emouvoir nos affections et troubler nos sens et esprits" (III. 2, 1546). Stoicism did not lead Rabelais to this doctrine, nor is there in it any sign of his study of the classics; the humanists and Montaigne were guided to a similar conclusion by the ancients, Rabelais followed in the track of Friar John and Panurge: his thirst for liberty was innate, joy in living and optimism are the result of liberty achieved, and show the way to Rabelaisian stoicism. Pantagruelism in the first book is made up almost entirely of jovial devotion to the bottle. As the books succeed one another the character of Pantagruel is transformed: he is worthy of little respect in II, in III he is far wiser, in IV it is evident that the author is investing him with the attributes of his ideal prince. This is not so much because Rabelais is growing more thoughtful; it is because, encouraged by success, he throws more and more of his serious thoughts into his work. Pantagruelism becomes less simple; gayety and optimism still remain essential elements, but they are relegated to the status of inviolable postulates and issue triumphantly in a philosophic formula, which differs in derivation but not in outlook from the stoic superiority to contingencies: "... Pantagruelisme, vous entendez que c'est certaine gayeté d'esprit conficte en mespris des choses fortuites" (IV, prologue to edition of 1552). The intermediate step between this philosophic serenity and the first conception of true wisdom: "... en pantagruelisant, c'est à dire, beuvans à gré, et lisans les gestes horricques de Pantagruel" (I. 1, 1532) is contained in the prologue of the third book (1546): "... propriété individuelle, laquelle nos majeurs nommoient Pantagruelisme, moyennant laquelle jamais en mauvaise partie ne prendront choses quelconques ilz cognoistront sourdre de bon, franc, et loyal courage."

VI

Rabelais was a social reformer. Social reformers do not concern themselves with the intellectual health of the individual and of

the community but direct their attention to the material well-being of the masses. The church had sanctioned an abuse which tended to disrupt the family: a child could marry without the consent of the parents. Rabelais protests against this vigorously. When Pantagruel asks permission to accompany Panurge on the voyage to consult the oracle of the bottle, Gargantua readily assents and adds that it would be well for Pantagruel also to think of marrying. Pantagruel agrees and dutifully adds that he would prefer to die rather than marry contrary to his father's wishes. Gargantua is well pleased with his son's attitude and cries out vigorously against certain *pastophores taulpetiers* who so far pass beyond the proper bounds of their functions as to meddle in affairs which do not concern them, with the result that a villain could steal from her home any girl and marry her, while the father was powerless to interfere. Such a villain, Gargantua declares, ought to be put to death whether or not he has acted with the consent of the girl. Rabelais' opinion of women is not a high one: it is expressed in the first person: ". . . *supplementum supplementi chronicorum* dit que Gargamelle y mourut de joye; je n'en sçay rien de ma part, et bien peu me soucie ny d'elle ny d'autre," and in the words of Rondibilis, the physician: "Quand je dis femme, je dis un sexe tant . . . imperfaict, que nature me semble . . . s'estre esgarée de ce bon sens, par lequel elle avoit créé et formé toutes choses, quand elle a basti la femme." He certainly penned with conviction Panurge's incredulous rejoinder to Hippothadée's hypothetical picture of conjugal fidelity: "Vous voulez donc . . . que j'espouse la femme forte, descrite par Salomon? Elle est morte, sans point de faute." It is not his interest in the fate of the girl that prompts his condemnation of the *pastophores taulpetiers*, it is his concern for the authority of the father.

The question of home life, of the family, touched him deeply; his interests are the interests of the social reformer, whose watchword is practical efficiency. His ideal is a thoroughly honest and a thoroughly bourgeois one: all the elements of the state from palace to cabin should be regulated according to the principles of plain justice and the strictest economy: a bourgeois king, simple in habits, devoted to his subjects; just law courts from which all the rigmarole of the Roman law has been excised, and in which decisions

are made on the basis of equity after the litigants have been called in and have stated their case; a simple, true religion from which all superstition has been cut away, and finally a bourgeois home in which the man is master over wife and children.

All of this shows how completely Rabelais drew his inspiration from the people. His preoccupation with the details of daily life, his humanitarianism, his democracy, his utilitarianism are signs of close contact with the tillers of the soil and humble bourgeois. A large part of his humor, his characteristic type of humor, springs from the popular tradition. His love for his native Chinonais and *le jardin de France, c'est Touraine*, his defence of *notre langue vulgaire*, the one implying a love for the smaller *patrie*, the other love for the broader, are indications of the awakening of a national consciousness which in Rabelais, as in Du Bellay and Ronsard, betoken a popular chauvinism laudable in itself but marking the end of the Renaissance dream of cosmopolitanism. National patriotism is a virtue, but it is unphilosophic; it is to be hoped that it will never disappear, for that higher virtue which the Renaissance under the spell of the classics could do no more than adumbrate is only a chimaera. Chauvinism is the product of popular recalcitrance to that which is foreign, inability to see beyond one's frontiers, the constricted horizon of the proverbial insular Englishman, of the German who sees virtue in no culture that is not German, of the American who decides after a glimpse of the world that 'America is good enough for him': this is the attitude of Rabelais, the attitude of the crowd, not the broad cosmopolitanism, the far-searching vision, of Montaigne, of Goethe, of Arnold, of Lowell. Rabelais' estimation of women is medieval and vulgar: he accepts the deductions of the *fabliaux* and the farces. His power springs directly from the soil. He is a peasant of genius. He remains close to the earth and is rarely, very rarely, carried into the sphere of the ideal except when the ideal has definite, practical bearing on the things of life. All his characters, even his kings and queens, are peasants or bourgeois, all his ideas are plebeian.

His excellence as a writer and the limitations of his excellence are alike traceable to the vulgarity of his source of inspiration. He sees the externals of life as no one else has ever seen them: his scenes live; his narrations and in general his narrative style have

the vitality of visible action; his diction has all the brilliant coloring and garrulity of the people; he has sketched the outline of unforgettable figures. He pays the penalty of those who draw only from natural well-springs: he lacks elevation in thought and feeling; his buffoonery is not relieved and redeemed by anything like the noble choruses of the *Clouds* and the *Birds*. He lacks delicacy and he is insensible to every aesthetic appeal. He is notoriously destitute of that good taste which is not, as some modern critics would have us believe, sheer instinct. There is no real poetry in his work, no poetry of the life of man, no poetry of nature. He seems never to have seen a flower, except as a botanizer. He dedicates the third book to Marguerite of Navarre out of gratitude to the mother of the Renaissance, but her Platonic mysticism was utterly alien to his honest common sense. He had no respect for women,—there is not a single real woman in his book!—and thus lost all the charm that the Renaissance cult of women brought into life and into society. The graceful picture of a princess which some critics find in Niphleseth, Queen of the Andouilles, will not bear the test of even a cursory examination. He travelled widely but saw none of the beauties of the countries in which he travelled; he was as glad to get back to France as the typical American is to get back to the United States. He had no feeling whatever for art; just as many other Renaissance ideas which he did not share were borrowed for Thélème, so the architecture of the abbey was borrowed from the palaces he saw going up about him.

“Et lors curieusement contemplions l'assiette et beauté de Florence, la structure du dome, la sumptuosité des temples et palais magnifiques. Et entrions en contention qui plus aptement les extolleroit par louanges condignes: quand un moine d'Amiens, nommé Bernard Lardon, comme tout fasché nous dist: Je ne sçay que diantre vous trouvez icy tant à louer. J'ay aussi bien contemplé comme vous, et ne suis aveugle plus que vous. Et puis: Qu'est ce? Ce sont belles maisons. C'est tout. Mais Dieu . . . soit avec nous, en toute ceste ville encores n'ay je veu une seule routisserie, et y ay curieusement regardé et considéré. . . . Dedans Amiens, en moins de chemin . . . qu'avons fait en nos contemplations, je vous pourrois monstrier plus de quatorze routisseries antiques et aromatisantes. Je ne sçay quel plaisir avez pris voyans . . . les porcs espicz et austruches ou palais du seigneur Philippe Strossi. Par ma foi . . .

j'aimerois mieulx voir un bon et gras oison en broche. Ces porphyres, ces marbes sont beaux. Je n'en dis point de mal. Mais les darioles d'Amiens sont meilleures à mon goust. Ces statues sont bient faites, je le veux croire. Mais . . . les jeunes bachelettes de nos pays sont mille fois plus advenantes."

Incomprehensibly enough, commentators have been unwilling to see that Bernard Lardon is another name for François Rabelais, who is here making his declaration of independence.

VII

Though it is a simple matter to show that Rabelais does not represent the best in thought and feeling, his greatness cannot be contested. The tenth muse, to which the twentieth century is consecrated, the muse of popular inspiration,—*vox populi vox dei*,—carries him aloft on the highest flight she has yet made.

As a philosopher he dwelt in borrowed ideas; as a writer, however, he was a creator; not only on the formal side was he the father of French prose, but men of the most varied inclinations found inspiration in him. It is not surprising that La Fontaine, Balzac, and Anatole France have been his disciples, but when it is discovered that spirits as far removed from these as Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Flaubert and Emerson appreciated *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, the extent of Rabelais' influence is apparent.

The richness of his vocabulary has been universally admired. One or two terms are not enough for him, a dozen or fifty are thrown in pell-mell from an apparently inexhaustible store. One always has the impression that he has never used all the words and images at his command. It is not true that he never abuses his remarkable faculty of adding more and more color to an already well expressed idea. The sentence starts simply enough, but soon the accumulation of details, words and expressions begins; the reader is carried on by a mighty current of verbiage until he is lucky if he is not swamped in the sea. Nobody, except perhaps Hugo, has ever taken such a manifest pleasure in words, mere words for their own sake. The sound of the unending flow seems to have fascinated Rabelais, and it usually fascinates the reader.

Not satisfied with the common patrimony of all Frenchmen of Paris, Rabelais accepts freely whatever provincial expressions come

into his head and he does not scruple to borrow from all the other languages he knows, gallicising foreign expressions, ancient and modern, with the most serene complacency.

The French language had not yet been created. Rabelais, so far as language is concerned, was still living in the middle ages. A primitive age is interested chiefly in externals, in scenes and descriptions; hence its uncritical delight is mere words. A more thoughtful age seeks not so much a rich as an exact language. The middle ages and Rabelais gloried in a rich language. The *Pléiade*, Malherbe and the seventeenth century made of French an exact language well adapted to the expression of thought, but through some inexplicable blindness they were not careful to do this without sacrificing the picturesque and the highly colored in it. The French language was never richer than in the hands of Rabelais, it became poorer in Du Bellay and Ronsard and still poorer in the seventeenth century. Compare Voltaire with Rabelais and Montaigne, neither of whom could ever have been willing to accept the reforms of the *Pléiade*. The French language of the seventeenth century was sufficient for Corneille and even for Racine; La Fontaine, however, chafed under its limitations. Victor Hugo rebelled, but his rebellion was not fruitful. The language can never regain the birthright that was so inconsiderately thrown away.

Rabelais might have been the creator of the French language. There was in his work the rough rock from which a language might have been hewn, but unhappily the trimming was done by men who saw only his faults and could not realize that his style glowed with the fire of life, that he summed up the French middle ages as Dante did the Italian. If the French Renaissance had not soon wrapped itself in the formalism from which the nation will probably never escape, the true French language, the language of Rabelais organized out of the chaos in which he left it, would be the language of France, just as the language of Dante is the language of Italy. French prose might have suffered but French poetry would have made an infinite gain.

The *Pléiade* sought form above all things and Rabelais was formless. Ronsard hated Rabelais doubtless not so much for any petty jealousy arising out of disputed patronage, as because the story of the giants smacked of the soil, lacked distinction and the *style noble*.

He probably saw people hoodwinked then as they are still by Rabelais' astounding verbal abundance,—by his vocabulary, which extorted from all readers the tribute of admiration. Verbal prowess does not make a writer great any more than a capacious memory makes a person wise. Not a few men are capable of swallowing a dictionary, and many more can with the help of a Lafaye or a Roget find a few dozen words to express the idea of a tub in motion. It is not the richness of Rabelais' vocabulary as evidenced in a lavish use of synonyms (which at best serves to produce an inferior comic effect), that makes his language memorable in the history of modern civilization,—it is the unrivalled skill with which he chooses from the store at his command just those words and phrases that make his images stand out in bold relief, the skill with which he fits words to thoughts, accomplishing the ideal result of making the word a perfect symbol of the idea. Hugo wielded a vast vocabulary, but he was not master of it. Rabelais is great not because he has in his power an endless stream of words, he is great because he knows how to use words.

His skill is not limited to the use of words; the true creative instinct guides him also in the building of sentences and he has written some pages of real eloquence which can with difficulty be paralleled in French literature. Paradox seems to be the spur that rouses him to his most inspired efforts: Panurge's apology of debts and debtors, Pantagruel's defense of Bridoie, the eulogy of the admirable qualities of pantagruelion (III. 51). The power to choose words, to build a sentence, and above all an ear sensitive to the harmony of the divers sounds that go to make up a period: all this Rabelais possessed and where he wishes to be, he is eloquent.

His excellence makes one impatient that he is not better. He is excellent only in spurts, erratically. He accuses Monstrelet of disregarding "l'art et maniere d'escire histoires, baillée par le philosophe Samosatoys," and he recognized the literary superiority of Cicero, Plato and Lucian, but it never occurs to him to attempt to fathom the secret of that superiority. Nature can never accomplish what art can accomplish; Rabelais' genius is the gift of nature and it is not perfected by study and art. Natural genius wrote *Romeo and Juliet*, natural genius ripened by study and art wrote *Macbeth*. The medieval world possessed intellectual power and

natural genius perhaps more copiously than the modern era, but they went to seed from a lack of guidance. Rabelais is like a powerful overgrown boy who does not know how to direct his strength. He poured into his book indiscriminately all that flowed from his teeming mind without attempting to organize the *disjecta membra* into a unified, well-coördinated structure.

It has already been suggested that unity of style is the indispensable requisite of good composition and it has been found that Rabelais has several different manners. His book lacks coherence: disparate styles, inconsistencies in the narrative, desultoriness with no concatenation of episodes, indifference to details, a medley of serious and comic unfused by an artist's hand: all these are defects. It is not sufficient to admit this with a shrug of the shoulders and imply that geniuses are above rules; the legislator who insisted upon the canon of unity and consistency showed the way to perfect nature by art and no writer ever gained by disdaining him. Rabelais' style is admirable, but it is uncertain, uncontrolled. The Pléiade undoubtedly carried French literature into an excessive cult of form from which it never escaped. The genius of the middle ages embodied in Rabelais might have been toned down more judiciously but it certainly needed toning down.

Rabelais' attitude towards the material of the middle ages is very much like that of Cervantes towards the romances of chivalry: he laughs and parodies, but sympathetically, not scoffingly. He takes from the middle ages their giant story, their love for genealogies, their fondness for exactness in the matter of a man's height and in the number of enemies he slays, their interest in the exact course of a weapon making its way through the body, their eagerness for the fantastic, the miraculous and the occult, their insistence upon knowing the end of a story (Gargantua's mare was sent to live in the forest of Bière: *Je croy qu'elle n'y est plus maintenant*), their predilection for etymologies and proverbs: all this and much more Rabelais takes from the middle ages, but not to laugh at it; the middle ages were seriously interested in these things, Rabelais finds them amusing, and excellent literary material: that is the difference. The inscription on the portal of Thélème is in the style of the *grands rhétoriciens*; this is not a satire because there is no intention of ridicule in it: Crétin found such poetry excellent in

itself, Rabelais found it full of humorous possibilities. He delighted in what delighted the middle ages, with the slight difference that he lacked their respect for the material of popular tradition. The fact that he laughs but does not wax satirical shows his interest and his sympathy. Proverbs are the popular means of expressing concretely the universal truths which the more tutored fix in more precise but more frigid abstractions; Sancho Panza loved proverbs, so did Rabelais.

Rabelais' portrait gallery is inimitable, but as in all other phases of his work he is here simply perfecting a medieval system. His good men, Grandgousier, Gargantua, Pantagruel, are hardly men at all: they have almost nothing human except the ability to talk and express ideas; his "characters" are better drawn: Friar John, Panurge, Bridoie we recognize as men but they are men of one dimension, shadow-men, silhouettes, rather than real men, and they give the impression of extraordinarily lifelike marionnettes. The middle ages and Rabelais lacked the instinct of penetrating organization which we call profundity.

The secular literature of the middle ages was forbidden profundity by the church's delimitation of the range of thought. The medieval laugh is its greatest contribution in France to the world's literature, and Rabelais made of the medieval laugh something better than it had ever been before. It has already been found that his humor is good-natured and genial but lacks delicacy, that his satire is not vitiated by bitterness, but lacks subtlety: they are excellent within their type but they are not the stuff from which high intellectual stimulus can come: Rabelais lacks the power of Lucian and Swift because, though he is more genial, he is less terrible. The fifth book is terrible indeed, but, if it is by Rabelais, it would have been better for his fame had it never been written; if Grippeminaud represents Rabelais' effort to produce something more terrible than Bridoie, it is fortunate for the world that he did not become terrible sooner.

VIII

As a writer Rabelais is almost entirely of the middle ages yet every page is replete with an erudition which proves how greatly he was filled by the spirit of humanism. Humanism, however, is a combination of *studia humanitatis* and *studia eloquentiae*. Rabelais

appreciated the former more fully than any of his contemporaries; but the latter was as a closed book to him. He read the classics diligently and acquired wide information, his intellectual curiosity was insatiable, he approached the ideal Gargantua set before Pantagruel: *que je voye un abysme de science*—a contemporary calls him *totius encyclopaediae profundissimum abyssum*;—but of the finer spirit of the classics he seems to have got almost nothing. He well represents the Renaissance ideal of the universal man: he is theologian, physician, naturalist; he knows much about law, military science and politics; he is profoundly interested in physical education; he has studied the ancient philosophies and many languages; he replaces tradition in scientific matters by observation,—but many of the best things that the Renaissance had to offer escaped him. One passage, however, shows that for a moment his eyes were opened: Cupid, the terrible boy, explains to his mother why he spares Pallas and the Muses. In this beautiful half page borrowed from Lucian, Rabelais surpasses his master, but it is surrounded by indecencies: *margarita in sterquilinio*. When the second generation of humanists carried art and thought out of the lower plane of acquisition, which necessarily preceded, into the loftier plane of comprehension, he lagged behind. And even in the first generation, men like Erasmus and Budé had been able to distinguish between the letter and the spirit, and realized that a gulf lay between them; of this gulf Rabelais was only now and then dimly aware.

He knew that the period which preceded his was an *âge gothique et barbare*; he felt and said it was Gothic and barbarous because it was ignorant of Greek and Latin but this book shows, what he himself was probably unconscious of, that it was Gothic and barbarous to him particularly because it denied liberty, reason and the claims of humanitarianism. It is only intellectually that Rabelais is a humanist; spiritually he is Gothic and barbarous, emotionally he is a humanitarian. He is with the humanists intellectually, he is inferior to them spiritually, he is different from them emotionally.

He seems at times to have vaguely felt his limitations. He admits that he is one of those to whom it is not given by the gods to inhabit Corinth, but, true to his ideal, he does not for that sit still: he keeps his Diogenic tub ever in motion. Though he cannot follow Mary, he can and does wait on Martha.

He so far misunderstood the spirit of the Renaissance as to feel that he had taken of it the best it could offer when he had been filled by its mania for acquisition of knowledge. His erudition is unquestionable, all his contemporaries, friends and enemies, speak of him as the learned Rabelais, and his book is overloaded with ancient instances. It does not matter much that a great deal of his information was borrowed at second hand from Erasmus and others, that many of his learned references which strike us as proofs of wide reading were commonplaces in his day. But, if the question is asked: What was the effect of Rabelais' vast erudition on his work, how much has his knowledge of Greek and Latin masters contributed to form his own mind, the answer will be unfavorable. His erudition is simply superposed on his chronicle of the deeds of giants and his reflections on current questions, it is not infused into the story. It seems indubitable that antiquity in the same way was superposed on and not infused into Rabelais' mental life. He seems to be a humanist in somewhat the same way that our students of today are humanists, who can translate Sophocles at sight and know Goodwin's Moods and Tenses by heart but whose mental life has been utterly uninfluenced by contact with Greek ideas and principles.

How far removed are we and Rabelais from Bembo and Poliziano and Petrarch!

Rabelais did not look to the ancients for the best that they have to give. He studied them particularly to find quotations and anecdotes with which he could interlard and so bolster up his modern romance; he industriously conned Athenaeus and Aulus Gellius. Montaigne, as well as his illustrious predecessor, attached an undue importance to classical anecdotes and moral precepts. The great general ideas of antiquity, its breadth of vision, its perception of form and its sense of proportion, the criteria of good taste, Rabelais did not descry, and even Montaigne did not always command. Even Montaigne did not comprehend and assimilate all that he read; if he had done so, some of his cherished ideas about literary excellence would have been modified, and he would not have girded at those who perch astride on the epicycle of Mercury and so see far into the heavens.

The best of the Renaissance,—its appreciation of the ancients

as real literature, a real criticism of life, its spiritual side, in short,—that side Rabelais did not see. He was as full as any humanist of the desire to acquire knowledge, but his book is ample testimony that he had not the faculty of discrimination, for he heaps first, second, fourth, and tenth rate writers together: “Et volontiers me delecte à lire les Moraulx de Plutarque, les beaux Dialogues de Platon, les Monumens de Pausanias, et Antiquités de Atheneus.” He had little poetry in him, consequently he could not see how far Homer and Virgil were superior to other Greeks and Romans; it is natural too that Plato meant little to him, no more than Pausanias did, but, what is more surprising, he does not even appreciate the importance of Aristotle, he is incapable of separating Aristotelianism and scholasticism. In his eagerness to acquire knowledge he reminds one of Boccaccio, but he does not come so near as Boccaccio to seeing, as Petrarch did, that which is immortal in the ancients.

He shared with the humanists their avidity of learning, but he remained a mere scientist, in the narrow sense of the word. His system of education is purely scientific,—whatever else there is in it is merely incidental. He was a great observer, as is evident from what we know of his anatomical and botanical studies and from his book. But the description of pantagrue (III. 49) and the anatomical disquisition on Lent are blunders: they are interesting from the point of view of the historian of science, but the student of literature finds in them too much science and too little literature, too much observation and too little insight. Rabelais amply represents that side of the Renaissance which sent man to the direct study of nature, but he did not realize any more than our own generation does that observation as an end in itself is of little worth. The basis of his educational system differs radically from that of Montaigne, who demanded that a tutor have *plustost la teste bien faicte que bien pleine* and must have shuddered when he read that famous injunction of Gargantua to his son: *que je voye un abysme de science*. Montaigne penetrated to the heart of things where Rabelais merely scraped the surface; herein he shows the superiority of the true humanist with his instinct of selection to the one-sided humanist with his indiscriminate acceptance of all products of human ideation as of equal value. All of Rabelais' ideas are tested

by observation and analysis; they are all excellent, they are exactly the ideas which are the basis of action at the present day: empiricism, democracy, individualism, liberty, enthusiasm, perfectibility and progress, industry, humanitarianism, utilitarianism, *e tutti quanti*,—and we thought the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had discovered them!—but not a single one shows more than keensighted recognition of superficial ills, and there is not a single one which if carried out—we are carrying them out today—would result in anything more than material prosperity. They are not ideas which result from a proper synthesis and generalization of data acquired by careful analysis and vivified by unifying insight. Montaigne, even though not much more a poet than Rabelais, and even though he too was without the quickening instinct of aesthetic imaginativeness, was abundantly endowed with what has been called imaginative reason. Rabelais was gifted with an extraordinary fancy, but he had none of that higher imagination which is the indispensable concomitant of broad synthetic reason. He saw clearly, very clearly, what was about him, but that was all. Until we reach our own day we shall not find another man who appreciated so fully as he the importance of the details of everyday life, but let us never confound this clearness of sight with the infinitely rarer and infinitely more vital insight of Montaigne.

The warning so often heard can never be too frequently sounded that confusion will result unless the standard according to which an author is judged is distinctly predicated. In the domain of French literary history it would be difficult to find an author more interesting than Rabelais; more than one generation will be occupied with following out the investigations to which so powerful an impulse has been given by M. Lefranc and his collaborators. In the domain of pure literature, however, Rabelais' rank is not so high, though here too he is very great: he borrowed his ideas but he made them his own and gave them to the world in such a form that the influence of his expression of them is not yet lost.

It is always well to consider the varying value of an author in different generations, for though there are some masters who are indispensable to all ages, there are others particularly needed at certain times. Rabelais is immortal, but it is unfortunate for us that he has to offer in preeminent degree just that of which our

generation stands least in need : a hearty laugh and honest, fearless, robust intellectual vigor, excellent things, but without delicacy, without discrimination, without insight—without exactly the qualities we lack most today.

It is sad that man naturally occupies himself with that which coincides with his own opinions : the political partisan reads only the campaign literature of his party and it never occurs to him that he does not need to be strengthened in his convictions but to test those convictions by hearing arguments against them ; lesson-plays fail in their purpose because those who need the lesson either instinctively avoid the play or refuse to see its application to themselves ; so it is natural that the world should listen to the author who flatters the prevailing ideals, and that the revival of interest in Rabelais, which is not limited to professional scholars, should come at a moment when a guide of a different nature is sorely needed.

Yet, though Rabelais' ideas are not of primary importance to us of the twentieth century, he is still from certain points of view a master to whom every generation may profitably turn : his book is irradiated with a vital humor whose inspiriting enthusiasm has never been equalled, and behind the book is the shadowy, ever-present image of an author who has discovered some of the secrets of how to live, an author who has proved that jovial optimism is not irreconcilable with homely virtue and even with seriousness of purpose.

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ECHARSE PULLAS.—A POPULAR FORM OF TENZONE.¹

HORACE speaks as follows of certain rustic verses¹ sung by the peasants at harvest time, and describes how their good-natured raillery was carried to the point of personal invective :

Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
Corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, pueris et conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
In rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
Dente lacesiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi; quin etiam lex
Poenaque lata malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
Describi; vertere modum, formidine fustis
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.

Vergil alludes to a somewhat similar practice in the festival of Bacchus :²

Nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni
Versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto,
Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis,
Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibi que
Oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.

These passages show that the *versus Fescennini* were improvised songs of humorous and abusive character in dialogue form.

According to Livy,³ the *versus Fescennini* represent an impor-

¹ *Epist.*, II, 1, 139-55.

² *Geo.* II, 385-89.

³ *Lib.* VII, 2.

tant stage in the development of the Roman drama.⁴ He tells us that *ludi scaenici* were introduced in order to appease the anger of the gods as manifested by an epidemic in the year 364 B.C., and that actors were summoned from Etruria who danced, without song or pantomime, to the accompaniment of the flute. The Romans themselves then imitated this custom. "Imitari deinde eos iuventus simul inconditis inter se *iocularia fundentes versibus* coepere, nec absoni a voce motus erant." To this stage of development Livy gives no other name than *versus Fescennini*. The next step consisted in the presentation of *saturae* by professional Roman actors.

"Accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non, sicut ante, *Fescennino versu* similem incompositum temere ac rudem *alternis iaciebant*, sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant."

Livius Andronicus, he continues, was the first to construct a play with a regular plot, but even after his time "iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto inter se *more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit*: quae exodia postea appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt."

These contests, in which abuse was mingled with good-humored

⁴ A number of scholars, notably Professors Leo and Hendrickson, have attempted to prove that both Livy and Horace reproduced, "directly or indirectly, the theories of some ancient grammarian who applied to Roman literary history the methods of the Peripatetics, and, desiring to supply with a Roman parallel each step of Aristotle's account of the Greek drama, deliberately fabricated the *satura* as a phenomenon to offset the old Attic comedy." These arguments have been refuted, it seems to me successfully, by Professor R. H. Webb, in an article *On the Origin of Roman Satire*, *Classical Philology*, Vol. VII, 1912, pp. 177-189 and by Professor Charles Knapp, *The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition concerning the Dramatic Satura*, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXIII, 1912, pp. 125-48. Both of these scholars defend the old tradition that "prior to the time of wide and continuous influence of the Greeks upon the Roman mind and on Latin literature, there had been in Italy and in Rome native or quasi-native forms of the drama, among them the *versus Fescennini* and the dramatic *satura*." Both articles contain an extensive bibliography of the question. I have made free use of the results of their investigations. See also, B. L. Ullman, *Dramatic "satura"*, *Classical Philology*, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 1-23 and Charles Knapp, *Horace, Epistles, II, 1, 139 ff. and Livy, VII, 2*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Assn.*, 1912, Vol. XLIII, 125 ff.

badinage, were also practiced at weddings⁵ and at a later date they were brought into the domain of artistic poetry. When employed on such occasions, they were often obscene in character. Two epithalamia of Catullus⁶ show the influence of the Fescennines and he himself refers to the custom;⁷ Seneca, in the *Medea*,⁸ mentions the

Festa dicax fundat convicia fescenninus,
Solvat turba iocos.

same bold and merry Fescennine jesting at weddings; Ausonius, in his *Cento Nuptialis*, says that "Fescenninos amat celebritas nuptialis, verborumque petulantiam notus vetere instituto ludus admittit," and excuses the licentiousness of his own poem by citing the Fescennine verses of Annianus among others which had sinned against decency, and we have four poems of Claudian which he called *Fescennina*, composed in honor of the marriage of Honorius Augustus. These later examples and references show the results of the refining influence mentioned by Horace, but their popular origin is betrayed by the spirit of obscenity and licence which characterized at least some of these wedding-songs.

The origin of the term *fescenninus* was unknown even to the Romans. Festus⁹ offers two explanations of the term *versus Fescennini*: "ex urbe Fescennina dicuntur allati, sive ideo dicti quia fascinum putabantur arcere." While most historians of Latin literature have accepted the first explanation, that the name is derived from the town of Fescennium in the south of Etruria, others have proposed a derivation from *fascinum*, whereby *versus Fescennini* would mean songs employed to avert evil or the envy of the gods.¹⁰

⁵ Festus mentions the "Fescennini versus qui canebantur in nuptiis." See Müller's edition of the abridgement of Paulus Diaconus, p. 85. For further references in Latin literature and for a general discussion of the Fescennine verse, see Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Vol. I, 1910; Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, Erster Teil, Erste Hälfte, München, 1907, pp. 21-23; Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Erster Band, *Die Archaische Literatur*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 16-17; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Erster Teil, Leipzig, 1879, p. 52.

⁶ LXI-LXII.

⁷ LXI, 126-127. "Ne diu taceat (at a wedding) procax Fescennina locutio."

⁸ 107-109 and 113-14:

⁹ Abridgment of Paulus Diaconus, ed. Müller, p. 85.

¹⁰ Nettleship, *The Earliest Italian Literature, considered with especial refer-*

It has also been suggested that the term may be derived from *fascinum* in the sense of *phallus*, which had its place in rustic festivities and at weddings as the symbol of fertility. Hoffmann has attempted to identify the festival mentioned by Vergil with the Liberalia,¹¹ described with all its obscene details by St. Augustine,¹² the central point of which was the use of the *fascinum* or *phallus* as a propitiation to the ancient deities, Liber, Libera and Ceres, for the success of the crops. The Liberalia represented a return to the authority of the older gods, and in its celebration a certain licence was taken by the clients toward their patrons which degenerated into such abuses that the practice of indulging in coarse personalities was prohibited by the Twelve Tables. It is inconceivable, however, that legislative action could have suppressed this popular practice, and the fact that we possess no texts of these songs, with the exception of the literary adaptations of Catullus and Claudian, is no evidence that the custom was discontinued.

Coming now to the subject proper of this article, it is interesting to find popular in Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century a certain type of verses called *pullas*, which correspond closely to what we know of the *versus Fescennini*. Recited alternately, they consisted of personal and often obscene taunts in which one person wished for another all sorts of misfortunes, and sometimes were employed in connection with wedding festivities. Rodrigo Caro, a Spanish writer of the first half of the sixteenth century, speaks as follows of this custom in his entertaining book entitled *Dias geniales o ludricos*,¹³ in which he describes a number of popular games of the time.

“Cuando tan licenciosas fiestas hace la gente rustica, no perdona los oprobios que la lengua puede decir, dandose grita unos a otros, costumbre que dice Horacio, in Epist. ad August., que se tenia despues de alzados los Agostos.”

ence to the evidence afforded on the subject by the Latin Language, Journal of Philology, Vol. XI, 1882, p. 190. This is probably an example of popular etymology.

¹¹ E. Hoffmann, *Die Fescenninen*, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge, Vol. LI, 1896, pp. 320-25.

¹² *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. VII, Cap. XXI.

¹³ Published by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos andaluces, Sevilla, 1884, pp. 217-18.

He quotes seven lines of Horace's text with a Spanish version, and translates the lines :

Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem,
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit ;

Este rito licencioso
Inventó los fesceninos ;
Unos a otros se echan coplas,
Pullas con rusticos dichos.

Fortunately we have a number of texts in Spanish literature of the first half of the sixteenth century which confirm the statement of Caro and prove the close similarity between the *pullas* and *versus Fescennini*. The examples which I have found are contained, with one exception, in popular plays of the period and betray no trace of literary influence.¹⁴

The first example, which I shall quote entire because it contains all the elements occurring in later texts, is found in the *Egloga interlocutoria*¹⁵ of Diego de Avila, printed at least as early as 1511, since Fernando Colón bought a copy of the play for his library in that year. After various obstacles to the marriage of the shepherd Torino and the shepherdess Turpina have been removed, and the guests are assembled for the ceremony, five rustics, Benito, Gaitero, Ramon, Tenorio, Hontoya and the Crego, begin to *echarse pullas*.¹⁶

Benito. Qu'estás ahí tendido y soplando?
Quies te conmigo echar de las pullas?
Hacert'he que antes que d'ahí te rebullas,
Quizas que m'estes de noche soñando ;
Responde, responde. Qu'estás pensando?
Veamos que sabes d'esto hablar :
Quies que comience, o quies comenzar?
Gaitero. Comienzalo tu.

Benito. Duelos te mando.¹⁷
Vengante males y muchos trabajos,

¹⁴ They were, however, made to fit the meter employed in the various plays.

¹⁵ Republished by Gallardo in his little paper, *El Criticón*, Madrid, 1859, and by Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, pp. 236-66.

¹⁶ ll. 857-966. I have used Kohler's edition.

¹⁷ This was evidently one form of challenge.

- Y nunca te falten contino fatigas,
Y nunca tu comas puchas ni migas,
Ni menos te hartes de gordos tasajos.
Juntense todos los cuervos y grajos,
Cuantos hubiere en toda la tierra,
Y todos te piquen y te hagan guerra
Hasta hacerte que hiedas a ajos.
- Gaitero.* El día primero, Alonso Benito,
Que tu echares fuera la burra parida,
Los lobos y lobas le quiten la vida,
Y perros le coman el su borrequito.
No halles cabra, ni menos cabrito
Que muerto no sea de mala rabieza:
Y a tu mujer tome tan gran cachondeza
Que todos le vayan a dar en el hito.
- Benito.* Que no sepas tu que guardas dehesa
Que andas contino por valles y cerro.
Como se llama la madre del perro?
- Gaitero.* Llámase perra.
- Benito.* En el culo la besa.¹⁸
Ah, Don ruin, que mucho te pesa!
Oh, hi de puta, y qual se la he echado!
Esa es pulla que t'ha desmayado;
Piensa qu'es todo comer a la mesa?
- Gaitero.* Abiespos y abiespas y mas moxcardones
Te tomen en cuero, untado con miel,
Y todos y todas te piquen en él;
Y el zorro te coma tus ansarones.
Las puercas paridas que traen lechones
Topen al lobo, muerto de hambre;
Y a todos tus hijos tome calambre,
Y tu nunca comas jamas requesones.
- Ramon.* Hazme tu agora un gran placer,
Alonso Benito, con toda tu gana,
Y llevame a cuestras de muy buena gana
Hasta la cama, do está tu mujer.
Dejarm'has con ella, e irt'has a her
En tu borrequilla una carga de leña.
Ire yo all obispo de aqueste ordeña,
Que d'este pecado te quiera absolver.

¹⁸ This recalls the popular game called *pegas*, practised in Spain of to-day.
See Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos populares españoles*, Sevilla, 1882, Vol. I, pp. 411-17.

Tenorio. Vayas con esta zampoña sonando
Por puertas y calles, do bien puedan vello,
Con un gran sartal de cuernos al cuello,
Y vayate tu mujer azotando
Con dos ristras d'ajos, diciendo y hablando:
"Aquesta es justicia que mandan hacer
A este Gaitero que dio a su mujer
Al Guardian de San Jestellando."

Gaitero. A ti digo a ti, novio, qu'estás enfiñendo
Aquesta mi pulla recarcavillada,
La noche primera no hagas nada,
Que siempre t'estes roncando y durmiendo;
Estése la novia holgando y riendo
Con otro zagal habiendo placer,
Y en la mañana, por mas no te ver,
A cas dell abad se vaya huyendo.

Hontoya. A vos el Gaitero de nuestro lugar
Te arrojo esta pulla o repulloncillo:
Cada mañana te cante el cuquillo,
Nunca la gaita puedas sonar,
Ardite ni cuarto no puedas ganar
En todas las bodas d'aqueste verano;
Los pollos y pollas te leve el vilano,
Y Antona tu hija algun Escolar.

Tenorio. Tu que presumes de ser muy agudo,
Respondeme aquesto que yo te dire;
Cualquier persona que te mire y te viere,
Te diga, te llame por nombre cornudo.
Tengas a la boca echado un embudo,
Y echente en ella un cuero de vino;
Y en tanta manera pierdas el tino,
Que nunca me puedas desher este ñudo.
(*Aqui le da una higa.*)

Benito. Andes y andes, y tornes a andar
La noche y el dia, los puercos buscando
Por cerros y valles jimiendo y llorando,
Y nunca jamas los puedas hallar.
Torneste muerto cansado al lugar,
Las carnes de frio t'esten retemblando,
Y dénte de palos, luego en llegando,
Y asi te los hagan tornar a buscar.

- Gaitero.* Tu, nuestro abad, o misacantano,
Escuchame bien aquesto que digo:
Nunca te ofrezcan ogaño bodigo,
Ni moza ni vieja te bese la mano.
La hija de Pero Garcia Hortelano
Toda la noche tengas a cuentas;
Y estando con ella entre estas y estas
Al mejor tiempo te quedes en vano.
- Crego.* Piedra, pedrisco con gran turbion
Te tome una noche tiniebla y oscura;
No halles mamparo, ni cobijadura;
Y alcanceme a mi la tu maldicion,
Si Antona quedare sin buena racion,
Y algo quedase d'aquesto corrido
En tu mujer lo que fallecido;
Y tu estes delante haciendome el son.
- Gaitero.* Mira si quieres agora bailar
Que no quiero echar mas pullas aqui:
Habés os juntado todos contra mi
Diciendo que habiades de hacerme rabiari.
- Benito.* Pues no quieres esto, comienza a rogar
Aquestas mozuelas que canten un poco.

It is evident from this passage that the game called "echarse pullas" consisted of a contest in which one person wished all sorts of misfortunes, for the most part obscene, upon another, who replied in a similar strain.¹⁹ The lines,

Y en tanta manera pierdas el tino,
Que nunca me puedas desher este ñudo,

with the stage direction, "Aqui le da una higa," may furnish a clue as to the origin of the practice. The knot consisted in placing the thumb between the index and middle finger, representing the obscene sign known in Spanish as "dar una higa" and in Italian as

¹⁹ Dr. M. A. Potter, in an article entitled *An Epic Tenzone and a Parallel*, published in the *Volume of Anniversary Papers in Honor of Professor G. L. Kittredge*, Boston, 1913, studied various contests among primitive peoples in which personal abuse is the theme. The most interesting of the examples mentioned by him is the nith song of the Esquimaux, in which a formal contest is entered upon which consists in heaping insulting terms upon each other until one of the contestants is exhausted.

"dare (or fare) le fiche,"²⁰ which is connected with some form of Phallic worship.²¹ If we accept some connection between *fescenninus* and *fascinum* as the symbol of fertility, we have an additional point of contact between the *pullas* and *versus Fescennini*.

No satisfactory etymology has been offered for the word *pulla*. Covarrubias²² defines it as follows:

"Pulla es un dicho gracioso, aunque algo obsceno, de que comunemente usan los caminantes quando topan a los villanos que estan labrando los campos, especialmente en tiempo de siga o vendimias. Y llamóse pulla de la Apulla tierra de Napoles, donde se empecó a usar, y de alli se ha estendido a todo el mundo."

He then mentions the passage from Horace's epistle already referred to.²³

The derivation of *pulla* from Puglia may be correct, but I venture to suggest the etymology from the feminine form of Latin *pullus* meaning dark-colored or 'blackish'. Horace uses the word with *ficus* with the meaning 'ripe' or 'dark,' in the verse, "suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem."²⁴ We know from the evidence of both

²⁰ Dante refers to this sign in the *Divina Commedia*, *Inferno*, XXV, 1-3.

Al fine delle sue parole il ladro (Fucci)
Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche,
Gridando: "Togli, Dio! che a te le squadro."

Ovid refers to the same sign in the *Fasti*, V, 433-44:

Signaque dat digitis medio cum pollice iunctis,
Occurrat tacito ne levis umbra sibi.

²¹ Dulaure, *Des Divinités Génératrices*, Paris, 1905, p. 129. Amulets in the form of the ithyphallic hand were used by the Romans and are still found in Italy. See Jahn, *Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil. Hist. Classe, Vol. LXX, 1855, pp. 28-110.

²² *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1674, p. 151v.

²³ The *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* of the Real Academia Española, Vol. V, 1737, p. 428, adds the following: "Tambien se suelen usar entre las familias por burla de carnestolendas. Lat. *convitium obscenum*. Recop. Lib. 8, Tit. 10, L. 5. Mandamos que de aqui adelante ninguna persona sea osado a decir ni cantar de noche ni de dia por las calles, ni plazas, ni caminos, ningunas palabras sucias, ni deshonestas, que comunmente llaman pullas."

²⁴ *Epod.* XVI, 46. The word *pullo* was used in Italian to indicate figs of a dark color. Tommaseo Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, Vol. III.

Spanish and Italian that the Latin *ficus* must have been used in an obscene sense with the form *fica*. It is possible then that the word *pulla* was associated with *fica* and that in the course of time the adjective was used instead of the substantive with the same meaning.²⁵ If this etymology be accepted, *echar pullas* would mean a contest in abusive terms in which the sign of the *higa* was made.²⁶

It is worthy of note that the first examples of *pullas* in Spanish literature occur in a play composed for representation at a wedding festival,²⁷ which is proved not only by the subject matter but also by the refrain "pues que ya está desposado" of the villancico, sung immediately after the *pullas*. We know from the writings of the Church Fathers and from the decrees of the Councils that in early times wedding ceremonies were attended with many abuses,²⁸ and many references show that *juglares* were welcome guests on such occasions. We have no texts which would allow us to form an idea as to the songs or games in which the latter took part, but inasmuch as the *Egloga ynterlocutoria* appears to be based on popular

²⁵ Varro's use of the phrase *pul(l)us sermo* (*De Lingua latina*, 9, 26, 33) in the sense of "vulgar speech" may serve to confirm the association of *pulla* with *fica*. This reading, however, may not be correct. See ed. of Varro by Goetz and Schoell, Leipzig, 1910, and E. W. Fay, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXV, 1914, p. 263.

²⁶ The verbs *arrojar* and *echar* used in describing the *pullas* correspond to the Latin verbs *fundere*, *iacere* and *iactitare* mentioned by the Latin writers in describing the Fescennine verses.

²⁷ There is abundant evidence that weddings were often celebrated by the performance of plays. Enzina's *Representacion del Amor* was written in 1497 in honor of the marriage of Prince John of Castile; the *Comedia de Bras-Gil, Beringuella y Miguel-Turra* of Lucas Fernández may be regarded as a wedding play; and Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa del matrimonio* (1530) bears the rubric, "para representar en bodas."

²⁸ The Council of Lérida (524) decreed, "Quod non oporteat Christianos euntes ad nuptias plaudere vel saltare, sed venerabiliter coenare vel prandere, sicut Christianos decet." De los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, Madrid, Vol. I, 1861, p. 451; the Council of Lugo declared (572), "Non liceat sacerdotibus vel clericis aliqua spectacula in nuptiis vel conviviis spectare," *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, ed. by Professor H. R. Lang, Halle, 1894, p. xc; and the Fourth Council of Toledo tried to introduce certain reforms. See De los Rios, *ibid.*, pp. 455-62. A careful examination of the Spanish Councils would doubtless furnish many additional examples. Stanza 1289 of the Archpriest of Hita's *Libro de buen amor* mentions the clerks and *juglares* who took part in the merry-making at weddings.

tradition, we may believe that raillery in the form of *pullas* was one of the forms of entertainment.

In Pedro Manuel de Urrea's novel entitled *Penitencia de Amor*²⁹ (1514), the earliest imitation of the *Celestina*, a series of *pullas* is introduced quite unexpectedly in the course of the narrative. Darino bids his servant, Renedo, accompany him to the house of Finoya, but Renedo excuses himself saying, "Dexame yr, señor, delante, porque estoy yo desafiado con Lantoyo, criado de Finoya, para echarnos pullas onestas; y entretanto aguardaras tiempo para entrar." Apparently Lantoyo is near-by, since the two lackeys begin their game without further formality and engage in a tongue-lashing which extends through fifteen stanzas and ends without apparent enmity. The taunts are of the same character as those already found in the *Egloga ynterlocutoria*, and although the term "*pullas onestas*" must be taken in a broad sense, they are less indecent than the other examples that I have noted.

Two examples of *pullas* are found in the plays of Torres Naharro, published at Naples in 1517.³⁰ The first of these occurs in the *Comedia Trofea*, represented at Rome in March, 1514, in honor of the embassy of the Portuguese, Tristano da Cunha.³¹ In the second act, two shepherds, Juan and Caxcolucio, engage in a contest of abusive terms similar to those already examined,³² and the last lines show that the practice was carried on until one of the contestants had exhausted his vocabulary.³³ At the beginning of the second act of the *Comedia Aquilana*³⁴ of Torres Naharro, two gardeners, Galterio and Dandario, fall into a dispute, and almost immediately Dandario challenges his companion to a contest in *pullas*:

²⁹ Reprinted by R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, 1902. The *pullas* are found on pp. 60-65.

³⁰ The *Propaladia* has been reprinted in Vols. IX and X of the *Libros de antaño*, Madrid, 1900, with an introduction by Menéndez y Pelayo in the second volume.

³¹ See Menéndez y Pelayo's introduction, pp. xviii-xxvi, and A. Pelizzari, *Strenne di Leone decimo*, published in the volume of *Studii dedicati a Fr. Torraca*, Napoli, 1912, pp. 361-79 and reprinted in the volume of collected essays, *Portogallo e Italia nel secolo XVI*, Napoli, 1914.

³² *Libros de antaño*, Vol. IX, p. 249.

³³ Another passage in the same play, p. 254, shows that the *pullas* were sometimes introduced in the manner of the *pegas* still found in Spain.

³⁴ *Libros de antaño*, Vol. X, p. 264.

Mas tapote el agujero
 Y arrojote un par de higas.
Galterio. Guarda huera,
 Cortada tan ruin higuera
 Y aun quemado el higueral.

They proceed to wish each other all sorts of misfortunes in the most indecent terms until they finally call quits, apparently without animosity on either side.³⁵

The other examples which I have noted of a word-contest in the form of *pullas* occur in the *Triumpho do Inverno* of Gil Vicente,³⁶ performed in the year 1529; in the *Farsa nuevamente trobada* of Fernando Díaz,³⁷ probably composed at the latest about 1520; and in the *Comedia Tesorina* of Jayme de Güete,³⁸ composed about the year 1525. A further examination of the Spanish comedies and farces of the sixteenth century would probably furnish additional examples of these contests in abuse, but enough texts have been mentioned to show that the practice was popular and that the writers seized upon it as an important comic element in the composition of their plays.³⁹

³⁵ In the *Dialogo del Nacimiento* of the same author, *Libros de antaño*, Vol. X, pp. 380-83, the shepherd Herrando tells of the *pullas* which he will hurl at the sacristan, priest, vicar and others. His repertory is extensive.

³⁶ *Obras de Gil Vicente*, Vol. II, Lisboa, 1852, pp. 451-53.

³⁷ The only early edition known bears the date of 1554. It has been reprinted by Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, and by Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Vol. I, 1913. The *pullas* occur in ll. 33-70.

³⁸ Reprinted by Cronan, *ibid.* The *pullas* are found from line 1222 to 1295.

³⁹ I have been unable to find any evidence that the practice of "hurling" *pullas* has survived in Spain. Some of the *maldiciones* printed in the *Cancionero popular gallego*, *Biblioteca de las tradiciones españolas*, Vol. XI, Madrid, 1886, pp. 193-95, resemble *pullas*, but are not in dialogue form. The Galician *enchovyadas*, *dialogos* and *regueifas* (alternating couplets sung at weddings), mentioned in *Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares españolas*, Vol. VII, pp. xxxvii-xxxix, 81-90, 91-100 do not concern us here since they are not primarily abusive. J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Tradições populares de Portugal*, Porto, 1882, p. 248, mentions the *costume do desafio*, sung by men and women, in which "a's vezes a satyra é fina, outras vezes, mais frequentemente quando os versos são improvisados, é baixa." This practice is described in the *Bibliothèque universelle et revue suisse*, no. 228, 1876, which I have not seen. Some of the *dayemans*, sung in Lorraine, resemble the *pullas* in the form of abuse. See Puymaigre, *Archivio per le tradizioni popolari*, Vol. I, 1882, pp. 93-98.

The Spanish *pullas* recall both in spirit and manner of presentation a few of the Provençal personal *tenso*s⁴⁰ in which abuse plays a prominent part and especially a *tenso* between Bertran de Gordon and Peire Raimon de Tolosa.⁴¹ Bertran assails the *jongleur* Peire in the first strophe, declaring that his acts are worthless, that his knowledge is not worth two farthings, and that whoever does him a favor is ill-advised. Peire repays him in his own coin, expressing the hope that he may lack bread and wine, silver and gold, since he only talks nonsense. In the third strophé Bertran seems to repent of his incivility and declares that he has been foolish to challenge to a *tenso* so excellent a *jongleur* as Peire. The latter then praises extravagantly the generosity of his opponent, but in the fifth and sixth stanzas they return to the earlier tone of abuse. The intricate rime scheme proves that it was not a popular production but it probably represents a literary form of a contest in abuse practiced by the rustics and analogous to the Spanish *pullas*.⁴²

In Portuguese literature, a large number of *cantigas d'escarnho* and *cantigas de maldizer* are found in the various *cancioneiros*

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the origin and development of the *tenso* see Rudolf Zenker, *Die provenzalische Tenszone*, Leipzig, 1888; L. Selbach, *Das Streitgedicht in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik*, published in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. LVII, Marburg, 1886; A. Jeanroy, *La Tenson Provençale*, *Annales du Midi*, Vol. II, 1890, pp. 281-304 and 441-462; Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1904, pp. 45-60; A. Stimming, *Provenzalische Litteratur* in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, 2 Abt., 1897, pp. 24-25.

⁴¹ Published in Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. XXXIV, 1863, pp. 382-83. See also Zenker, *ibid.*, pp. 67-69 and Selbach, *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴² The date of this poem is too late to furnish any evidence concerning the origin of the Provençal *tenso*. Zenker argued in his monograph, p. 88 ff., that the personal *tenso*s represent the oldest form of the *Streitgedicht*, which were improvised by two poets before an audience and that the troubadours had merely imitated and given literary form to the popular improvised song-contests. Jeanroy, in his article *La Tenson Provençale*, p. 453, objected that "les coblas où le caractère satirique est nettement marqué ne sont pas anciennes; on n'en rencontre pas de telles avant le commencement du treizième siècle et que la tenson, plus ancienne que les coblas, n'a pas à l'origine, et en réalité n'a presque jamais eu, le caractère satirique; il en résulte qu'il faut éviter de voir dans la tenson une forme de la poésie satirique et par conséquent, de chercher son origine dans les coblas." Stimming, *ibid.*, p. 24, believed that the *tenso* "verdankt ihren Ursprung vielleicht dem auch bei mehreren anderen Völkern verbreiteten Brauche des improvisierten Wettgesanges."

which are composed in alternate stanzas and therefore approximate to the type of the Provençal *tenso*. Although many of these are satirical in tone, either *per palabras cubertas* or *descubertament*, they are almost without exception the literary products of an aristocratic society. Besides these, we know that there are certain *Joguetes d'arteiro* and *cantigas de risadilha*,⁴³ of which mention is made in the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti* with the remark, "Non som cousas em que sabedoria nem outro bem aia," which probably means that they were popular productions which were not deemed worthy to figure in the *Cancioneiros*. The following poem is literary in form, but seems to represent a fusion of the satirical tone of many of the *tenções* and *entenções* with a popular contest in abuse.⁴⁴

Juyão, quero comtigo fazer,
se tu quizeres, uma entençom,
et querey-te na primeyra razom
huma punhada mui grande poer,
e no rostro chamar-te trapaz,
muy mais, et qu'e o que assy faz
boa entençom quem na quer fazer.

Meem Roiz, muy sem meu prazer
a farey vosc', assy deus me perdon',
ca vos eu ey de chamar cochon
poys que eu a punhada receber;
desy trobar vos ey muy mal assaz,
et a tal entençom se a vós praz
a farey vosco muy sem meu prazer.

Juyão, poys tigo começar
fui, dyreyt'ora o que te farey,
huma punhada grande te darey,
desy querey-te muytos çocos dar
en a garganta, por te ferir peor,
que nunca vylão aja sabor
d'outra tençom comego começar.

Meem Roiz, quero y m'emparrar,

⁴³ For an explanation of this word, see Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Geschichte der portugiesischen Litteratur* in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, 2 Abt. 1897, p. 193 and 197-198 and H. R. Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, Halle, 1894, p. ciii.

⁴⁴ *Cancioneiro portuguez da Vaticana*, ed. by Theophilo Braga, Lisboa, 1878, no. 14.

se deus me valha, como vos dyrey;
 coteyfe nojoso vos chamarey
 poys qu'eu a punhada recadar;
 desy direy, poys s'os couces for
 lexade-m'ora, per nostro senhor,
 ca assy se sol meu padr'a emparar.

Juyão, poys quer'eu filhar
 pelos cabellos, e quer'arrastrar
 a quem dos couces te pez'que entençey.

Meem Roiz, se m'eu repostar
 ou se me salvo ou se me quero estar,
 ay tunador, já ves, nunca mays a direi.

We know that in Spain the practice of singing abusive songs reached such a point in the time of Alphonso the Wise that it was found necessary to prohibit them by law.⁴⁵ We have no evidence as to the character of these compositions nor do we know whether they were sung in alternating couplets. Many of the *preguntas* and *respuestas* found in the old Cancioneros are satirical in tone, but rarely are they abusive. A good example of the latter type are the *coplas* exchanged between Juan Agraz and Juan Marmolejo,⁴⁶ which have a distinctly popular character.

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⁴⁵ *Las Siete Partidas*, Part. VII, Ley III, Tit. 9, where they are referred to as "Cantigas o rimos o deytados malos de los que han sabor de infamar."

⁴⁶ *Cancionero de Antón de Montero*, ed. by Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1900, pp. 308-310.

ELEMENTS OF MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY IN FRENCH ALLEGORY OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION

A STUDY of the influence of Christian eschatology upon French allegory must needs take into account Dante's *Divina Commedia*. Our present knowledge leads us to believe that Dante was unknown in France before Christine de Pisan,¹ who began to write at the close of the fourteenth century. It is therefore necessary to divide French allegory into two periods for the purposes of a study of its sources in Christian beliefs of the Middle Ages, the first of these periods including the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the second the period following, in which Dante's influence must be reckoned with. The present study is concerned only with the earlier period.

There are various forms in which Christian beliefs concerning the rewards and punishments of a future life were expressed in the Middle Ages. One important form was sculptural decoration on ecclesiastical buildings. The Last Judgment was a favorite subject, and examples of it are to be found upon many churches in France.² The writings of the church fathers³ are filled with the subject of

¹ Cf. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia dall' età media al secolo di Voltaire*, 2 vols., Milan, 1908.

² Cf. Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du xiiième siècle en France*, Paris, 1910, and the same author's *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908.

³ Raoul de Houdenc, the first great writer of allegory in French, quotes (*Songe de Paradis*, vv. 1100-1134) from St. Bernard's *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 183, col. 952-953 (Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, xxviii, 125). He also cites (*ibid.*, vv. 1253-1270) St. Gregory.

Huon de Méry was a monk. He spent the last years of his life in the church of Saint Germain-des-Prés, where he is buried.

Jean de Meun's indebtedness to St. Augustine, Alain de Lille and Guillaume de Saint-Amour were pointed out by Langlois (*Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, pp. 133, 148-150, 153-160).

Guillaume de Machaut cites Fulgentius (*Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, v. 8235).

Guillaume de Deguileville, himself a Cistercian monk and prior, quotes

the future life, and the sermons of the clergy we may be sure abounded in details of the misery in store for sinners after death, and the happiness that awaited the good.

There is, however, a body of mediaeval literature which devoted itself exclusively to these considerations, viz. the Christian visions of Paradise, Hell and Purgatory. Clothed as they are in the very form adopted to a considerable extent by erotic allegory, we are justified in turning to them as a prime source of inspiration. Significant also is the fact that the period in which the Christian visions are longest and most detailed, viz. the second half of the twelfth century, immediately precedes the rise of French allegory with Raoul de Houdenc at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The subject must be further divided into two parts, the first of which will concern itself with those passages which bear evidence of having been inspired by mediaeval Christian descriptions of Hell and Purgatory, and the second with those passages which show the influence of similar descriptions of Paradise.

A considerable proportion of the French love allegories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are in the dream form, and in many cases the intention of the poet to imitate, or parody, the Latin visions is obvious; e. g., Raoul de Houdenc, *Le Songe de Paradis*, *Le Songe d'Enfer*; Rutebeuf, *La Voie de Paradis*; Baudouin de Condé, *La Voie de Paradis*; Watriquet de Couvin, *Li dis des .iiii. Sièges*; Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*; Jean Froissart, *Le Paradis d'Amour*.⁴ The greatest of all love allegories,

from Dionysius Areopagita, Origines, Constantinus, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Johannes Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Benedictus, Gregorius Magnus, Isidorus Hispalensis, Bernardus, Thomas Cantuariensis, Franciscus, and Jacobus a Voragine (Cf. J. E. Hultman, *Guillaume de Deguileville*, Upsala, 1902, pp. 86-115).

Eustache Deschamps quotes from the *De contemptu mundi sive de miseria humanae conditionis* of Innocent III (*Œuvres*, p. p. Saint-Hilaire et Raynaud, Paris, 1878-1903, vol. ii, *Double Lay de la Fragilité Humaine*), Saint Bernart (*Le Miroir de Mariage*, vv. 1452 and 8957), Saint Jherosmes (*ibid.*, vv. 5359-5434 and 10385), Bede (*ibid.*, v. 6900), and Gregorie (*ibid.*, v. 7087).

⁴ Jean Froissart's interest in visions is attested by his statement in vv. 838-846 of *Le Buisson de Jeunesse*:

On dist en pluisours nations
Que les imaginations
Qu'on a aux choses sourvenans,
Dont on est plenté souvenans,
Tant sus terre com en abysmes,

the *Roman de la Rose*, is in this form, and Guillaume de Lorris, who began it, cites as his authority for the truth of dreams (vv. 7-10):

Un acteur qui ot non Macrobes,
Qui ne tint pas songes à lobes;
Ainçois escrist la vision
Qui avint au roi Cipion.⁵

Yet there is evidence that Guillaume de Lorris was familiar with the Christian visions as well.⁶ The widespread popularity of the latter in the Middle Ages has been too often expounded to require emphasis here,⁷ and their influence upon certain of the French allegorical poets has been studied. Langlois, *op cit.*, p. 58, says:

J'ai montré déjà comment les poètes érotiques se sont appropriés, pour l'enseignement de leur religion, certains procédés de la littérature chrétienne; c'est un emprunt nouveau que, sciemment ou non, ils ont fait à la même littérature, lorsqu'ils ont adopté le songe comme moyen de communiquer avec leur divinité.

It is the purpose of the present article to demonstrate the nature and extent of these borrowings on the part of the French allegorical poets, thus extending to the whole field of French allegory in the 13th and 14th centuries investigations previously made in the case of three poets: Guillaume de Lorris (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, ii, 320-322, and *Modern Language Notes*, xxvii, 262), Jean de Meun (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, ii, 54-60), and Guillaume de Deguileville (*P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 275-308).

I.—HELL AND PURGATORY

Unqualified references to Hell are numerous, but they do not give conclusive evidence as to the source of their inspiration. Ref-

Sont si propres d'elles meïsmes,
Et si vertueuses aussi,
Que souvent apperent ensi
Qu'on les imagine et devise.

⁵ Cf. Jean de Meun's reference to this vision in vv. 19302-5 of the *Rose* (Langlois, p. 135).

⁶ Cf. W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, 1899, p. 213. Professor Neilson, I think, overestimates the influence of the *Somnium Scipionis*.

⁷ Cf. Langlois, *Origines*, pp. 55-56; *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 278, Note 1; *ROMANIC REVIEW*, ii, 54.

erence is frequently made to the "abyss," "valley," or "pit" of Hell,⁸ which is thus described in the Christian visions:

Tundal,⁹ p. 12: Venerunt ad vallem valde terribilem ac tenebrosam et mortis caligine coopertam.—*Ibid.*, p. 33: Vidit fossam quadrangulam quasi cisternam, qui puteus putridam flammæ et fumi emittit columpnam.—*Herberti de Miraculis*,¹⁰ lib. I, cap. xix: Vidit illam tartaream ardentis abyssi voraginem, plenam clamoribus horrendis et ululatibus miserorum.—*Eynsham*,¹¹ p. 664: Erat itaque sub remoto illius montis latere vallis profundissima et tenebrosa, altrinsecus iugis rupium eminentissimis cincta, cujus longitudinem nullius perstringeret aspectus.—*Paul*,¹² p. 66: Tunc vidit ibi locum plenum viris et mulieribus et erat fovea alta in profundo loci plena animabus et unaquæque super aliam sedebat. Et erat profunditas loci illius trecenta milia cubitorum. . . . Abyssus mensuram non habet. Quicumque veniunt in locum istum, eternum habent supplicium.—*Drithelm*.¹³ Porro puteus ille flammivomus as putidus, quem vidisti, ipsum est os gehennæ.

The abyss is mentioned in the following passages in French allegory, and in certain of them the mediaeval influence is unmistakable:

Raoul de Houdenc, *Le Songe d'enfer*,¹⁴ vv. 737-739:

Ains font volentiers autrui mal,
Par quoi vont trebuchant ou val
D'infier.

Idem, *Le Songe de paradis*,¹⁵ vv. 1139-1147:

¹⁵ Published in *Œuvres complètes de Rutebuef*, ed. Jubinal, nouvelle édition, iii, 195-234.

Infiers est lais tout sans mesure,
Si vous di bien sans mespresure
Qu'il est tant hideus et parfons
Qu'il n'i a ne rive ne fons;

⁸ Cf. Revelation, ix, 2: Et aperuit puteum abyssi; et ascendit fumus putei, sicut fumus fornacis magnæ.

⁹ *Visio Tnugdali*, hgg. von A. Wagner, Erlangen, 1882.

¹⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 185.

¹¹ *Visio Monachi de Eynsham*, ed. Huber.

¹² *Visio Beati Pauli Apostoli Apocrypha*, ed. Brandes, Halle, 1885.

¹³ *Venerabilis Bedæ Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, rec. J. Stevenson, London, 1838, lib. V, cap. xii.

¹⁴ *Trouvères Belges*, p. p. Aug. Scheler, Louvain, 1879. Cf. Groeber, *Grundriss*, II, i, 694.

Ne ne puet estre comparée
Li grans ardors ne li fumée
Dont il est sourondans et plains.
Souvent i a lermes et plains
De ceaus qui là ont lor desierte.

Ibid., vv. 1324-6:

Par quoi il erent mis el val
D'infer avoec les anemis
Qu'il troveront mauvais amis.

Huon de Méry, *Le Tornoient de l'Antechrist*,¹⁶ p. 15:

Et disoient tuit que ou goufre
De Satanie fut confit.

Ibid., p. 102:

Qui son hostel et son gouffre a
Près du gouffre de Sathanie.

Roman de la Rose,¹⁷ vv. 13186-7:

Vous en irés ou puis d'enfer,
Se vous ne vous en repentés.

Thibaut, *Roman de la Poire*,¹⁸ vv. 347-351:

Car se il velt amors descrivre,
Ne qu'en puet descendre en abisme,
Ne porroit raconter la disme
Des max qu'ont li leal amant
Et jor et nuit, se Dex m'amant.¹⁹

Rutebuef, ed. Jubinal, vol. I, p. 162:

A point la moine-il bien à cele grant fornaize,
Qui est dou puis d'enfer où jà n'uns n'aura aise.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 226:

Mès il les covendra boillir
Ou puis d'enfer sanz jà réembre.

¹⁶ Ed. Tarbé, Reims, 1851.

¹⁷ Ed. Francisque Michel.

¹⁸ Hgg. von F. Stehlich, Halle, 1881.

¹⁹ Specific comparisons of the pains of love with the torments of the Christian Hell are rare. On the other hand, comparisons of the paradise of love with the Christian Paradise are numerous, as will be shown.

Ibid., vol. II, p. 238:

Ainz est uns puis toz plains d'ordure.

Ibid., vol. II, p. 274:

Dame, je qui fui mise el puis
D'enfer par ma grant mesprison.

Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*,²⁰ vv.
3842-3:

Car dès le ciel jusques en bisme
Ses puissances par tout s'espandent.

Jean de Condé,²¹ vol. III, pp. 68 and 69:

Delez lui une fosse avoit
Moult hydouse, et ne le savoit;
Qui en celle fosse cheist,
Jà mais nus hom ne le veïst,
Ne ne l'en sachast nus del monde,
Tant estoit hideuse et parfonde.

La fosse que dalez lui vois,
C'est ynfers où tantost yra
S'ame que du cors partira.

Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*,²² vv.
7343-4:

Sur le pendant d'un val hisdeus
Lait et parfont et tenebreus.

Ibid., vv. 9029-30:

Un val parfont plain de boscage,
Horrible, hideus et sauvage.

According to the Christian visions, Hell is a place of filth and vile odors.²³ Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda aurea*,²⁴ p. 822:

²⁰ *Œuvres*, p. p. Hoepffner, vol. I, Paris, 1908.

²¹ *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, p. p. A. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1866. 3 vols.

²² Ed. Stürzinger, London, 1893.

²³ Cf. the poisonous exhalation from the black lake; Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI, 237-241.

²⁴ Second edition, Graesse, Leipzig, 1850.

Deinde ad loca teterrima ipsum duxerunt omni foeditate plena dictumque est: iste est locus injustorum.—*Tundal*, pp. 14 and 15: Venerunt ad vallem valde profundam, putridam nimis ac tenebrosam, . . . Fumus vero de sulphure et de cadaveribus sursum insurgebat fetidus.—*Eynsham*: Chaos maximum quoddam et horrificum, quo permixti rotabantur fumus sulphureus et intolerabilis nebula foetoris cum flamma picea nigridine permixta.—*Drithelm*: Sed et foetor incomparabilis cum eisdem vaporibus ebulliens, omnia illi tenebrarum loca replebat.—*St. Patrick's Purgatory*.²⁵ Ostruderunt flammam teterrimam et foetore sulphureo plenam de puteo quodam ascendere.—*Paul*: Et tulit eum septentrionem super puteum sigilatum sigillis .vij. Et dixit angelus: 'Vade longe, si non possis sustinere fetorem loci.' Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit quidam fetor super has omnes penas.—*Thurcill*.²⁶ Erat autem juxta murum putei gehennalis introitus, qui indesinenter fumum cum teterrimo foetore per quasdam cavernas circumquaque in vultus astantium exhalabat.—*St. Bernard*.²⁷ Ibi erit dolor intolerabilis, timor horribilis, fetor incomparabilis. . . . Fetor adeo gravis de igne exhalat, qui non minus ardore cruciat. Une idem Isaias: Erit pro suavi odore fetor.²⁸

This feature of the mediaeval conception of Hell is reproduced by the French poets. Raoul de Houdenc, *Le Songe d'enfer*, vv. 477-486, represents stinking harlots as being served up with green sauce:

Après orent un autre mès,
Qu'il tindrent à bon et à frès:
Vielles putains aplaqueresses,
Qui ont teus crevaces qu'asnesses,
Mengies à verde saveur.
Mult s'en loèrent li pluseur,
Si que lor dois en delechoient
Por les putains qui lor puoient,
Dont il amoient mult le flair;
Encor en sent je puis l'air.

²⁵ *Matthei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, London, 1874, II, 192-203.

²⁶ *Rogeri de Wendover, Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series, II (1887), 16-35.

²⁷ Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 183, col. 492.

²⁸ The great ecclesiastic is twisting the meaning of the passage. When read in its context it is seen to mean that on the judgment day perfumed, wanton women shall be made to stink (Isaiah, iii, 24).

Ibid., vv. 580-2:

Mult en delechoient lors levres
Tuit cil qui en Enfer estoient,
Por ce que les putains puoient.

Roman de la Rose, vv. 15543-5:

Ce faus traître, ce truant,
Aut s'ame ou feu d'enfer puant
Qui la puist ardoir et destruire!

Rutebuef, vol. II, p. 147:

Por nous geter de la fornaise
D'enfer, qui tant par est pusnaise
Laide & obscure.

Ibid., p. 166:

En la dolor d'enfer punaise.

Ibid., p. 238:

Ainz est uns puis toz plains d'ordure.

Baudouin de Condé, vol. I, p. 39, vv. 206-8:

Par là nous fumes tout lavé
De l'ort infer, qui nous orda
Par Eve, qui tout descorda.

Idem, vol. II, p. 218, vv. 404-5:

Pour Dieu qui nous traist de l'ordure
D'infer.

Jean de Condé, vol. III, No. xxxviii, vv. 341-2:

C'est en ynfer, en la fournaise,
Qui est tenebreuse et pugnaise.

Idem, vol. II, p. 249, vv. 68-70:

Et siervés nostre sauveour,
Qui nous gieta dou grief siervaige
D'infer, le lieu ort et sauvaige.

Watriquet de Couvin, *Li Mireoirs aus Princes*,²⁰ vv. 680-1:

Et qui se veult du val parfont
D'enfer le puant destourner.

²⁰ *Dits de W. de C.*, p. p. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1868.

Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*,³⁰ vv. 4356-4361:

Mes lonc temps pas ne demoura
Que tel punaisie senti
Qu'a pou que n'o le cuer parti,
Pour quoi mon gardien me dist:
'Celle pueur que sens, si ist
D'enfer que je te vueil monstrier.'

Eustache Deschamps,³¹ vol. II, *Double Lay de la Fragilité Humaine*,

Lors aront toute dolour,
Grant puour.³²

Froissart, *La Prison Amoureuse*,³³ vv. 1638-1641:

Chil m'en seront maistre et ministre
A servir de vent et d'esclistre,
De froit, de chaut et de gellée,
De puasine desgellée.

The marsh of Hell is classical³⁴ as well as mediaeval, and it should be remarked that Huon de Méry, the first French poet we have noted who mentions it, is fond of classical allusions. Examples from mediaeval ecclesiastical literature follow:

Visio Caroli,³⁵ liber ii, § 111: Sicque ascendimus super montes altissimos igneos, de quibus oriebantur paludes et flumina ferventia. —*Eynsham*, p. 661: Pervenimus ad regionem quandam spatiosam nimis, visu horrendam, palustri situ et luto induritiem inspissato deformem.

French allegory is replete with references to the marsh of Hell: Huon de Méry, *Le Tornoïement de l'Antechrist*, p. 9:

. . . ; en la palu d'enfer
Requi régénéracion.

³⁰ Ed. Stürzinger, London, 1895.

³¹ *Œuvres*, p. p. St.-Hilaire et Raynaud, 11 vols., Paris, 1878-1903.

vv. 565-6:

³² Here Deschamps cites his source, the *De contemptu mundi sive de miseria humanae conditionis* of Innocent III: Ibi erit . . . ardor et fetor, etc.

³³ *Œuvres de Jean Froissart, Poésies*, p. p. Scheler, 3 vols., Bruxelles, 1870-1872.

³⁴ Virgil, *Æneid*, VI, 323: Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem.

³⁵ *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, Rolls Series, 2 vols., London, 1887.

Ibid., p. 67:

Et l'abat par tel envaïe
Du cheval par derrier la croupe
Qu'en .i. marcais l'en a fait soupe,
Et l'a en la boue laissié.

Ibid., p. 68:

En .i. marais trouble et puant.

Ibid., p. 73:

Cerbérus, dont ele ot fait couche,
Est tresbuchié en .i. marcas,
Où il remest honteus et mas.

Ibid., p. 84:

D'Orgoil vous di par vérité
Que Beaucent dessous lui chopa
Si radement, que une soupe a
Faite d'Orgoil en .i. marcas.

Ibid., p. 86:

Et au torner Apolin lance
En .i. marcais tout à bandon.

Roman de la Rose, vv. 11602-3:

Encor vous en jure et tesmoing
La palu d'enfer à tesmoing.

Ibid., vv. 14072-4:

Quant Jupiter asséuroit
Junon sa fame, il li juroit
Le palu d'enfer hautement.

Rutebuef, vol. II, p. 255, v. 476:

Et d'enferne palu.

Ibid., p. 273, v. 264:

Nous a geté de la palu
D'enfer, qui est vils & obscure.

Baudouin de Condé, vol. I, p. 15, vv. 398-400:

S'abat celui qui a mal fait
En la laide boe d'infier,
U li torment sont dur et fier.

Ibid., p. 185, v. 68:

Qui d'infier, qui de l'ort palu.

Jean de Condé, vol. II, p. 248, vv. 24-26:

Et cil qui erent tresbucié
En ynfier el parfont palu,
Revinrent à port de salu.

Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèl. de Vie Humaine*, vv. 3405-8:

En la sisieme: Descendu
A val en l'inferral palu
Pour hors geter tous ses amis
Et mener les en paradis.

Ibid., v. 9360:

U val de l'inferral palu.

Ibid., v. 9818:

Jadis en l'inferral palu.

Eustache Deschamps, vol. I, *ballade* 3, vv. 27-29:

Mais, en la fin, leur faurra faire un sault
Dont la mort fait tumer les plus hardis
En l'enferral palut, par leur default.

Idem, vol. II, *Le Lay Amoureux*, vv. 231-233:

Il n'estoit lors ne foul ne saige
Qui n'alast dedenz la palu
D'enfer prandre son herbergage.

Froissart, *La Prison Amoureuse*, vv. 1783-5:³⁶

Et tu sierement l'en juras,
Ce fu par le palu d'infer.
"Oil, en tesmoing Lucifer."

Les Échecs Amoureux (Ms. o:66 of the Dresden Royal Library),
folio 32, recto:

Or est ce voirs que chils Tantalus
Se baigne es infernaulx palus
Et est en l'eauve la dedens
Plongies tousdis jusques aux dens.

³⁶ Cf. *Rose*, vv. 14072-4, cited above.

A particularly interesting physical feature of the Hells and Purgatories of the mediaeval visions is the bridge of judgment, which apparently combines the early Christian bridge, such as that described by Gregory the Great, with the sword-bridge of Celtic mythology.⁸⁷ The bridge of judgment appears in its full Christian form in *La Mule sanz fraïn*⁸⁸ (date c. 1200), vv. 232-245 and 391-418, which may thus have served to popularize the theme in secular literature.

The bridge of judgment appears in a simple form in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, book iv, chapter 36:

Pons erat, sub quo niger atque caliginosus foetoris intolerabilis nebulam exhalans fluuius decurrebat. . . . Haec vero erat in praedicto ponte probatio, ut quisque per eum vellet iniustorum transire, in tenebrosam foetentemque fluuium laberetur. Iusti vero quibus culpa non obsisteret, securo per eum gressu ac libero ad loca amoena peruenirent.

The *Vision of S. Paul* (Brandes ed., p. 76) employs the same simple formula:

Postea vidit flumen orribile, in quo multe bestie dyabolice erant quasi pisces in medio maris, que animas peccatrices devorant sine ulla misericordia quasi lupi devorant oves. Et desuper illud flumen est pons, per quem transeunt anime iuste sine ulla dubitatione, et multe peccatrices anime merguntur unaquaeque secundum meritum suum.

By the twelfth century the visions have added important features to the bridge, and an explanation of the reasons why sinners fell from it.

Tundal (ed. Wagner, pp. 14-15):

Venerunt ad vallem valde profundam, putridam nimis ac tenebrosam, cujus profunditatem ipsa quidem anima videre non poterat. . . . Tabula autem longissima ab uno monte in alium in modum

⁸⁷ Cf. Gaston Paris, *Romania*, xii, 510, and Orłowski, *La Damoisele a la mule*, Paris, 1911, pp. 90-94. Laura Hibbard, in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, iv, 166-190, argues for the Celtic origin of Chrétien's sword-bridge.

⁸⁸ Edition of R. T. Hill, Baltimore, 1911. Note especially vv. 396-400:

Ne sai que vos deïsse el,
Et si vos di, sanz nule fable,
Que ce est li fluns au deable
Pan sanblant et par avison,
N'i voit l'en se deables non.

pontis se super vallem extenderat, qui mille passus in longitudine, in latitudine vero unius pedis mensuram habebat. Quem pontem transire nisi electus nemo poterat. De quo vidit multos cadere.

Ibidem, pp. 19-20:

Euntes vero longius viderunt stagnum amplum valde et tempestuosum, cujus fluctus astantes non permittebat cernere celum. Inerat etiam ibi plurima multitudo bestiarum terribilium, que mugientes nil aliud poscebant, nisi ut animas devorarent. Per latum vero ejus pons multum angustus erat et longus, cujus longitudo quasi per duo miliaria tendebatur; talis enim erat latitudo stagni. Latitudo vero ipsius pontis quasi unius palme mensura. Longior namque et angustior erat, quam pons ille, de quo superius diximus. Erat etiam ista tabula inserta clavis ferreis acutissimis, qui omnium transeuntium pedes solebant penetrare, ut nullius pes, si eum semel tangeret, illesus posset evadere. Omnes quoque bestie conveniebant ad pontem, ut inde cibos sumerent, illas scilicet animas, que transire non possent. Erant autem ipse bestie tante magnitudinis, ut magnis turribus assimilari rectissime valerent. Ignis etiam de ore ipsarum exiebat, ita ut et stagnum bullire a cernentibus putaretur.

St. Patrick's Purgatory (Matth. Par. Chron. Maj., II, p. 199) :

Trahentes igitur militem hostes novi cum tumultu horrissono ad flumen quoddam foetidum, latissimum, ac totum flamma sulphureo incendio coopertum, daemonumque multitudine repletum, dicentium ei, quod sub flumine illo esset infernus. Pons vero protendebatur ultra flumen, in quo tria quasi impossibilia videbantur; unum, quod ita lubricus erat, ut etiamsi latus esset, nullus vel vix aliquis in eo pedem figere posset; aliud quod adeo strictus erat, quod nullus in eo stare vel ambulare valebat; tertium quod ita altus est et a flumine remotus, quod horrendum erat deorsum aspicere. . . . Sed miles . . . coepit . . . super pontem incedere, et quo amplius processit in eo, tanto viam largiorem invenit; unde pontis latitudo in brevi ita crevit, ut viae publicae amplitudinem praeferret. . . . Alii hostes, qui sub ponte in flumine erant, uncus suos ferreos et ignitos projecerunt ad illum, sed militem tangere nequiverunt.

The bridge of judgment is alluded to, or described, in French allegorical poems as follows. Baudouin de Condé, in his *Contes d'Envie*, tells how the devil laughs and makes merry over the people whom his daughter Envie brings under his sway. The poet mentions the punishments which are brought upon the human race as a result of Envie's activities (vv. 62-71) :

Voire cil qui en aront quites
 Les ames em plus ardent fu
 De peneance qui ainc fu
 Dès la fin de la loi juïse
 Deschi au grant jor del juïse,
 Dont nous fussiemes tot delivre,
 Selonc vraie istore de livre,
 S'envie ne fust, la haïe,
 Qui nous a la voie haïe
 Et le pont de joie estrechié.

The statement that Envie "has made narrow the bridge of joy" is intelligible when the narrow bridge of *Tundal* and *St. Patrick* is borne in mind. In *Li Tournois des Dames*, Watriquet de Couvin describes an adaptation of the bridge of judgment in the form of a richly carved stone bridge representing the world, built upon rotten piling over a black river representing Hell (vv. 465-493, 498-503, 586-599) :

Ainssi le grant chemin ferré
 Avons ensemble tant erré,
 Elle à pié et je sans cheval,
 Que nous trouvames en .i. val
 Un pont très noble, riche et gent,
 Où maint grant pueple avoit de gent
 Qui tout erent là demorant;
 S'estoit la riviere courant
 Desouz ce pont, si merveilleuse,
 Si parfonde, noire et hideuse,
 Que c'estoit une orribletez;
 Et li pons desus estoit tez
 Qu'il n'ot si bel en nul pays.
 Mais je deving touz esbahys
 Quant je vi de ce pont de pierre
 L'uevre si tres riche et si chiere,
 De si gente et noble facion,
 Et j'oi veü que li machon
 Et li ouvrier communaument
 L'orent fait sus un fondement
 De mort bois qui riens ne valoit.
 Nonpourquant chascuns y aloit

Et venoit aussi asseür
Que fortune ne meseür
Ne redoutoient tant ne quant;
Et s'en cheoient li auquant
Et versoient chà .i., chà deus;
En ce flun parfont et hideus
Leur escot payer en aloient.

.
Chascuns seur che pont maisonnoit;
Li un tours, maisons et chastiaus,
Sales de pierre et à crestiaus
Y avoient amoncelé,
Li autre de lonc et de lé
Touz les biens qu'il porent avoir.

.
De ce pont, qui si perilleus
Est à estre et à converser
Qu'il semble adès qu'il doit verser,
Le mistere t'esponderai,
Et bien dire à touz l'oserai
Que c'est li mondes vraiment,
Où li uns reverse ensement
Devant l'autre à mort et trespasse
Sans respasser, en poi d'espasse.
Moult est du cors la vie briés,
Et l'ame sent les encombrés
De ses grans pechiez et la paine
En teniebres où on l'en maine
Par celle eve hideuse et rade.

The same poet, in *Li Dis du Preu Chevalier*, refers without previous explanation to a perilous bridge,³⁹ alluding doubtless to the bridge of judgment (vv. 123-127):

Bel et courtoisement respont
Courtoisie:—"Amis, seur ce pont
Perilleus te couvient passer,
Mais moult t'i couvendra lasser,
Ainz que passé l'aies, d'assez.

³⁹ Cf. v. 586 of the passage just cited.

Guillaume de Deguileville is undoubtedly referring also to the bridge of judgment in vv. 5471-2 of *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*:

Mes quant apres s'en dut aler
Et par le pont de mort passer.⁴⁰

A distinguishing feature of the devil of mediaeval eschatology is his fiery eyes.

Drithelm: Interea ascendurunt quidam spirituum obscurorum de abyssu illa flammium, et adcurrentes circumdederunt me, atque oculis flammantibus et de ore ac naribus ignem putidum efflantes angebant.—*Herberti de Miraculis* (Migne, Pat., Lat., vol. 185, col. 1278): Sed neque hoc silendum, quod hostis ille antiquus multoties et multiformiter ab eo videbatur. Una siquidem vice apparuit ei sub humana effigie in choro Clarvellansi, oculis ardentibus et vultu terribili. Erat autem statura enormis atque deformis valde.⁴¹

In order to make him more frightful, Guillaume de Lorris describes Dangiers in the terms of current devil description, *Rose*, vv. 2932-6:

Atant saut Dangiers li vilains
De là où il estoit muciés.
Grans fu, et noirs et hériciés,
S'ot les iex rouges comme feus,
Le nés froncié, le vis hideus.⁴²

The black arrows and knotty bow of the God of Love may have been suggested to the same poet by the instruments of torture which the devils are represented as carrying in the Christian visions, as their blackness was suggested by the devils themselves (*Rose*, vv. 961-4 and 976-8):⁴³

Cinc floiches i ot d'autre guise,
Qui furent lédes à devise.
Li fust estoient et li fer
Plus noirs que déables d'enfer.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Tundal*, p. 15, where the description of the first of the two bridges of judgment is followed by the words: Heu mihi misere, quis me liberabit, inquit, de itinere mortis hujus?

⁴¹ Further examples will be found in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, II, 321, where attention is drawn to the devil-origin of Dangiers.

⁴² Charles d'Orléans noted the resemblance. Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, xxvii, 262.

⁴³ For the vision citations cf. *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 287-8.

Moult par lor estoit convenables
Li uns des ars qui fu hideus,
Et plains de neus, et eschardeus.

The tradition is continued by Guillaume de Machaut in his description of Poliphemus in *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, vv. 7090-2:

Un seul oeil a enemy le front
Grant & gros, horrible & parfont,
Com feu rouge est soubz la paupiere.

Cf. vv. 7179-7181, following the account of the encounter with Ulixes, in which Poliphemus lost his eye:

Jamais diable ne verrez
Si forsené, si enragié,
De son oeil qu'on a arragié.⁴⁴

Eustache Deschamps maintains the fashion in his description of Mauregart, *Œuvres*, vol. V, *ballade* 907, vv. 11-14:

A droit ne veult nulz hommes regarder
Fors de travers; feu et flambe li sault
Par les .ii. oeulx; ceuls dont il fait bersault
Sont plus navrez que d'arbaleste ou dart.

Judgment of a sinner according to a book of his deeds is based upon Revelation, xx, 12, elaborated in an anonymous vision related by Bede and in the *Vision of Thurcill*, and mentioned in the *Vision of Paul*.⁴⁵ It is thus referred to in the *Songe d'Enfer* of Raoul de Houdenc, vv. 613-620:

Li rois qui por lui deporter
Me fist un sien livre apporter
Qu'en Enfer ot leenz escrit
Uns mestres qui mist en escrit
Les droiz le roi et les forpez,
Les fols vices et les fols fez
C'on fet et tout le mal afere
Dont li rois doit justice fere.

⁴⁴ Ovid, whose description of Polyphemus in *Metam.* book xiii the French poet is following, does not mention the redness of his single eye.

⁴⁵ The citations are given in *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 284-5.

Also by Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, vv. 2333-2339:

Lors vint et monta haut Benoit
 Qui deux grans sedules tenoit
 Et dist: "Dedens vous troveres
 Tout ce que demande aves.
 En l'un escript sont contenus
 Biens, en l'autre les maus scëus
 Du pelerin de mon habit.

The punishment of sinners by exposure to alternate heat and cold is foreshadowed in the Vulgate, Job, xxiv, 19: *Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium*. The only addition I can make to the passage in Deguileville's *Pèl. de l'Ame*⁴⁶ is found in Eustache Deschamps *Double Lay de la Fragilité Humaine* (*Œuvres*, vol. II), 582-4:

Ou ilz sentiront chalour
 Et froidour
 A leur tour.

Here the poet cites his source, the *De Contemptu mundi* of Innocent iii: *Ibi erit . . . frigus et cauma*.⁴⁷

In the mediaeval visions certain sinners are represented as hanging from a gibbet. This feature is reproduced in the *Roman de la Rose*, vv. 20201-6,⁴⁸ in Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèl. de l'Ame*, v. 4567 f.,⁴⁹ and in the following passages. Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèl. de Vie Humaine*, vv. 7233-7242:

C'est la corde au bourrel d'enfer
 Qui plus quë arrement est ner,
 Celle dont il trahine et pent
 A son gibet ceus qu'il sousprent.
 Je la porte aval le païs,
 Quar le bourrel le m'a commis,

⁴⁶ Vv. 3853-4. Cf. *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 290-1, where will be found citations from the visions.

⁴⁷ St. Bernard based his naïve explanation of the "weeping and gnashing of teeth" upon this feature (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 184, col. 792): "Unde apud Matthaeum: *Ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium* (Matth., viii, 12); quia fumus de igne excitat fletum oculorum; frigus, stridorem dentium."

⁴⁸ Cf. *Romanic Review*, II, 58, where citations from the visions are given.

⁴⁹ Cf. *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 293-4.

A fin que, se truis aucun fol,
Hart je l'en face entour le col
Que li trahine et li maine
Et que il ait mal semaine.

Eustache Deschamps, *Le Miroir de Mariage*, vv. 1532-4:

Les envoiera lors dancier
En cordes et liens de fer
Avec les ennemis d'enfer.

Froissart, *La Prison Amoureuse*, vv. 1643-6:

Et m'esleveront sus un arbre,⁵⁰
Si me monsteront leurs poissances,
Qui ne sont que doels et nuisances,
Tourmens pis ouderans que souffre.

Punishment of sinners by boiling is described in the *Vision of Thurcill* and *St. Patrick's Purgatory*,⁵¹ and in the *Vision of Charles III*: *Velociter liberatus ero de isto aquae bullientis dolio*. It is mentioned in the following passages in French allegory:

Roman de la Rose, vv. 207771 and 20774:

Ces trois en enfer vous atendent;
Noient, ardent, greillent et boulent.

Rutebuef, vol. I, p. 226, vv. 36-37:

Mès il les covendra boillir
Ou puis d'enfer sanz jà réembre.

Idem, vol. II, p. 251, v. 396:

De qui l'âme en ira en enfer le boillant.

Watriquet de Couvin, *Li Tournois des Dames*, vv. 624-5:

Mais en enfer, qui est ouvers,
Trebuschié en la grant chaudiere.

Idem, *Li Dis de la Cygoigne*, v. 202:

S'en porront en enfer boillir.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Vision of Paul*, p. 75: *Vidit vero Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneus et peccatores cruciatos et suspensos in eis*.

⁵¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, II, 60.

The roasting, or grilling, of sinners, described in the *Vision of Thurcill*,⁵² is mentioned in the *Roman de la Rose*,⁵³ and in the following passages.

Rutebuef, vol. II, p. 143, vv. 22, 23:

Que la lasse d'âme cuira
En enfer.

Baudouin de Condé, *C'est li contes dou preudome*, vv. 170-1:

Cascuns en aura l'ame cuite,
En enfier.

Worms and serpents as features of torture in Hell are mentioned in several visions.

Bernold.⁵⁴ Et vidi ibi jacere domnum nostrum Carolum regem in luto ex sanie ipsius putredinis, et manducabant eum vermes, et jam carnem illius manducatam habebant, et non erat in corpore ipsius aliud nisi nervi et ossa.—*Eynsham*, p. 663: Istos vermes veniferis rodebant dentibus.—*St. Bernard*.⁵⁵ Vermes immortales ibi sunt, serpentes et dracones, horribiles visu et sibilo, qui ut pisces in aqua, ita vivunt in flamma; qui miseros affligunt, et praecipue membra illorum pervagantur et rodunt, quae praecipue peccatis militaverunt.—*St. Paul*, p. 66: Postea vidit mulieres multas . . . et dracones et serpentes circa colla earum.

They are also mentioned in the following passages in French allegory: Baudouin de Condé, *Li Prisons d'Amours*, vv. 1230-7:

Quant cil qui gist en la prison
A endurée la prison
Del serpent, de cui bouce saut
Feus et flame quant il asaut,
Lors li revienent et resalent
Autre serpent que le resalent,
Qui asés plus le vont grevant,
Que n'ai fait li serpens devant.

Ibid., vv. 1390-4:

Dedens la cartre a une wivre
Si male, que ne puet pas vivre

⁵² Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, II, 60.

⁵³ V. 20774, cited above.

⁵⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 125, col. 1115-1120.

⁵⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 184, col. 792.

Longhement cil cui elle mort,
Car la wivre doune la mort :
C'est desesperance la très folle.

Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, vv. 2050-4 :

Ou estre puet rungiez de vers
Et de planté d'autre vermine,
Et il y est lonc termine,
Chargié col et les bras de fers
Et les jambes, c'est bien enfers.

Watriquet de Couvin, *Li Despis du Monde*, vv. 130-2 :

Mondes, se pour la char metoie
L'ame en oubli et trebuschoie
Ou trou de serpentine alaine.

Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèl. de l'Ame*, vv. 5416-5420 :

Et entour eux foison avoit
De crapos et coulevres grans
Et autres vermines nuisans
Qui a tous les les mordoient
Et tres grant grief leur faisoient.

Eustache Deschamps, *Le Miroir de Mariage*, vv. 5937-9 :

Elles aront et feu et vers,
Puours, autres tourmens divers
A tousjours, sanz terme et sanz fin.

The "worm of conscience" is mentioned by St. Bernard:⁵⁶ In carne cruciabantur per ignem, in spiritu per concientiae vermem.
and by two French poets :

Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèl. de Vie Humaine*, vv. 2155-2162 :

Encore un petit mot vous di
De cel ort pot d'ordure emplí.
Dedens pour sa grant ordure
Fait un ver sa nourreture,
Dedens est engendres et nez,
Dedens nourris et alevez.

⁵⁶ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 184, col. 490.

C'est de conscience le ver
Qui semble avoir des dens de fer.⁵⁷

Eustache Deschamps, *Le Miroir de Mariage*, vv. 5940-5 :

Ly vers qui ne va a declin,
Qui s'appelle de conscience,
Nourris es deliz de l'enfance
De char, en desespoir menrra
Ces filles, et les livrera
A douleur perpetuelment.

In addition to the characteristics just cited, which appear in works of more than one poet, there are other characteristics which have been noted only in the works of single poets, and which betray no less unmistakably their Christian origin.

Raoul de Houdenc's two poems, *Le Songe d'Enfer* and *Le Songe de Paradis*, both in the dream form, when taken together correspond to the Christian visions, which represented Hell and Paradise, and sometimes Purgatory. In the first mentioned poem Raoul lays more stress upon the vicissitudes of the path to Hell than do the authors of the Latin visions. Once there, he finds the king of that region holding court, and in the procession of *mestre* who ride up, the first place is held by Churchmen (vv. 400-401) :

Quar dusqu'au chief de la chaucie
Peri toute l'eglise aval.

This form of criticism of the character of the clergy is found abundantly in the visions.⁵⁸

In common with the Latin visions and Deguileville's *Pèl. de l'Ame*,⁵⁹ the seer in the *Songe de Paradis* recognizes acquaintances in the other world (vv. 944-949) :

Ravisés fui et conneüs
De ceaus qui al siecle me virent
Endementiers que il vesquirent
Et chil qui me reconnoissent

⁵⁷ Cf. Deguileville, *Pèl. de l'Ame*, vv. 1273-4, where Synderesis, the *ver . . . de conscience* is mentioned.

⁵⁸ E. g., Barontus, Drithelm, Wettin, Bernold, Walkelin, Alberic, Cistercian Novice, etc. Cf. Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, Edinburgh, 1903, pp. 187, 189, 197, 206, 212, 221, and 249.

⁵⁹ P. M. L. A., xxv, 291.

As purgatory has no part in the eschatology of the Bible in either its canonical or apocryphal books, it is plain that the influence at work here is mediaeval.

II.—PARADISE

The presence of so many of the details of the mediaeval Christian Hell and Purgatory in the French allegorical poems of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries makes it probable that the Christian paradise (the heavenly and the earthly) will also be found to have left its imprint upon them. An important proof of the truth of this hypothesis is found in the very considerable number of passages in French allegorical poems in which the Christian paradise is used as a term of comparison. This evidence is of the first importance, and will therefore be given *in extenso*. *Geste de Blanchefleur e de Florence*,⁶⁴ vv. 300–304:

. . . Sor son lit fu cochee,
Que batu fu trestot de floures
De si très bele diverse coloures
Que ceo sembloit parays
Plus que autre terriene chose.

Roman de la Rose, vv. 4910 and 4944–5:

Amors ce est pais haïneuse,
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Ce est enfers li doucereus,
C'est paradis li dolereus.

Thibaut, *Roman de la Poire*, vv. 1032–6:

Son biau nes et sa bele boche
Qui n'est amere, ne n'est toche,
Ainz est si gente et si petite,
Come si Diex l'eüst eslite
En son saintesme paradis.

Philippe de Remi, *Conte d'Amours*,⁶⁵ stanza 40, vv. 10–12:

Dont sui ge liés, dont sui joians;
Joians! si me soit Dix aidans,
Ne volsisse estre en paradis!

⁶⁴ *Romania*, 37: 221–235.

⁶⁵ *Œuvres Poétiques*, p. p. H. Suchier, 2 vols., Paris, 1884–5.

Quant ge le lor dis, que ce fust
 Cil qui par le bordon de fust,
 Por les ames par péchié mortes,
 Devoit d'enfer brisier les portes,
 Et lor grant orguel escachier
 Por ses amis d'enfer sachier.

Guillaume de Machaut, in *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, vv. 2051-2053, compares a prisoner's chains to the chains of Hell:

Et il y est un lonc termine,
 Chargié col et les bras de fers
 Et les jambes, c'est bien enfers.

Cf. St. Bernard:⁶²

Paveo gehennam. . . . Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lacrymarum (Jerem., ix, 1), ut praeveniam fletibus fletum, et stridorem dentium, et manuum pedumque dura vincula et pondus catenarum prementium, stringentium, urentium, nec consummentium?

In the *Pèl. de l'Ame*, Guillaume de Deguileville mentions the struggles of the devils for the possession of the soul as it leaves its earthly body (vv. 55-57): the angel that guides the soul in its wanderings in the other world (vv. 78-82, 187-190, 556-559), complies with the soul's requests for explanations of what it sees (vv. 5181f., 5513f., 5597f., 6780f., and 6805f.), and comforts it (vv. 79-82); the punishment by subjection to alternate heat and cold (vv. 3853-4); the wheels of torment (vv. 4873-5038 and 5309-5328); and the molten metal poured down sinners' throats (vv. 5177-5180, 5241-8, and 5257-5260), for all of which parallels are found in the Christian visions.⁶³

Froissart in *Le Buisson de Jeunesse*, vv. 4412-6, mentions purgatory:

A très bonne heure il arriva
 Quant il vint en mon purgatore,
 Car il me rendi grant victore
 De la flame et de l'ardent fu
 Qui entours moi ou buisson fu.

⁶² Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 183, col. 852.

⁶³ Cf. *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 275-308.

As purgatory has no part in the eschatology of the Bible in either its canonical or apocryphal books, it is plain that the influence at work here is mediaeval.

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⁶⁴ *Romania*, 37: 221–235.

⁶⁵ *Œuvres Poétiques*, p. p. H. Suchier, 2 vols., Paris, 1884–5.

Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Lay de Plour*, vv. 185-8:

Mes esperis
Et mes paradis
Estient mis
En toy. . .

Idem, *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, vv. 2232-3:

"Baisiés-moy." Dieus! qui ce féist,
Il n'est paradis qui le vaille.

Ibid., vv. 3492-3:

S'estoie com cils qui se baigne
En flun de paradis terrestre.

Ibid., vv. 4719-4720:

Et à son ymage tousdis
Trairay, comme à mon paradis.

Ibid., p. 241:

Je l'aime autant come je desire paradis.

Jean de Condé, *La Messe des Oisiaus*, vv. 64-68:

N'estoit mie de la lontaine
La dame Venus, qui venoit
Et si grant conroy amenoit
Ke nombres n'en puet estre dis:
Che sambloit uns drois paradis.

Watriquet de Couvin, *Li Mireoirs as dames*, vv. 930-1 and 942-3:

Tant avoit bel et gent le cors
Toute y estoit biautez eslite.
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C'iert uns fins paradis terrestre,
Vuis de courous et plains de joie.

Ibid., vv. 971-5:

"Quel feste vous ont fait les dames?
Sont elles bien de cors et d'ames,
Bonnes et de grant biauté plaines?"
—"Certes, ma dame, oïl, à paines
Fait il si bel em paradis."

Idem, Li Dis des .iiii. sieges, vv 88–89:

Car en trestout le paradis
N'avoit si bel con cil estoient.

Idem, Li Dis des .viii. couleurs, vv. 73–83:

De .viii. couleurs iert coulourez
Li gentils paons honorez,
Si que nulle rienz n'i falloit.
Tant cointement le pas aloit
Après sa poe cointoiant,
Sa roe au soleil fretelant,
Qu'à veoir iert fine merveille:
De couleur d'or, ynde et vermeille,
Blanc, vert, sanguin, ynde et tanée
Ert si la place enluminée,
Qu'estre sambloit fins paradis.

Idem, Li Dis de l'Escharbote, vv. 71–75 and 87–89:

. . . Atant nous mesimes
Au chemin tant que nous venimes,
Chevauchant toute une valée,
Vers une cité cretelée
De marbre, à bretesche et à tour.
.
Ce sembloit paradis terrestre,
Ne riens ne pooit sus terre estre
C'on n'en trovast là à planté.

Oton de Granson, *Complainte de Saint Valentin*,⁶⁶ p. 763:

Je feray vers vous mon deuoir
D'aller du tout à mon pouvoir
Vers celle dont faictes deuis,
Qu'à plain on peult appercevoir
De beaulté le droit paradis.

Eustache Deschamps, No. cccv, vv. 87–89:

En ce bon temps de jadis
Fu en mondain paradis
D'amours, qui po me dura.

⁶⁶ Published in *Les Œuvres de Maistre Alain Chartier*, p. p. Du Chesne, Paris, 1617.

Idem, Lay de Franchise, v. 124 :

Cilz jours estoit uns mondains paradis.

Idem, No. DLIV, vv. 46-48 :

C'est uns mondains paradiz
Que d'avoir dame toudiz
Ainsi fresche, ainsi nouvelle.

Idem, No. DCCCCLX, v. 7 :

Vous regarder est un droit paradis.

Froissart, *Paradis d'Amour*, vv. 1245-1250 :

Et appelle un paradis
Garni d'ounour
Et de delis
Vostre valour
Et grant douçour,
Dame de pris.

Idem, Le Buisson de Jeunesse, vv. 3756-9 :

Et appelle un paradys
Le plaisant port
De ma dame et le ressort
De son cler vis.

Idem, Le Dit dou florin, vv. 358-363 :

En la salle avoit tel lumiere,
Ou en sa chambre, à son souper,
Que on y veoit ossi cler
Que nulle clareté poet estre;
Certes à paradys terrestre
Le comparoie moult souvent.

La Cour de May,⁶⁷ vv. 641-2 :

Que il ne feroit plus bel estre,
Ce croy je, en paradis terrestre.

Ibid., vv. 1081-4 :

Tel homme de court congnoist bien
Qu'en court il n'y a nul seur bien,
Fors qu'en paradis, court des cours,
Là est joye durable en cours.

⁶⁷ *Œuvres de Jean Froissart, Poésies*, vol. III.

Le Trésor Amoureux,⁶⁸ vv. 1275-1286:

Qu'est ce de croire fermement
Qu'on soit amé parfaitement?
Est il terrien paradis
Qui le vaille en fais ou en dis,
Tant soit il de haultain renom?
Certainement je croy que non;
Il n'est vraiment nulle rien
Qu'on puist mieulx nommer terrien
Paradis ne plus grant eür,
Que d'estre en ce cas asseür,
Car autre paradis n'y clame
Que d'estre amé de ce qu'on ayme.

Ibid., vv. 1563-4:

Et c'est grasce et le paradis
De ce monde en fais et en dis.

Attention has previously been drawn to the resemblance between the garden of love in certain allegorical poems and the Christian paradise, celestial or terrestrial.⁶⁹ The poets themselves at times draw the obvious comparison.

Le Fablel dou dieu d'Amors,⁷⁰ stanza 23:

Quant desous l'ente el vergié fui assis,
Et jou oï des oysillons les cris,
De joie fu si mes cuers raëmplis,
Moi fu avis que fuisse em paradis.

Huon de Méry tells in *Le Tornoement de l'Antechrist* (pp. 6 and 7) how he saw a tree covered with birds.

Et faisoient de divers chans
Une si douce mélodie,
Que à ma mort n'à ma vie
Ne vousisse avoir autre gloire.
Encor quant me vient en mémoire,

⁶⁸ *Œuvres de Jean Froissart, Poésies*, vol. III.

⁶⁹ *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xxxii, 705-710; Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1891, pp. 53-54; Arturo Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, 2 vols., Torino, 1892-1893, vol. I, p. 155, Note 129.

⁷⁰ *Modern Philology*, VIII, 63-86.

M'est il tout vraiment avis,
Que c'estoit terrien paradis.

Roman de la Rose, vv. 639-646:

Et sachiés que je cuidai estre
Por voir en Paradis terrestre,
Tant estoit li leus délitables,
Qu'il sembloit estre espértables:
Car si cum il m'iert lors avis,
Ne féist en nul Paradis
Si bon estre, com il faisoit
Ou vergier qui tant me plaisoit.

The passage just cited assumes especial significance because of the word *espértables* (v. 642), and the unquestioned influence of the *Rose* upon all succeeding allegory. That Jean de Meun agreed with Guillaume de Lorris in his conception of the garden of love as an adaptation of the Christian paradise is proven by a citation from his portion of the poem (vv. 21523-8):

Et por ce que trop ne nous tiengne,
D'un brief mot voil qu'il vous soviengne,
Que qui la forme et la matire
Du parc verroit, bien porroit dire
C'onques en si bel paradis
Ne fu formés Adans jadis.

Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, vv. 3559-3562:

Par accort soupames ensemble
En un vergier, qui bien ressemble
De douceur le biau paradis
Qu'Eve & Adans eurent jadis.

In the first lines of *Li Tournois des Dames*, Watriquet de Couvin states that he and the count went to Montferrant in October, 1327. He continues (vv. 30-35):

Et qui voudroit trouver bel ombre
En esté, au douz jolif tans,
Voist au parc, tant est delitans
Et plains de si grant melodie
En avril quant li bois verdie,
Que nulz croire ne le porroit.

He mentions *le douz roussignol* (v. 36), the *orieul* and *mauvis* (v. 42), and concludes (vv. 52-55):

Je ne sai d'autrui, mais à mi
Sembble de l'ostel et de l'estre
Ce soit fins paradis terrestre,
Tant est de melodie plains.

Trésor Amoureux, vv. 644-9 and 661-4:

Le chemin en quoy je t'ai mis,
C'est le lieu, aval et amont,
Qui les cueurs de joie semont;
C'est le jardin qui maint arpent
De terre contient, et apent
De droit au Tresor amoureux.

A briefz mos, c'est le paradis
A ceulz qui en fais et en dis
Sont en leurs fais delicieux,
Sans estre en rien malicieux.

The anonymous poet of *Les Échecs Amoureux*⁷¹ visits the *vergier* which many have described, but most gracefully of all (folio 18 verso)

Chilz qui fist le commencement
Du joly rommant de la Rose,

adding (folio 19 verso):

Briefment au voir dire chilz estres
Sambloit mieulx diuins que terrestres.

The God of Love seems to him like an angel (folio 20 verso):

Je cuidoye veoir tousdis
Un droit Angle de paradis.

Cf. folio 8 verso:

Quant je vy le contenment
De dames et du jonenchel
Qui bien sambloit angles du cel.

⁷¹ Ms. o: 66 of the Royal Library at Dresden.

These comparisons, by the poets themselves, of the allegorical garden of love to the Christian paradise give us a clue to the former's origin. In order to demonstrate the truth of their statements it is only necessary to compare the phenomena for ourselves. Descriptions of the Christian paradise are innumerable, and are found in the earliest Christian times and in the Middle Ages. They appeared in commentaries on the Book of Genesis, in accounts of the six days of creation, in theological and scientific treatises, in chronicles, legends, and visions.⁷² From the latter I will cite the following examples:

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Liber V, cap. 12:

Et ecce ibi campus erat latissimus ac laetissimus tantaque fragrantia vernantium flosculorum plenus, ut omnem mox foetorem tenebrosae fornacis, qui me pervaserat, effugaret admirandi huius suavitas odoris. . . . Precedentes . . . aspicio ante nos multo maiorem luminis gratiam quam prius; in qua etiam vocem cantantium dulcissimam audiui; sed et odoris fragrantia miri tanta de loco effundebatur, ut is, quem antea degustans quasi maximum rebar, iam permodicus mihi odor videretur.—*Tundal*, p. 41: Viderunt campum pulchrum, odoriferum, floribus insitum, lucidum et satis amoenum.

Cf. the stage direction at the beginning of *La Représentation d'Adam*.⁷³

Constituatur paradus loco eminenciori; . . . serantur odoriferi flores et frondes; sint in eo diverse arbores et fructus in eis dependentes, ut amenissimus locus videatur.—*St. Patrick's Purgatory*.⁷⁴ Illi ostenderunt prata amoenissima diversis floribus fructibusque herbarum arborumque multiformium decorata, ex quorum suavitatis odore in aeternum, ut sibi visum est, vivere potuisset. . . . "Patria haec terrestris est Paradusus."—*Enysham*, p. 720: Ad ulteriora tendentibus lumen nobis gratissimum coepit paulatim apparere. Hinc odoris fragrantia suavissimi nec multo post campi florum multimoda iucunditate vernantis amoenitas incredibilem nobis praestitit voluptatem.—*De Sanctis Barlaam et Josaphat*.⁷⁵

⁷² Graf., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 41. In an appendix, vol. I, pp. 197-217, the author quotes some descriptions of the earthly paradise drawn from early Christian and mediaeval works.

⁷³ *Das Adamsspiel*, hgg. von K. Grass, 2nd ed., Halle, 1907, p. 3. The editor dates it between 1146 and 1174.

⁷⁴ *Matth. Par. Chronica Majora*, II, 200.

⁷⁵ Jacobi a Voragine *Legenda aurea*, rec. Graesse, second edition, Lipsiae, 1850, p. 822.

In qua oratione obdormiens vidit se duci in quoddam pratum decoris floribus exornatum, ubi folia arborum dulcem sonum reddebant aura quadam grata agitata, et odorem mirificum emanabant, ubi fructus visu speciosissimi et gustu desiderabiles, ubi sedes positae erant auro et gemmis fabricatae, lecti lucidi cum pretiosissimis ornamentis, aquae limpidissimae praeterfluentes. Dehinc in civitatem ipsum introduxerunt, cujus muri ex auro obrizo erant, quod claritate mirabili refulgebat, ubi aetherei quidam exercitus cantantes canticum, quod auris mortalium non audivit, dictumque est ei: iste est locus beatorum.

The Latin debate, *De Phillide et Flora*,⁷⁶ contains an important description of the paradise of love (*amoris . . . paradisum*, v. 233), which serves to link the descriptions in the Latin visions with those in the French allegorical poems. E. Faral is of the opinion⁷⁷ that the poet was inspired by descriptions of the earthly paradise, and calls attention to the importance of line 261: *Immortalis fieret ibi manens homo*. Vv. 233-266:

Ad amoris destinant ire paradisum,
dulcis ira commovet utriusque visum;
Phillis Florae, Phillidi Flora movet risum;
fert Phillis accipitrem manu, Flora nisum.

Parvo tractu temporis nemus est inventum,
ad ingressum nemoris murmurat fluentum;
ventus inde redolet myrrhis et pigmentum,
audiuntur tympana cytharaeque centum.

Quicquid potest hominis comprehendi mente,
totum ibi virgines audiunt repente;
vocum differentiae sunt illic inventae,
sonat diatessaron, sonat diapente.

Tympanum, psalterium, lyra, symphonia
sonat et mirabili plaudit harmonia;
sonant ibi phialae voce valde pia,
et buxus multiplici movet vitae via.

Sonant omnes volucrum linguae voce plena,
vox auditur merulae dulcis et amoena;
corydalus garrulus, turtur, philomena,
quae non cessat conqueri de transacta poena,

⁷⁶ *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, collected and edited by Thomas Wright, London, 1841.

⁷⁷ *Romania*, 41, p. 482.

Instrumento musico, vocibus canoris,
 tum diversi specie contemplata floris,
 tum odoris gratia redundante foris,
 conjectatur teneri thalamus Amoris.

Virgines introeunt modico timore;
 et eundo proprius crescunt in amore;
 sonant quaeque volucrum proprio rumore,
 acceduntur animi vario clamore.

Immortalis fieret ibi manens homo;
 arbor ibi quaelibet suo gaudet pomo;
 viae myrrha, cinnamo fragrant, et amomo;
 conjectari poterat dominus ex domo.

Vident choros juvenum et domicellarum;
 singulorum corpora, corpora stellarum.

The descriptions of the gardens, parks and meadows that figure so universally in the setting of French allegorical poems, are at the beginning very simple.⁷⁸ Raoul de Houdenc, *La Voie de Paradis*,⁷⁹ vv. 874-6:

Et quant j'oi l'eschiele montée,
 En une plaigne grant & lée
 Entrai qui mult ert délitale.

Florance et Blancheflor,⁸⁰ vv. 15-17, 31-34, 37-38:

Un jor d'esté par un matin
 Deus puceles en un jardin
 Entrerent por esbanoier.

 Par le vergier esbanoiant
 S'en aloient lez un pendant:
 Un val truevent et un ruissel
 Qui soef cort par l'epinel.

 Puis s'assiéent soz l'olivier
 Qui fu plantez lez le gravier.

⁷⁸ Similar descriptions are found in earlier French poems, e. g., *Thèbes*, vv. 2143-2152, 2235, 4847, 8081, and vol. II, p. 138; *Cligès*, vv. 6400-6424; *Yvain*, vv. 410-477; *Erec et Enide*, vv. 5746-5764. But that these were not the source of inspiration of the poets of allegory must be inferred from the abundant references the latter make to Christian eschatology, as shown above.

⁷⁹ Rutebeuf, *Œuvres*, III, 220.

⁸⁰ Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, IV, 354-365.

Hueline et Aiglantine,⁸¹ vv. 1-4, 7-8:

Ce fu en mai, et tans d'esté
Que la vert herbe croist o pré,
Deus puceles en un vergier
Entrerent por esbenoier:

Amont vindrent par lo jardin
A la fontaine sor le pin.

Details are more abundant in *La Geste de Blancheflour e de Flo-
rence*. Vv. 1-12:

L'autre hier m'en aloi jwant,
De mes amors rejoïssaunt,
Delez une prairie
Ou il i avoit douce odour
E trefin fresche flerour
De tote manere d'espicerie.
Qe n'ad souz ciel tiele maladie,
Fiebre quarteine ne parlesie,
Q'en cors d'homme soit agregie,
Qe, par une goutte de la rosée
Qe sur l'erbe i est trovée,
Ne soit de tot amenousie.

The poet continues with a list of musical instruments, such as is not found in the descriptions of the earthly paradise, and with a mention of four streams that are a commonplace of such descriptions⁸² (vv. 34-36):

Une fountaigne que i sourdoit
En quatre russeaus s'espandoit
En la gravele de grant lusour.

The garden contains all sorts of precious stones (vv. 37-51), of trees (vv. 52-72), and of birds (vv. 73-90), "which sang night and day new songs of great sweetness."⁸³ We have in this poem a sud-

⁸¹ Méon, *Nowv. Rec.*, Paris, 1823, I, 353-363.

⁸² Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁸³ The editor, Paul Meyer, suggests (*Romania*, 32: 224) that these categories may have been lacking in the English original, and may have been inserted in the French version with pedagogical intention. They resemble, except for the verse form, the *nominalia*, or word groups, found in treatises composed in England for students of French.

den and considerable expansion of the garden description, and in the inclusion of the four streams almost certain evidence of the influence of descriptions of the earthly paradise.

In *Le Fablel dou Dieu d'Amors* the poet represents himself as dreaming that on a May morning, when the birds were singing, he entered a meadow (stanza 4) covered with every kind of herb and flower (5). Its single stream flowed from paradise, and had the power to restore youth and virginity (6 and 7) :

De paradis i couroit uns rouissiax
 Parmi la pree, qui tant ert clers et biax,
 N'a tant viel home en cités n'en castiax,
 S'il s'i baignast, lués ne fust jovenciax,

 Ne dame nule tant eüst mesjué,
 Mais qant nul jor n'eüst enfant porté,
 Se .j. petit eüst asavouré,
 Ne fust pucele, ains qu'ele issist del pré.

It flowed over precious stones upon which were carved the images of birds and wild beasts (8). The poet walks along the river bank until he comes to a *vergié* (9) full of common trees (10), whose branches are constantly covered with leaves and blossoms. The rosebushes are laden with roses in February as well as May (11). The *vergié* is surrounded by *uns fossés . . . de marbre pavés* (12) surmounted by a *pons leveïs* (14) which no *vilains* may cross (15).

The scene of *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor* is laid *En un bel prey*. The lover sits *desous un pint flori* (stanza 5) and hears the songs of the birds, which make him think he is in paradise (11) :

Quant desous l'ente el uergier fu asis
 Et il entendi des oiseillons les cris,
 De ioie fu li suens cors si emplis,
 Lui fu auis qu'il fu en paradis.

In *Le Tornoient de l'Antechrist*, after Huon de Méry has described Largesce's dinner (p. 94 f.), at which the guests were offered all the fruits of paradise except the fatal fruit the eating of which resulted in the expulsion of Adam and Eve, he relates that the party enter a *vergier* in flower and surrounded by a crenelated wall (p. 97) :

Et ert tous as murs as querniaus
Clos plus richement du monde.

There was so much *aubespine* in flower that the poet thought it must have snowed. The birds sang *col estendu*, each in its pavilion.

The scene of the *Roman de la Rose* is laid in a *praërie grant et bele* (v. 122), carpeted with *erbe fresche verdoiant* (v. 1390), where *il i avoit tous jours plenté De flors et yver et esté* (vv. 1409-1410). Vv. 1415-1418:

Trop par estoit la terre cointe,
Qu'ele ere piolée et pointe
De flors de diverses colors,
Dont moult sunt bones les odors.

Sweetly singing birds abound (v. 67 f.). Vv. 480-3:

Onc mès ne fu nus leus si riches
D'arbres, ne d'oisillons chantans;
Qu'il i avoit d'oisiaus trois tans
Qu'en tout le remanant de France.

Cf. also vv. 647 f., and 705 f. The garden of the rose has many kinds of trees (vv. 1297 f., 1334 f., 1355 f.) and spices (v. 1348 f.), among them *Graine de paradis novele* (v. 1351). The garden is enclosed by a wall (vv. 129-131):

Quant j'oi un poi avant alé,
Si vi un vergier grant et lé,
Tot clos d'un haut mur bataillé.

The poet wonders how he is to get over it (vv. 498-505):

Forment me pris à démenter
Par quel art ne par quel engin
Je porroie entrer ou jardin;
Mès ge ne poi onques trouver
Leu par où g'i péusse entrer.
Et sachiés que ge ne savoie
S'il i avoit pertuis ne voie,
Ne leu par où l'en i entrast.

Cf. Bede (*Hist. Eccl. Gentis Angl.*, V, 12):

Uidi ante nos murum permaximum, cuius neque longitudini hinc uel inde, neque altitudini ullus esse terminus videretur. Coepi autem

mirari, quare ad murum accederemus, cum in eo nullam ianuam uel fenestram uel ascensum alicubi conspicerem.⁸⁴

The scene of the *Salu d'Amors* of Philippe de Remi⁸⁵ is laid (v. 186)

En un jardin jonchié de flours.

Guillaume de Machaut begins *Le Dit dou Vergier* by relating how he enters a *jardinet* in which are trees bearing blossoms of different colors. He follows a dewy, grass-grown path to a *vergier* where the birds are singing, and where many-colored flowers are found. He enters a *prairielet* in the center of which stands a tree of such beautiful blossoms and foliage, and of such a fine odor, that it would comfort the heart-broken. He concludes with the lines cited above (vv. 65-66):

Je ne say que ce pooit estre
Fors que le paradis terrestre.

The scene of Jean de Condé's *La Messe des Oisiaus et il Plais des Chanonesses et des Grises Nonains* is laid in a beautiful forest and meadow (vv. 6-11 and 94-103):

Et songai qu'en une forest
Estoit en la plus bele lande
Que on trovast jusqu'en Illande;
S'ere assis sour une tombele
Qui en la lande estoit moult bele,
Si avoit un pin mout ramu.

.

⁸⁴ See also *Rose*, v. 22344 f., where metaphorical use is made of the Christian's familiar wallet and staff:

Ge qui l'en rens mercis cent mile,
Tantost comme bons pèlerins,
Hastis, fervens et enterins
De cuer, comme fins amoureux,
Après cest otroi savoreus,
Vers l'archière acueil mon voiage
Por fornir mon pèlerinage;
Et port o moi par grant effort
Escherpe et bordon grant et fort,
Tel qu'il n'a mestier de ferrer
Por jornoier ne por errer.

⁸⁵ *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. Suchier, II 197 f.

Si ert revestie la prée
De verte herbe et de flours diverses,
Blanches, jaunes, rouges et perses;
Asés y ot d'arbres divers,
De fueille viestis et couviers,
Et fuison y ot de floris.
Moult estoit li lieus seignouris,
Car fontaines y ot pluisours,
Douces et cleres de droit sours,
Courans sour menue graviele.

This poem contains an elaborate parody of the church service as sung in the honor of Venus by the birds. The poet explains (vv. 684-691):

Li arbres que tu vois chargié
De flour et de fruit et de fueille
Senefie qu'il ne se dueille,
Qu'en paradis ert envoïe
S'ame, quant sera desloïe
Des loiens dont ore est tenus.
Li chant des oiselons menus
Les chans des angles senefient.

In Watriquet de Couvin's *Li Dis de l'Arbre Royal* the poet represents himself as being sent by God (vv. 20-24)

En .i. bel vergier verdoiant
Loing de la ville, en .i. destour,
Enclos d'un haut mur tout entour,
Crestelé de pierre et de marbre,
S'avoit dedenz planté maint arbre.

Watriquet's *Li Tournois des Dames* has as its setting a beautiful park (vv. 30-35):

Et qui voudroit trouver bel ombre
En esté, au douz jolif tans,
Voist ou parc, tant est delitans
Et plains de si grant melodie
En avril quant li bois verdie,
Que nulz croire ne le porroit.

The *bois de Jonece* of Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *La Prise d'Amoureuse*⁸⁶ has four roads (*Leëce*, v. 168; *Compaignie*, v. 183; *Cointise*, v. 209; *Fol Cuidier*, v. 240) which may have been suggested by the four streams of the earthly paradise.

The scene of Froissart's *Paradis d'Amour* is laid in *une lande* (v. 1009) in which stands the pavilion of the God of Love (vv. 1015-1016). The poet says (vv. 1453-1460):

Tant alames, ce me fu vis,
 Parmi le bois tout à devis,
 Que nous venins sus un preel
 Où vert faisoit, plaisant et bel,
 Tout enclos de vermaus rosiers,
 D'anqueliers et de lisiers,
 Et là chantoit li rosignols
 En son chant qui fu moult mignos.

The garden in which Froissart lays the scene of his *Trettié d'Amoureux à la Loenge dou Joli Mois de May* is filled with trees, shrubs and fragrant flowers, and resounds with the songs of birds (vv. 16-58). He employs a similar setting for *Li Joli Buisson de Jonece* (vv. 1220-1225, 1263-1270, 1277-1285, and 1895-1901).

The accounts of religious services sung by birds, found in several French allegorical poems, were probably suggested by visions of the other world of Irish origin. The account in the *Vita Sancti Brendani*⁸⁷ is the most detailed. Huon de Méry in *Le Tornoement de l'Antechrist* refers to the songs of birds in ecclesiastical terms (pages 6 and 7):

Et faisoient de divers chans
 Une si douce mélodie,
 Que à ma mort n'à ma vie
 Ne vusisse avoir autre gloire.

 Le service fut beaus et lons,
 Que firent à lor créatour.

Guillaume de Lorris does likewise in vv. 705-6 of the *Rose*:

Grant servise et dous et plaisant
 Aloient cil oisel faisant.

⁸⁶ Hgg. von Hoepffner, Dresden, 1910.

⁸⁷ Cited in *P. M. L. A.*, xxv, 305-6.

So also Philippe de Remi, in *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 3035-3040:

Avoec chou leur amour envoie
La verdure, la douce noise
Des mauvis et des roussignos
Et d'autres oisillons de bos,
Qui doucement en leur latin
Leur cantoient vespre et matin.

Perhaps best known, and certainly most detailed, of these parodies of the religious service sung by birds is *La Messe des Oisiaus* of Jean de Condé,⁸⁸ mentioned above.

III.—CONCLUSION

The evidence collected above shows that, whereas all the profane literature of France was necessarily influenced to some extent by the church, French love allegory was especially indebted to it. French allegory adopted to a considerable extent the dream or vision form of the Christian visions which flourished just before it. In its references to Hell and Purgatory it mentioned many features already made familiar by these same visions. It called its Garden of Love "Paradise," and described it (to quote Faral, *loc. cit.*) "as Paradise was described, as a garden of delight, full of fruit, of flowers, of perfumes, of birdsongs, and music."

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⁸⁸ For analysis cf. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, Boston, 1899, pp. 225-226.

EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

(Continued from p. 59)

IV. GENEVA; THIERRENS. LAST YEARS (1537-1552)

It was at a very opportune moment that Beaulieu came to Geneva. The Reformation was still in its infancy and Christian ministers were in demand. Besides, the leaders of the movement had just recommended to the Council that the singing of psalms be introduced into the service. In June 1537 this innovation was proposed by the ministers of Geneva and it was approved by the magistrates of the city. In May 1538 Calvin and Farel were in Berne, and shortly after their arrival the following decision was made by the government:

"Mercredi, 21 juin 1538. Ecrire une lettre aux juges du Consistoire pour leur faire savoir que mes Seigneurs veulent que la jeunesse apprenne à chanter les Psaulmes, et que le principal de l'Ecole et son proviseur enseignent la musique des dites psaumes."⁶⁹

In an epistle of Calvin we find a very lengthy defense of the singing of psalms. He writes:

"Et mesmes S. Paul ne parle pas seulement de prier de bouche, mais aussi de chanter, et à verité, nous cognoissons par experience que le chant a grande force & vigueur d'esmouvoir & enflamber le coeur des hommes, pour invoquer & louer Dieu d'un zele plus vehement & ardent."

These songs must not be light, however, but on the contrary they should be of a very serious nature, for there is a very great difference between songs one sings at table and in the house, and those which are fitting for use in Church in the presence of God and his angels.⁷⁰

The need of ministers and the authorization of the singing of

⁶⁹ Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, Geneva and Paris, 1866-1897, vol. v, p. 6, note 16.

⁷⁰ Calvin, *Epistre*, June 10, 1543, reprinted in Henri Expert, *Le Psautier huguenot du xvi^e siècle*, Paris, 1902. This epistle is of great interest since it gives in detail, supported by citations from St. Augustine, Calvin's attitude toward the whole question of music in the Church.

psalms were two good reasons for attracting the former priest and organist to Geneva. From his pen we learn that he came there on the first of May, 1537.⁷¹ He did not stay very long in that city. He seems to have wandered about, probably in search of an occupation. About a year later he came to Lausanne to study theology, and on the tenth of May, 1540, he presented himself before the Consistory of Berne, and upon the recommendation of that body was elected on the twelfth of that same month to the pastorate of Thierrens, a small town in the canton of Vaud.⁷² Beaulieu was the first pastor of Thierrens whose name is found in the records of the town.⁷³

From Thierrens Beaulieu addressed an epistle to Marguerite de Saint-Simon, of Bordeaux, formerly his pupil, upon learning that she had embraced the new religion. He entreats her to be moderate in her love of music:

Or, touchant l'art que musicalement
T'apprins iadis: ie ne vueil pas debatre
Qu'honnestement ne t'y puisses esbatre,
(Car quelque fois ie m'y recrée aussi)
Mais garde toy d'en user là n'icy,
Pour te monstrier ne pour aulcune gloire,
Ains en iouant chante, et tien ta memoire
Dressée au Ciel chantant chantz et Canticques,
Telz que Dauid (non les chansons lubriques,

⁷¹ Beaulieu, *Chrestienne Resjouissance*, (Bâle) 1546, p. 178, *Le Dieu gard de l'auteur à la ville et aux Citoyens de Geneve, la premiere fois qu'il y vient: qui fut lan 1537, et le premier iour de May*. We find a poem similar in spirit to this one in Marot, ed. 1702, vol. i, p. 193, *Le Dieu gard à la Cour*. For the full title of the *Chrestienne Resjouissance* see later chapter.

⁷² Cf. Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. vi, number 886, notes. Also vol. i, p. 245. Bordier, in his article on Beaulieu in *La France Protestante*, gives the date of Beaulieu's holding the position of pastor in Thierrens as 1537-1542. These dates seem to be inexact, since we found that he did not get his appointment until 1540. Professor H. Vuilleumier of the faculty of theology at Lausanne, who is the author of several works on this period, gave me the results of his investigations concerning Beaulieu. He also does not accept the dates given by Bordier.

⁷³ Thierrens belonged to the "Classe de Moudon." Its history was a rather uneventful one. The town received some notoriety in 1798 (on Jan. 28), when there was a skirmish between the French and Swiss soldiers, the outcome of which was the invasion of the Vaud country by the French. (From notes by B. de Cérenville, archiviste paléographe at the library of Lausanne.)

Pleines d'ordure et de folles amours)
 Et te souuienne et pense tous les jours,
 Que le gosier et bouche parle et chante
 Le bien ou mal que cœur luy presente,
 'Aduise donq de chanter proprement.⁷⁴

It is obvious that Beaulieu rapidly assumed the attitude of the Reformation towards music.

In a letter to Pierre Giron, secretary of Berne, Beaulieu writes :

"Il vous plaira dire aus dicts ministres de Berne, que fassent mètre au dict mandement mon nom, qui est : Eustorgius vel Hector de Belloloco. Et le nom de ma dicte femme est Rolletta ; mais elle n'a point de surnom, pour ce que c'est une champisse qui fut trouué à Genève qui ne sçait qui fut son père ne sa mère.

This letter is dated August 1540, and is the only record to be found of the poet's marriage.⁷⁵ He was probably married quite a long time before writing the letter, for on the third of September, 1540, there was entered in the Registers of the Consistory the following : "3 sept. 1540. Eustorgius de Belloloco fait citer sa femme, Roletta, parcequ'elle l'a quitté, il y a six semaines." This last date would make us believe that his wife had already left him at the time the above letter was written or else that a mistake has been made in fixing its date as the end of August.⁷⁶

In the letter to Pierre Giron, Beaulieu tells that he intends to publish some psalms the following winter. Concerning his plans he writes :

"S'il vous plaisoit aussi me faire ce bien de sçauoir avec Mathias Appiarius s'il yra à ceste prochainne foire de Francfort et quand il sera de retour à Berne—il me seroit bien utile de sçauoir son dict retour, ou s'il n'y yra point. Car je délibère, à l'aide de Dieu, de luy apporter des psalmes à imprimer, tous corrigés, et ce devant l'yver si je puis. Vous plaise donq de m'en escrire ung mot, pour Dieu."⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Chrest. Resj.*, p. 198. This poem as well as all the others in the volume has marginal citations from the Scriptures.

⁷⁵ Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. vi, no. 886, *Eustorg de Beaulieu à Pierre Giron à Berne*. (De Thierrens, à la fin d'août 1540.) This incomplete autograph letter has until now remained unpublished (*Archives de Berne*).

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, n. 2.

⁷⁷ Appiarius was a publisher at Strasbourg from 1533-1535. He transferred his establishment to Berne about 1538 or 1539. Cf. Herminjard. At the fair at Frankfort printers exhibited and sold their works. Cf. Estienne, *La Foire de Francfort*, Paris 1875, p. 71 :

As we shall return later to the question of psalms published by Beaulieu, suffice it to say now that the wish he expressed in the above letter was probably never fulfilled.

In May, 1543, Beaulieu addressed an epistle from his town of Thierrens to the poet Clément Marot, then in Geneva. In this epistle he begs the French poet to accept his invitation to visit him. The poem is important as it supplies a date for Marot's sojourn in Switzerland. It is also interesting to note, as we shall see in the epistle, that Marot's wife was still alive at the time it was written. Concerning the invitation Guiffrey, one of Marot's biographers, writes:

"Mais de même que ces gens qui, vivant chez eux, ont toujours un oeil à la fenêtre pour épier ce qui se passe chez le voisin, Eustorg avait appris l'arrivée de Marot à Genève. Le travail de traductions des Psaumes l'avait enchanté; par des amis il savait à peu près exactement où en était le poète. La peste ayant éclaté à Genève, Eustorg de Beaulieu saisit cette occasion de faire de nouvelles avances à Marot et de lui offrir l'hospitalité dans sa retraite champêtre." . . .⁷⁸

Guiffrey doubts unnecessarily Beaulieu's sincerity. This epistle deserves to be quoted:

Frere et amy et voisin tout ensemble,
 Loué soit Dieu qui par Christ nous assemble
 Comme assembla jadis aux champs dehors,
 Le mien Beaulieu, huict lieues près ton Cahors.
 Loué soit donq, ce bon Père céleste,
 Qui sa bonté nous faict si manifeste,
 En nous tirant par grace et charité
 Du puy d'Enfer sans l'avoir mérité,
 Nous qui iadis feusmes pleins d'injustice,
 Sans chercher l'huys par où l'homme injuste ysse.

J'arrive à un autre marché, lequel peut être considéré comme l'accessoire et le complément de celui que je viens de décrire, bien qu'il n'ait avec lui rien de commun. Du marché de Mercure (s'il est vrai que ce dieu préside au commerce), je passe donc au marché des Muses, que j'appellerai, si on le veut, l'Académie ou l'Exposition universelle des Muses. A Francfort en effet, à l'époque des foires, les Muses convoquent leurs typographes, leurs libraires, etc. A peine sont-ils réunis, vous n'êtes plus dans cette ville d'Allemagne qui a nom Francfort: vous vous croyez plutôt dans cette autre cité, autrefois florissante, la plus lettrée de toute la Grèce.

⁷⁸ Guiffrey, *Œuvres de Marot*, vol. i, p. 525. The biographer continues to show that Beaulieu tried every possible means to attract Marot to Thierrens.

Our poet expresses his delight at the thought that Marot is so near, for it was five years since he had seen any one from his native district of the Limousin. He expresses the hope also, that if Marot writes to his family he will have the kindness to forward some letters to his relatives. In these letters, Beaulieu recommended that his family embrace the new religion, and asked that they have no regrets for him, since God has brought him more good than any wordly possessions could have effected. He goes on to describe to Marot the charms of Thierrens, a town far from the noise of the city and from the power of the Pope, hoping that these will prove to be sufficient to attract Marot:

Te pryé encor quand tu seras las,
 (Ou que des champs chercheras le sollas)
 Vien-t'en vers moy, car suis en un village
 Tout circondé d'arbres, fueille et ramage,
 Là où je n'oy que cors de pastoureaulx,
 Voix de brebis, vaches, boeufz et taureaulx.
 Mais plus me plaict encor telle brayerie
 Que ne feroit toute la chanterie
 Du Papegay de Romme, ou Antechrist
 Dont le baptesme a(s) doctement escript.⁷⁹

Mais, quoy que soit, j'ay la sainte Escriptrue
 Qu'à mon coeur Christ monstre en sa pourtraicture,
 Et là repais mon âme du pain vif
 Dont est privé maint gros Rabin Juif.

Là mon esprit j'abreuve d'un breuvage
 Dont tout mon corps se nourrit et sollage,
 Et du pain sec (ces saintz escriptz lisans)
 Me soutient plus que sausce des pheisans.
 Brief, le village, abject, ce semble, et vile,
 M'est un Paris ou aultre grosse ville.

⁷⁹ In the *Revue du seizième siècle* vol. i, p. 68, is to be found an article by J. Plattard, reviewing a series of articles by R. Fromage, which appeared in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. fr.*, 1909, pp. 44, 129, 225. Mr. Fromage published a few unedited poems attributed to Marot. One of these is entitled: "D'ung monstre nouvellement baptizé" (pp. 44-50). Fromage sees in this poem an allusion to the two lines of Beaulieu which end the above citation. According to Plattard, this poem is not by Marot. It appeared in a collection published in 1555, with the title: "Du Baptesme de l'Antechrist." The point established by Plattard is that the poem was attributed to Marot as early as 1543.

Et n'ay regret aux grands Palays et Courtz,
Mais que soubz Christ je parface mon cours.

In the meanwhile Beaulieu seems to have remained as fond of music as ever, for he tells Marot that he spends his time playing and singing the latter's psalms:

J'ay oultre encor, mon jeu de Manichorde,
Où les Chansons Divines je recorde,
Et les tant beaux Psalmes par toy confictz :
Où as ouvré à mon gré mieulx qu'onq feis.

Souvent aussi je pren du croc ma harpe,
Et te la pendz à mon col en escharpe :
Pour y jouer et Psalmes et Chansons
Selon que Dieu m'a instruit en leurs sons.

Or voylà donq, frère, comment je passe
Mon temps aux champs alors que je me lasse,
Et de cella suis prest de faire part
Quand te plaira de venir ceste part.

T'offrant encor, pour faire fin et reste,
Que si tu es importuné de peste,
Une chambrète en mon logis auras
Pour ta famille et toy, quand tu voudras.

Car je suis seul (quant à l'heure présente)
Et n'ay chez moy qu'une vieille servante
Pour prendre soing de mes bestes à laict,
Et, pour penser mon cheval, un vallet.⁸⁰

The above epistle is followed by a sextain likewise addressed to Marot:

Si le seigneur Gurin est par de là,
Salue-le, s'il te plaict, sans l'obmettre,
M'offrant à toy plus que ne vault cela,
Et le service envers toy reconnoistre.
Au Magnifique aussi voudroys fort estre
Recommandé, veu que Christ a suyvi,
Car trois ans a qu'aucun d'eulx ne vie.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Chrest. resj.*, p. 204 etc.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 207. For Pierre Gurin, cf. Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. vi, p. 240, n. 36: "Pierre Gurin, natif d'Annonay, reçu bourgeois de Genève le 29 janv. 1536." For Laurent Meigret, French refugee, consult Herminjard.—Cf. Guiffrey, *Œuvres de Marot*, vol. iii, p. 257, n. 3: "Ce devait être une de ces

It is very probable that Marot did not accept this invitation, for nowhere in his works do we find an answer or an allusion to Beaulieu.

A letter written by a certain Eynard Pichon from Courtaillod to Rodolphe Gaultier of Zurich, dated September 3, 1543, mentions Beaulieu as having returned to that town:

"Je vous prie fère mes recommandations à maistre Bullinger et à maistre Conrad et à sa femme, auxquels je desireroys de pouvoir faire quelque bon service de par desça. Et dirés à Conrad que *Hector* est de retour, mes que je n'ay point parlé à luy."⁸²

We do not know when he came there nor when he left.

Herminjard, citing the *Manuel de Berne*, states that on the twenty-sixth of May, 1544, Beaulieu offered to the magistrates of Berne a collection of psalms. They rewarded him *pro dedicatione psalmorum* by giving him "quatre écus au soleil et cinq aunes d'étoffe de couleur," but they made no decision concerning the collection (*Correspondance*, vol. ix, p. 284 note). He also suggests that after leaving Thierrens, Beaulieu went in search of a position as music teacher. He was, however, in Thierrens in 1545, as we know from a letter addressed by Viret to Calvin concerning Beaulieu's translations of the Psalms, and of the Epistles of St. Paul. In this letter Viret writes that Hector, concerning whom Calvin had, he believes, heard, requested him to write on his behalf, and that he could not refuse to do so. He informs Calvin that Beaulieu had spent several years in translating the Psalms, and the Epistles of St. Paul, into French. Viret himself had read some of them and found them to be not without merit. He was very anxious to have these translations, together with some music, published by Girardus, with the approval of Calvin. Beaulieu, Viret continues, intends to bring a copy of his work to Calvin. The latter wants Calvin to show Beaulieu that he had really written very seriously about the matter.⁸³

A few days later (March 15), Calvin answered Viret's letter. *natures aventureuses et remuantes, dont le but suprême est d'arriver à la fortune, et qui ne marchandent point sur les moyens de rassasier leurs appetits de richesses et d'honneurs,*" etc.

⁸² Herminjard, *Op. cit.*, vol. ix, p. 10, letter 127.

⁸³ *J. Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss (*Corpus Reformatorum*), Brunswick, 1869, vol. xii, p. 45. The letter is dated at Lausanne, March 11, 1545.

He tells the latter that he entrusts him with the examination of Beaulieu's translations and that he has not yet spoken to Girard. He would prefer that he translate other psalms than those already done by Marot, but that it would not interfere with the publishing of the book. Besides the psalms which Beaulieu showed him, there were also other songs by him. He warns Viret that he should take great care lest these translations and songs offend the "principes."⁸⁴ Perhaps Calvin had in mind some of the earlier poems by Beaulieu, which were of a rather licentious nature.

On the eighteenth of August, 1546, Beaulieu published the volume of songs already referred to, entitled *Chrestienne Resjouissance*. In this volume we find mentioned many of the prominent men of the Reformation. On the verso of the title page is a quatrain by Guillaume Gueroult addressed to Beaulieu:

Combien qu'Eustorg mille fois te diras :
Se croy ie (amy) qu'à cause de ton coeur
Le nom d'Hector iamais n'euiteras,
Veu les assaultz dont Dieu t'a faict vainqueur.

Beaulieu answered the quatrain with the following:

Par la vertu de Christ qui me conforte Phil. 4.
Tout m'est possible (amy) & le sera.
Et gloire à Dieu, car sa verité forte
Ne m'a laissé: laisse ne laissera. Psal. 117.

Gueroult was a poet and translator of several Latin and Greek works. La Croix Du Maine and Du Verdier say of him:

"Guillaume Gueroult, natif de Rouen en Normandie. Il a traduit de Latin en François un livre de J. P. Cermenat, Milanois, lequel s'intitule *Discours de la droite administration des Royaumes et Républiques*, imprimé à Lyon par Loys & Charles Pesnot à la Salemandre, l'an 1561; le *premier Livre du Naturel des Oiseaux*; le *second du Naturel des Animaux*,⁸⁵ imprimé à Lyon pas Balthazar Arnoulet, l'an 1550, avec les portraits en figures d'iceux; *Chansons*

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, E, p. 623. (March 15, 1545.)

⁸⁵ While it is true that the work on birds is by Gueroult, La Croix Du Maine is in error in attributing the one on animals to the same author. This part was due to the pen of Barthélemy Aneau, principal of the Collège de la Trinité at Lyons. Cf. Gerig, *Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism*, ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 30-42.

spirituelles mises en Musique par Didier Lupi second, imprimées à Paris par Nicolas du Chemin. Il a traduit le premier Livre des *Narrations Fabuleuses de Palephatus, Auteur Grec, avec le Discours de la verité et histoire d'icelles, auquel ont été ajoutées quelques Œuvres Poétiques du même Traducteur*. Le tout a été imprimé à Lyon par Robert Granjon, l'an 1558, de caractères François."

After giving several other titles by Gueroult the editor adds in a note:

"Beze, dans sa vie Latine de Calvin, dit que Gueroult appréhendant d'être puni à Genève de sa vie scandaleuse, s'était réfugié à Lyon, et que c'est lui qui, en 1553, corrigea les épreuves du Livre intitulé *Christianismi restitutio*, que Servet, sous le nom de Michel Villanovanus, faisoit imprimer à Vienne en Dauphiné."⁸⁶

In the same volume Beaulieu addresses poems to Bonivard, celebrated as Byron's "prisoner of Chillon."⁸⁷ Bonivard was born at

⁸⁶ La Croix Du Maine et Du Verdier, *Les Bibliothèques françoises de*, Nouv. édit., Paris, 1772-1773, vol. i, p. 328, 329. In Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, X, 1913, p. 93, we read: "Le 27 décembre 1551, le conseil de la ville de Vienne, en Dauphiné, prend en considération une requête de Balthazar Arnoullet, demandant à installer une imprimerie dans cette ville et à être affranchi de toutes impositions. . . . La requête au Conseil de Vienne et le transport d'un atelier de B. Arnoullet, sous la direction de Guillaume Gueroult, s'expliquerait difficilement si l'on n'entrevoyait pas une intervention de la part de Michel Servet." Baudrier goes on to show that Gueroult, expelled from Geneva and very hostile to Calvin, was naturally disposed to subscribe to the bitterness of M. de Vilenueve (Michel Servet). We cannot here go into the history of the case but can only refer to the treatment of it by Baudrier, (pp. 95-106; p. 150, 151, etc.) Among the works of Gueroult we find: *Premier || livre de chan || sons spirituelles || nouvellement composées par Guillaume Gueroult, et mises en musique par || Didier Lupi Second. Lyon || chez Godefroy et Marcellen Beringen, || frères*, 1548, 8vo, 112 pp., in the Musée Condé (Chantilly), numbering 868. (Brunet, vol. ii, col. 1790). Also, *Le premier || livre des || Emblemes, Composé par Guillaume Gueroult, a Lyon, chez Balthazar Arnoullet*, 1550. *Bibl. Nat. Rés. Ye*, 1405-1407.

Second Liure de la de || scription des Animaux, contenant le Blason des Oyseaux, || Composé par Guillaume Gueroult. || (M. 37) || A Lyon || Par Balthazar Arnoullet. || 1550. || Avec Privilege du Roy pour cinq ans. An octavo of 60 pp. et 4 ff. not numbered, etc. *Arsenal*, bel. let., 8479. For a complete bibliography of Gueroult, cf. Baudrier, vol. x, pp. 127, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 137, 151, 261, 263, 266, 373; vol. ix, p. 302; vol. xi, p. 140. Several of the works mentioned in the above pages contain poems or dedicatory letters by Gueroult.

⁸⁷ For Bonivard, cf., Herminjard, *Correspondance*, vol. ii, p. 7, n., p. 232; iii, 299 and note on p. 300; vol. i, p. 135. Senebier, *Hist. litt. de Genève*, Geneva, 1786, 3 vols., in-8, vol. i, p. 135.

Seissel in Savoy, in 1496. He studied at Freiburg in 1513. In 1518 he visited Rome and in 1519 he was arrested by the Duke of Savoy and imprisoned at Grolée where he remained two years. When he was liberated he found Geneva free and "reformed." He died in 1571. Another prominent figure whom we meet in the *Chrestienne Resjouissance* is Nicolas de Wattenville of Berne, who in 1525 became "prévôt" of the city.⁸⁸ Besides these there are Wolfgang de Erlach, Hans Zébedée, Antoine Froment, Calesi, and many others.⁸⁹ The poems addressed to these devotees of the Reformation are of minor importance from the literary or biographical point of view as they are purely religious in character.

It was probably in 1547 that Beaulieu published the *Souverain blason d'honneur a la louange du tres digne corps de Iesus Christ*, a revised reprint from the *Chrestienne Resjouissance*.⁹⁰ This small

⁸⁸ Herminjard, *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 9.

⁸⁹ For Erlach cf. Herminjard, vol. ii, 335, 338 n. Zébedée was born in Flanders. He began his studies supposedly at Louvain, and finished them in Paris. From there he was called about 1538 to fill a place at the college of Guyenne, recently founded at Bordeaux, which from 1531 on was in charge of the famous André de Gouvea. In 1536 he came to Geneva and became a minister at Orbe. (Herminjard, vol. 5, p. 98; Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, Paris, 1892, vol. i, pp. 40, 127, 232, 235, 236, 237; ii, pp. 62-67, 196, 370, 381.) Froment was born at Tries near Grenoble. When Farel was forced to leave Geneva in 1532, he persuaded Froment, then 23 years old, to preach in that city. He left in the month of November for Geneva, but as he knew no one there, he did not remain very long. Later he returned and taught reading and writing. In 1533 the room in which he held his classes became too small and he transferred his pupils to the public square, where he commented on the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of St. Matthew, declaiming against the errors of the Roman Church. He was compelled to withdraw secretly and escaped across the lake. In 1543 he came back to Geneva with Farel and Viret, and in 1547 was made pastor of the parish of Saint-Gervais. He soon gave up this position, however, being elected citizen and notary, and in 1559 member of the Council of the Two Hundred. He served for some time as secretary to Bonivard. (Senebier, *op. cit.*, i, 150, Herminjard, *op. cit.*, i, 188 n.; ii, 132 n.; 251, n., etc. Calesi, whose name was Georges Grivat, and who was called in Latin Crevattus or Calesius, was a native of Orbe. He was a student at Lausanne where he became choir-boy, and was elected chorister in 1529. After having embraced the new religion he preached his first sermon in 1531.

⁹⁰ *Le Souverain | Blason d'honneur, | à la louange du tresdigne corps | de Iesus Christ*. Composé par Eustorg de Beaulieu, Ministre | euangelique, natif, aussi, de la uille de | Beaulieu, au bas pays de Lymosin, | Et, extraict d'un sien liure, intitulé : | Chrestienne resiouyssanse. Reueu, | despuis, et augmenté par luy | mesme, comme | on uera. | Le uray chrestien dict : | Je loueray Dieu en tout

volume will be referred to in a later chapter. In the same year 1547 Beaulieu was compelled to resign his position at Thierrens, and to leave the town for having in some way given offense to his colleagues, and was replaced by a certain Simeon Lion.⁹¹ In a letter written by Viret to Farel, the former complains that the publisher Oporin issued a preface in which the pastors whom Beaulieu offended were attacked. In this letter we read that Eustorg gave Oporin his paraphrases of the Epistles of St. Paul, corrected and approved by Castellion, who wrote a preface to them, in which, although no names were mentioned, he gravely offended their "classem." Oporin was warned of this and promised to attend to the matter.⁹²

Farel answered the letter concerning Beaulieu, again referring to the manner in which he gave offense to the leaders of the Reformation.⁹³ What the exact cause of the controversy really was it is difficult to say. Perhaps Beaulieu's versions of the Epistles of Saint Paul were not true to the new doctrine. On the other hand one might suspect that he had great difficulty in concealing his rather rampant nature. He barely hid it under the priestly garb and now the pastoral frock was probably too tight!

temps, et sa louange sera tousiours en ma bouche. Psal. 33. a. | Dieu respond: | Celuy qui me sacrifie louange, me fait honneur. Et ie seray son uray salut. Psal. 50 d. This copy is to be found in the Variaband of the city library of Zurich, VI, 263. (The author of the present study possesses a copy of this work, as well as of all the works of Beaulieu.) It is a small octavo of 14 ff. Cf. Brunet, *Manuel*.

⁹¹ From notes furnished me by Prof Vuillemier. According to Professor V. "On sait très peu de chose du séjour d'Eustorg de Beaulieu dans le Pays de Vaud. On est forcé de s'en rapporter aux indications que le poète donne lui même dans ses œuvres sur le pays et sur sa cure. Les dates de son ministère à Thierrens telles que les indique Haag, ne sont pas exactes. (1537-42.) Beaulieu est le premier pasteur connu de Thierrens. Il était en fonctions à la date du 12 mai 1540, première mention certaine. Il divorça peu de mois après. Sa femme l'abandonna en août. Il donna sa démission vers 1547, probablement. En fait, cette démission fut forcée, et le pasteur destitué pour avoir scandalisé l'Eglise. Après un intervalle, ce fut Siméon Lion qui le remplace au poste de Thierrens. Beaulieu fut immatriculé à Bâle en 1548. A ce moment, il desservit auprès d'Oporin ses anciens collègues du Pays de Vaud. On le trouve professeur de musique à Bienne vers 1550. Il est mort en 1552."

⁹² *Calvini Operae*, vol. xiii, number 1282, Oct. 10, 1549. For Oporin, cf. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol. ii (1902), pp. 293, 294, etc. Also, Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, Paris, 1892, vol. i, pp. 103, 221-229, etc.

⁹³ *Calvini Operae*, Vol. xiii, no. 1290.

The year before the above letters were written, Beaulieu came to Bâle, about the month of June, and in the fall of that year he registered at the University under the name of Eustorgius de Bello-loco.⁹⁴ In the same year he published at Bâle a "petit livre," for the instruction of the young in the new religion. This book was entitled *L'Espinglier des filles*. It must have enjoyed some popularity as it went through three editions.⁹⁵

According to Bordier and Vuilleumier, Beaulieu came to Bienne in 1550 in the capacity of music teacher. The former tells us that "il semble avoir tenté, mais vainement, de rentrer dans les fonctions pastorales à Strasbourg." It is difficult, however, to find any direct allusion to those statements in either Beaulieu's works or in the records of those cities. A minister of Bâle, Joannes Gastius, left a Diary in which we read about the death of Beaulieu.⁹⁶ From this diary we learn that the "studiosus Hector," called also Eustorgius, died on January 8, 1552, in a state of great poverty, but leaving, according to Gastius, 220 florins concealed on his person. He had always passed for a poor man and was supported by a stipend known as the stipend of Erasmus. He allowed no one to approach him and died alone. He suffered from dropsy although he was very

⁹⁴ A note from the librarian in chief of the library of Bâle reads: "J'ai trouvé E. de Beaulieu sous le nom *Eustorgius de Belloloco* dans le livre du Recteur (Matriculation en 1548 | 1549.) Il est le premier qui s'inscrivait en 48 | 49, donc il est très vraisemblable qu'il venait au mois de juin à Bâle."

⁹⁵ *L'Espinglier des filles*, || compose par || Eustorg de beaulieu: Ministre evangelique, natif de la uille de || Beaulieu: au bas pays || de Lymosin. Imprime a Basle. | 1548, in-8, 8 ff., Bibl. de Bâle, A. P. iv, 46, no. 7. The second edition was published in 1550, at Bâle, *Bibl. Nat.*, Rés. D²12796. The third, under the title of *La | Doctrine | et instruction | des filles chre | stiennes, desirans | viure selon la | Parole de Dieu, | Par Hector de Beaulieu*, Lyons, Jean Saugrain, 1565. *Bibl. Nat.*, Invent. D²4011. Cf. Brunet, article Beaulieu. A full treatment of these three books will be found in a later chapter. A reproduction of the original text with variants, by the author of this study, is to appear shortly in the *Bulletin* of the *Société du Protestantisme français*.

⁹⁶ Concerning Gastius, Herminjard (vol. iv, p. 351, n. and page 360, n.) states that very little is known about him. He was born in Brisach. In 1537 he lived in Geneva where he was accused of being an anabaptist. He was at one time minister of the church of Bâle. He is known by his *Histoire des Anabaptistes*. After the death of Oecolampade he cited several of the works of that reformer.

thin. Such is the meager account of the last days of Eustorg de Beaulieu.⁹⁷

He was a poet, a priest, a minister in the reformed church, and a musician. In all these walks of life he showed the same critical, sarcastic attitude. He witnessed the glory of the Lyonnese group of poets, and came under the influence of the Protestant preachers and song writers. He met each with equal enthusiasm, yet was able to assimilate only as much as his peculiar gifts permitted. Clever, with little education, as far as one is able to discover, tried by poverty, he had a very keen insight into human nature, and a sympathy for the poor and the oppressed which can only grow out of dire want and suffering. Most of his contemporaries are silent about him. He left us a description of himself which is far from flattering:

Je suis bien petit, rond, & laid.

Je ne suis pas damoyselet

Comme vous, ne si doucelet,

Et (qui est pis) ne suis pas si beau.⁹⁸

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NEW YORK.

(*To be continued*)

⁹⁷ The original document by Gastius is lost, but there remain extracts from it by Triphius, which are to be found in the library of Bâle. According to the librarian in chief of Bâle, the chronicle of Gastius is "une chronique scandaleuse." The author is in possession of a photograph of the manuscript.

Concerning the other members of the Beaulieu family one knows even less than about Eustorg. A Jean de Beaulieu (for it will be remembered that he had a brother Jean) was a refugee at Geneva in 1552, according to Bordier. Doumergue, in his work on Calvin, mentioned in another connection, tells also of a Jean de Beaulieu. A Guillaume de Beaulieu was condemned by the seneschal of the Limousin to be burned alive "à petit feu," for heresy. He appealed to the Court of Bordeaux and was taken to that city but the sentence was confirmed in 1551. (*Archives départementales de la Gironde*, vol. i, col. 64.) It is impossible to establish any connection between these two men and Eustorg.

⁹⁸ *Div. rap.*, f. 24.

REVIEWS

RECENT COLLECTIONS OF *Exempla*

1. KLAPPER, JOSEPH. *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*. Heidelberg, 1911. 8vo, pp. x, 87. (*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte herausgegeben von Alfons Hilka*. 2.) This work is mentioned here for sake of completeness, it having already been sufficiently reviewed by me in *Modern Philology*, Vol. X, No. 3, January, 1913.
2. HILKA, ALFONS. *Neue Beiträge zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*. (*Die Compilatio Singularis Exemplorum der Hs. Tours 468, ergänzt durch eine Schwesterhandschrift Bern 679.*) Breslau, 1913. 8vo, pp. 24. (*Sonderabdruck aus dem 90. Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterl. Cultur.*)
3. WELTER, J. TH. *Thesaurus Exemplorum. Fascicule V: Le Speculum Laicorum. Édition d'une collection d'exempla composée en Angleterre à la fin du XIII^e siècle*. Paris, 1914. 8vo, pp. xxxiv, 170. The first four fascicules have not yet appeared, but a communication from the author states that they are composed as follows: Fasc. I, Inventory of the three thousand anecdotes of Étienne de Bourbon from the MS. Lat. 15970 of the Bib. Nat., with indication of sources (Complement to A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon*, Paris, 1877; Fasc. II, Inventory of the *Liber de dono timoris* of Humbert de Romans, and of the *Promptuarium exemplorum* of Martinus Polonus; Fasc. III, *Liber exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti*; Fasc. IV, MS. Royal 7 D. i, of the British Museum.
4. GREVEN, JOSEPH. *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry*. Heidelberg, 1914. 8vo, pp. xviii, 68. (*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte herausgegeben von Alfons Hilka*. 9.)
5. FRENKEN, GOSWIN. *Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry*. Munich, 1914. Lex. 8vo, pp. iv, 152. (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur mittellateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, V. 1.)

In 1886, while collecting material for the history of the use of *exempla* in mediaeval sermons which serves as an introduction to my *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890), Mr. Ward of the British Museum called my attention to MS. Additional 11284, formerly in the possession of the well-known antiquary Mr. W. J. Thoms, containing an extensive collection of stories arranged alphabetically according to topics. I later (Jacques de Vitry, p. lxxii) called attention to the importance of this collection in the hope that it might soon find an editor. It was not, however, until the publication in 1910 of the third volume of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* by Mr. J. A. Herbert, that the rich contents of the MS. were made adequately known to students of mediaeval literature, and it was reserved for a French scholar, Mr. J. Th. Welter, to publish the MS. in *extenso*.¹

¹ It is true that in my edition of Jacques de Vitry I cited several MSS. in the British Museum containing the *Speculum Laicorum* without suspecting its

The attribution of the *Speculum Laicorum* to John of Hoveden, the chaplain of Queen Eleanor and the author of *Philomela*, first made by Bale in his *Catalogus*, 1548, rests on no adequate ground, while the denial of his authorship, because the work contains mention of the reign of Henry IV (Hoveden having died in 1272 or 1275), is based on the mistake of a scribe who wrote Henry IV for Henry III. Mr. Welter shows conclusively that the work must have been written between 1279 and 1292. The author purposely conceals his identity, "nomina siquidem nostra subticere me compulit malorum ipsa mater invidia," a statement that would hardly apply to so well-known a writer as John of Hoveden. From the character of his compilation the anonymous author may with reason be supposed to have been a member of the Mendicant Orders, probably an English Franciscan.

The *Speculum Laicorum* is, in reality, a theological treatise for the use of preachers, arranged alphabetically according to topics and containing a great number of illustrative stories. In Welter's edition there are ninety topics or chapters, and five hundred and seventy-nine stories, besides thirty found in various MSS. of the work in the British Museum and elsewhere. The composition of the collection does not differ from that of the host of similar works, both MS. and printed, found in European libraries. Two hundred and fifteen stories are taken from: Gregory's *Dialogues* (25), *Vitae Patrum* (101), Cassiodorus, *Hist. Tripart.* (24), Bede (6), Petrus Alfonsus (5), William of Malmesbury (6), Petrus Cluniac. (11), Caesarius Heist. (5), *Physiologus*, (8), *Miracles de N. D.* (24), while the various tales are found seven hundred and fifty-eight times in: Jacques de Vitry (47), Odo of Cheriton (75), Arundel MS. 231 (47), Harley MS. 3244 (59), Etienne de Bourbon (273), *Liber de Dono Timoris* (72), *Liber Exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti* (42), MS. Royal 7 D. i (85), and *Legenda Aurea* (58). In addition to these a great number of lives of the saints have been used, as well as many mediaeval works of an historical character.

If the collection contained merely stories taken from well-known popular sources, it would be interesting as affording evidence of the extensive diffusion of stories through the medium of preachers: but the collector has added, as he says in the Prologue, "temporumque preteritorum ac modernorum quibusdam eventis." It is true, as the editor remarks, that the compiler, contrary to the custom of Jacques de Vitry or Étienne de Bourbon, has drawn few stories from his personal experience. He introduces the *exemplum*, sometimes by "fertur"

true title. My excuse must be that the principal MS. (Additional 11284), which formerly belonged to Mr. Thoms, contains no indication of the true title (nor does it appear in the official catalogue), and the same is true of the other MSS. which I used. When Mr. Thoms sent nineteen tales from his MS. to Haupt and Hoffmann's *Altdeutsche Blätter* (Leipzig, 1840, vol. ii, pp. 74-82), he said: "The following stories are selected from a folio MS. on vellum of the thirteenth century in my possession, containing tales, fables, etc., arranged under titles and adapted for introduction into sermons. For which purpose moralizations after the manner of those introduced in the *Gesta Romanorum* are added to the different tales." When Thomas Wright reprinted ten of the nineteen in his *Latin Stories* (Percy Society, 1843), he was also unaware of the true title of the collection from which they were taken.

or "legitur," sometimes without any preamble, localizing it in time and space, i. e., in the thirteenth century and in the east of England, exceptionally in a foreign land. In other words, his historical anecdotes, and they constitute the most valuable part of the work, are taken, just like the others, from previous collections. Still, as the editor says, the compiler has transmitted to us certain new features relating to great personages and others, and permits us to form a condensed sketch of the manners of the day, "qui se reflètent plus ou moins fidèlement dans ce miroir des laïcs."

A detailed account of the historical and local anecdotes in our text belongs more properly to an investigation into the manners and customs of the time. Besides a large number of references to well-known secular and ecclesiastical personages of the thirteenth century, there are the usual attacks on the prevailing vices of the day and the unpopular classes of the community, such as lawyers, bailiffs, procuresses, usurers, etc. Visions of the other world and apparitions of the dead abound, and there are some curious stories of compacts with the devil and magic incantations. Most of the above, as has already been intimated, are old stories localized by the compiler. An interesting article might be written on this procedure, but the space at our disposal will permit reference to but one tale of this class.

In Chapter XXXII, "De Eukaristia et ejus virtutibus," is a story, 269a, found in British Museum MSS. Add. 17723, and Oxford, Bodl. 474, and University Coll. Library XXIX, the substance of which is as follows:

A person raises the devil by magic arts and while consulting him a priest passes by carrying the Eucharist to a sick man. The devil bends both knees in a profound obeisance, but when the priest shortly returns without the Host, the devil bends but one knee. The devil explains his action to the one consulting him, who dismisses him and renounces his magic art.

This story is a favorite one and is found in many versions without localization.²

In the Arundel MS. 506, Paris is mentioned as the scene of the story, and in Klapper, No. 60, Magdeburg. It was reserved for the compiler of the *Speculum Laicorum* to give minute details as to date and place. He says:

"Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1298, Oxonie in parochia S. Petri in Balliolo (St. Peter-le-Bailey) in quodam cellario subterraneo, juxta altam stratam, ex opposito ecclesie illius parochie, in hospicio quod vocatur Billyngusii alle (Billing Hall), contigit quemdam clericum nigromanticum, etc."

At the end of the story the necromancer is converted from his errors and becomes a Franciscan, as is also related in some of the other versions.

Some of the chapters are rather disappointing, as Chapter XXI, "De choreatricibus et cantilenis," which contains only four illustrative stories: (1) the curiously popular story of Musa, from Gregory's *Dialogues*, IV, 17 (see Jacques de Vitry, No. 275); (2) the "Accursed Dancers," equally popular, localized in "diocesi Tulliana tempore Brunonis episcopi" (see Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, pp. 283, 312, 381, 511, 538); (3) a girl appears after death to a friend declaring

² Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, vol. IV, p. 242; Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, ed. Bridges, vol. II, p. 397; English *Gesta Romanorum*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 9066; Royal 15 D. v; Burney 361; Harl. 2346, 2851, 4403; *Scala Celi*, fol. 64 vo.

The attribution of the *Speculum Laicorum* to John of Hoveden, the chaplain of Queen Eleanor and the author of *Philomela*, first made by Bale in his *Catologus*, 1548, rests on no adequate ground, while the denial of his authorship, because the work contains mention of the reign of Henry IV (Hoveden having died in 1272 or 1275), is based on the mistake of a scribe who wrote Henry IV for Henry III. Mr. Welter shows conclusively that the work must have been written between 1279 and 1292. The author purposely conceals his identity, "nomina siquidem nostra subtere me compulit malorum ipsa mater invidia," a statement that would hardly apply to so well-known a writer as John of Hoveden. From the character of his compilation the anonymous author may with reason be supposed to have been a member of the Mendicant Orders, probably an English Franciscan.

The *Speculum Laicorum* is, in reality, a theological treatise for the use of preachers, arranged alphabetically according to topics and containing a great number of illustrative stories. In Welter's edition there are ninety topics and chapters, and five hundred and seventy-nine stories, besides thirty found in various MSS. of the work in the British Museum and elsewhere. The compilation of the collection does not differ from that of the host of similar works, both MS. and printed, found in European libraries. Two hundred and fifty stories are taken from: Gregory's *Dialogues* (25), *Vitae Patrum* (101), Caesarius of Arles (24), *Hist. Tripart.* (24), Bede (6), Petrus Alfonsus (5), William of Malmesbury (6), Petrus Cluniac. (11), Caesarius Heist. (5), *Physiologus*, (8), *Mirabilia de N. D.* (24), while the various tales are found seven hundred and fifty times in: Jacques de Vitry (47), Odo of Cheriton (75), Arundel MS. 231 (Harley MS. 3244 (59), Etienne de Bourbon (273), *Liber de Dono Timoris* (1), *Liber Exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti* (42), MS. Royal 7 D. 10 (1) and *Legenda Aurea* (58). In addition to these a great number of lives of saints have been used, as well as many mediaeval works of an historical character.

If the collection contained merely stories taken from well-known printed sources, it would be interesting as affording evidence of the extensive diffusion of stories through the medium of preachers: but the collector has added, as he says in the Prologue, "temporumque preteritorum ac modernorum quibusdam eventis." It is true, as the editor remarks, that the compiler, contrary to the custom of Jacques de Vitry or Étienne de Bourbon, has drawn few stories from his personal experience. He introduces the *exemplum*, sometimes by "the true title. My excuse must be that the principal MS. (Additional 11284), formerly belonged to Mr. Thoms, contains no indication of the true title does it appear in the official catalogue), and the same is true of the other which I used. When Mr. Thoms sent nineteen tales from his MS. to Hoffmann's *Altdeutsche Blätter* (Leipzig, 1840, vol. ii, pp. 74-82), he said: "The following stories are selected from a folio MS. on vellum of the thirteenth century in my possession, containing tales, fables, etc., arranged in titles and adapted for introduction into sermons. For which purpose I have selected after the manner of those introduced in the *Gesta Romanorum* and adapted to the different tales." When Thomas Wright reprinted ten of the narratives in his *Latin Stories* (Percy Society, 1843), he was also unaware of the true source of the collection from which they were taken.

or "legitur," sometimes without any preamble, localizing it in time and space, i. e., in the thirteenth century and in the east of England, exceptionally in a foreign land. In other words, his historical anecdotes, and they constitute the most valuable part of the work, are taken, just like the others, from previous collections. Still, as the editor says, the compiler has transmitted to us certain new features relating to great personages and others, and permits us to form a condensed sketch of the manners of the day, "qui se reflètent plus ou moins fidèlement dans ce miroir des laïcs."

A detailed account of the historical and local anecdotes in our text belongs more properly to an investigation into the manners and customs of the time. Besides a large number of references to well-known secular and ecclesiastical personages of the thirteenth century, there are the usual attacks on the prevailing vices of the day and the unpopular classes of the community, such as lawyers, bailiffs, procuresses, usurers, etc. Visions of the other world and apparitions of the dead abound, and there are some curious stories of compacts with the devil and magic incantations. Most of the above, as has already been intimated, are old stories localized by the compiler. An interesting article might be written on this procedure, but the space at our disposal will permit reference to but one tale of this class.

In Chapter XXXII, "De Eukaristia et ejus virtutibus," is a story, 269a, found in British Museum MSS. Add. 17723, and Oxford, Bodl. 474, and University Coll. Library XXIX, the substance of which is as follows:

A person raises the devil by magic arts and while consulting him a priest passes by carrying the Eucharist to a sick man. The devil bends both knees in a profound obeisance, but when the priest shortly returns without the Host, the devil bends but one knee. The devil explains his action to the one consulting him, who dismisses him and renounces his magic art.

This story is a favorite one and is found in many versions without localization.²

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that she is whirled about in fire and tormented for the turns she made in the dance; (4) finally, another girl appears to her confessor and says that she has been punished severely in Purgatory for once listening with pleasure to a certain song.

There is rather more of interest in Chapter LX, "De ornatu corporis superfluo," which contains nine tales: (1) Pambo weeps at sight of a richly-dressed woman in Alexandria (*Vit. Pat. Migne*, LXXII, cols. 794, 862); (2) Jacques de Vitry's story, No. 243, of the devil who used a woman's train for his carriage; (3) Odo of Cheriton's story of the nobleman who becomes a Cistercian monk because it is better to go to heaven in rags than to hell in silks; (4) a story attributed to Odo of Cheriton of the monks of Tours wearing silver-plated shoes and silk girdles. St. Martin rises from the dead one night, and enters the dormitory with an angel, who kills them all except the Abbot Venantius; (5) the woman in Eynesham (Ensham in Oxfordshire) who took so long to arrange her hair that she scarcely got to Mass before the end. One day the devil in the form of a spider descended on her head and nearly killed her with his claws, only the abbot could exorcise the demon; (6) Étienne de Bourbon's story of the French countess who is damned for her love of finery; (7) the same writer's story, No. 274, of the ape which plucks off a Parisian woman's false hair; (8) a story, probably from Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 7 D. i, of the priest's dead mother who appears with serpents in her hair and tells him that she is damned for excessive luxury in dress; (9) and, finally, a story, found in two Oxford MSS., and a Worcester Cathedral MS., of a proud person "in partibus Prussie, in civitate Dansica."

He was walking in the suburbs and glorying immoderately in the long toes of his shoes. He heard two voices praising long toes, and one voice said that he would shortly drown the person wearing them; the other voice dissuaded him, declaring that the long toes would cause the wearer to die uncontrite. Then the proud man looked down and saw a demon sitting on each toe. The proud man called on the name of Christ and the demons vanished and the man amended his life and hung up his shoes in the church as a warning to others.

There is little interest in Chapter LXXX, "De sortilegio," which has five stories: (1) the Witch of Berkeley, from William of Malmsbury's *Gesta Regum*, I, 253; (2) the story, from the same source, I, 256, of the young man who gives his ring to Venus; (3) the widely spread story of Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II) who obtained the papacy by magic arts and at his death ordered his limbs to be cut off; (4) story of St. Bernard who repulses a woman who offers to cure his headaches by magic spells; (5) and, finally, the story of the magician who could not work his spells before William of Scotland, because of a monk murmuring the first words of St. John's Gospel, "In principio erat verbum."

There are many interesting stories, variants of previously known ones, scattered through the work, but my space does not permit me to cite them.

It is impossible to speak in too high praise of the editor's labor. He has omitted the stories taken from the well-known and easily accessible repositories such as the *Vitae Patrum*, Gregory, etc., but has given in all cases sufficient indication of the substance and references in the Notes, which will enable the

reader to reconstruct the entire work. The notes are exceedingly valuable, containing, as they do, references to a great body of mediaeval tales.³ The constant references to stories in Étienne de Bourbon, not printed in Lecoy de la Marche's edition, make the announcement of their publication by the editor of the present work most welcome, and we cannot refrain, in these troublous times, from expressing the earnest hope that his life may be spared to complete his task.

In the Introduction to my edition of the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, I had occasion to refer to a collection of *sermones communes vel quotidiani*, which was said to exist in certain Belgian libraries. I was unable to consult this work, but did not suppose that it contained *exempla*. This supposition was based on the fact that Jacques de Vitry himself in his *prooemium* to the *sermones dominicales* (Antwerp, 1575), states that his work was to consist of six divisions, the first four being represented by the *sermones dominicales*, the fifth by the *sermones de sanctis*, and the sixth by the *sermones vulgares*. As it was supposed that all the existing collections of sermons by Jacques de Vitry were written late in his life, I did not think that after the *sermones vulgares*, which, in his own words, were to complete his work, he would have added anything. It now seems that I was mistaken and that the *sermones communes vel quotidiani*, alluded to above as existing in Belgian libraries, also contain a considerable number of *exempla*, which have just been published. Before examining the two editions of these *exempla*, which, by a strange coincidence appeared simultaneously, I wish to say a few words about the *exempla* attributed to Jacques de Vitry in various mediaeval collections of stories for the use of preachers. I have had an occasion to examine one hundred and twenty-eight stories ascribed to Jacques de Vitry, not found in my edition. Sixteen only of these are in the *sermones feriales et communes* as edited by Greven and Frenken, thus leaving one hundred and twelve unaccounted for. In the Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 18134, described in my introduction to Jacques de Vitry, pp. l-li,⁴ are one hundred and

³ I have noticed very few omissions in the Notes. Both the editor and Mr. Herbert overlooked the fact that No. 470b, the story of the man who, in a vision, saw his seat in hell prepared near that of Caiaphas, is found in Bede, Book V, chap. xiv. The editor has published *in extenso* in his notes a considerable number of stories found in various MSS. in the British Museum, no less than twenty-three are printed from the interesting MS. Royal 7 D. i, the whole of which the editor hopes to publish some day. He also gives in the Notes references to the *Speculum Spiritualium*, which has copied most of the stories in the *Speculum Laicorum*. In my review of Herbert's *Catalogue* in "Modern Philology," vol. ix, No. 2, Oct. 1911, by a curious slip of the memory I said that I had not seen the *Speculum Spiritualium*. I used many years ago the copy (Paris, 1510) in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and have recently renewed my acquaintance with it through the courtesy of the Librarian, Mr. W. W. Rockwell.

⁴ Another MS. of this collection, containing, however, only one hundred and five *exempla*, is found in the Library of the Arsenal in Paris. See W. Soderhjelm, *Note sur un manuscrit des Exempla de Jacques de Vitry*, Helsingfors, 1909 (*Sonderabdruck aus den Neuphilologischen Mitteilungen, herausgegeben vom Neuphilologischen Verein in Helsingfors Jahrgang 1909*).

thirty-seven *exempla* "magistri Jacobi de Vitriaco que narrat in sermonibus suis"; of these, seventy-four are in the *sermones vulgares*, thirty-four are in the *sermones feriales et communes* as printed by Greven and Franken; leaving twenty-nine unaccounted for. I think these figures warrant my statement, *op. cit.*, p. li, that "there was undoubtedly a large mass of stories in circulation attributed to Jacques de Vitry, and some of them may have been told by him in his sermons while preaching the Crusade in France, and have been noted or remembered by his hearers."

The new *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry are contained in four Belgian MSS., one in Liège, two in Brussels, and the fourth in Bruges. The first is of the fourteenth, the second and third of the fifteenth, and the fourth of the fourteenth century. As Greven remarks, the fact that manuscripts of these sermons are found only in Belgium, and that three of them, without doubt, owe their origin to Belgian cloisters, permits us to conclude that Jacques de Vitry sent this collection of sermons to his Belgian friends without any care for their wider circulation. The writer says in the Prologue to the collection:

Post sermones Dominicales, festiuales et vulgares ad tanti operis consummacionem subiungere temptauimus feriales et communes; vt, qui predictorum sermonum multitudinem non potuerint uel noluerint habere, his vltimis et paucis contenti in promptu habeant quasi panem cotidianum ad reficiendas animas omni die.

The first group comprises two sermons for each week-day (*feria* in the language of the Church), the second contains eleven sermons which may be used on any occasion. In two of the MSS. the sermons are termed *cotidiani et communes*. This substitution of *cotidiani* for *feriales* was caused no doubt by the words of the Prologue, "quasi panem cotidianum." The week-day sermons deal with the Creation, and the *sermones communes* with the Fall of Man. The *exempla*, as is usually the case, stand at the end of the sermon, although some occur in the body of the sermon, and, as Greven remarks, very few have any connection with the subject of the sermon. Sixty of the *exempla* are introduced by the words: *vidi, vidi et novi, vidimus, memini, audiui* and *legimus*; seventeen by *notus est* and *dicitur*; thirty have no indication of source. Six of the nine fables are introduced by *dicitur*, the rest have no indication of source.

Turning now to the *exempla* themselves, only three, Greven, Nos. 8, 16 and 51, are found in the *sermones vulgares* (Crane, Nos. 30, 31, 160); three, Greven, Nos. 13, 14, 47, are from the *Vitae Patrum*; and two, Greven, Nos. 51 and 80, are from Petrus Alfonsus. The great majority of the *exempla* are apparently original with Jacques de Vitry, and, as will presently be seen, did not subsequently enter into wide circulation. The collection is, therefore, of little interest for the question of the diffusion of popular tales, and its value depends on the light it throws on the manners and customs of the times.

I shall pass in review, first the stories found in subsequent collections, and then the *exempla* found only in these sermons:

Greven, No. 3, "Convent of Demons," in Étienne de Bourbon, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, No. 79, where it is attributed to Jacques de Vitry. For the story itself, see Gering, *Island. Aeventyr*, II, 124; Martinus Polonus, *Ex.* viii, i; *Scala Celi*, fol. 166 vo; *Selen Troist*, ed. Pfeiffer, II, 300; Herbert, *Cat.*, 474—Greven, No. 4, "Christ's Guest," pious layman returning home at night with an

image of the Virgin which he had just purchased, is met by a seeming monk and entertained in a beautiful mansion by Christ and the apostle Peter; the same story attributed to Jacques de Vitry is in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 152, with variations in the names of the localities.—Greven, No. 6, the election of Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris, and his refusal to recognize his mother who visits him in fine clothing; the two stories are in Étienne de Bourbon, Nos. 285, 278. Jacques de Vitry is cited as authority for the second. The second is in *Spec. Laicor.* No. 450, ed. Welter, p. 87.—Greven, No. 7, Sick man will not accept unconsecrated Host, told of Maurice de Sully and his predecessor Odo, in Jacques de Vitry, "senex in domo sancti Victoris Parisiensis." Caesarius Heist. IX, 43, tells it of Maurice. See Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 479, Royal 7 D. i, "Magister Jacobus de Vitriaco narravit," 530, 628, told of Hugh of St. Victor, as in the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 181, p. 843.—Greven, No. 9, dying lawyer sticks out his tongue to show that he had not lost it as was commonly said of dying lawyers, repeated by Étienne de Bourbon, No. 440, on the authority of Jacques de Vitry.—Greven, No. 11, monk who had been physician refuses to eat coarse food as unwholesome and sees in a vision the Virgin offering an electuary to the other monks and passing by him with the words, "Medice, cura teipsum," told by Étienne de Bourbon No. 397, on the authority of a certain "fratre P. Hispano," cited also in No. 256; the same story is in Caesarius Heist. VII, 47, and *Jacob's Well* (*Early English Text Soc.*, Original Series, 115), p. 290. See also Ward's *Cat.*, II, p. 630.—Greven, No. 13, from the *Vitae Patrum*, Migne P. L. LXXIII. cols. 745, 878, monk asked to pray for another is not heard, and in a vision sees the object of his prayer playing with the spirit of fornication, a very popular story, see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 547, 563, 583, 650.—Greven, No. 14, also from the *Vitae Patrum*, LXXIII, cols. 763, 978, 1054, Arsenius's vision of the futility of men's labors, one heaps up more wood than he can carry, another pours water into a leaky cistern, two others carry a beam crosswise and cannot enter door with it; also a very popular story, used by Odo of Cheriton, Hervieux, CLXXXVI, see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 77, 462, 545.—Greven, No. 15, "Aristotle and Alexander's Wife," repeated by Étienne de Bourbon, not in Lecoy de la Marche's edition, see Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 87. For this famous story see Herbert, place just cited, and the references in Gödeke's *Asinus Vulgi*, in *Orient und Occident*, I, 543, No. 10.—Greven, Nos. 17, 18, two stories of a Count of Champagne, who is so profuse in his bounty that when some poor soldiers ask for gifts a rich provost of the count's says his master has nothing left to give. The angry count presents the poor soldiers with the provost. In the second story, a naked child asks alms of the same count, who gives him money to buy a purse to contain his alms. The child spends only half for the purse and keeps the rest. When the Count learns the truth he tells the boy he shall receive only small alms in his little purse. These stories are in Étienne de Bourbon, Nos. 146, 147, pp. 124, 125, attributed to Jacques de Vitry.—Greven, No. 19, "Monk in Paradise," perhaps the best known of all mediaeval stories, thanks to Longfellow's *Golden Legend*. The story is in Odo of Cheriton and the *Speculum Laicorum* (see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 67, 391), as well as in Klapper, Nos. 27, 28. The literature of the subject may be found in Kohler's *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 339. No less than twelve of the MSS. analyzed by Herbert contain this story.—Greven, No. 25, Devil misleads hermit by giving him cock and hen, repeated by Étienne de Bourbon; not in

Lecoy de la Marche's edition, see Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 87, 338, Bozon, *Contes moralisés*, pp. 186, 297, Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, II, p. 362, Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, V, p. 179, and Tobler in *Jahrb. für rom. und engl. Lit.*, VII, p. 419.—Greven, No. 28, Tortoise asks eagle to carry him in the air in order to see the sun, stars, and other celestial bodies, and is killed by fall; in Odo of Cheriton, see Herbert, *Cat.*, p. 37, Hervieux, vol. IV (1896), pp. 182, 302, 422.—Greven, No. 34, King of Castile advancing to attack the Saracens is urged by certain soldiers to retreat on account of meeting a flock of crows. King replies that the crows are only four years old, but he has fought against the Saracens more than twenty years and knows more about them than the crows; in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 353, p. 314.—Greven, No. 35, a certain host during a fair detains in his house a profitable countryman by making a sound with a bladder, which countryman thinks a bad omen; in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 355, p. 315.—Greven, No. 37, the Archbishop of Reims insists on knowing what Petrus Cantor is thinking about. He replies that he is thinking that at the day of judgment God would call on Saint Benedict to bear testimony as to who were his monks. If he sees in the stomachs of monks coarse food he will know them for his own and cause them to be welcomed to the Wedding Feast. Not so those in whose stomachs are found big pikes and salmons, and delicate food. The archbishop is put to confusion by this answer, for like the prelates of the day he lives a luxurious life. This story is in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 470, p. 413, attributed to Jacques de Vitry, but without the names of the principal personages.—Greven, No. 38, a count of Poitou enters the Cistercian order and asks to keep the animals of the cloister so that he may do penance. He takes such pleasure in the various animals that he cannot do penance and returns sorrowfully to the cloister, in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 215, p. 187.—Greven, No. 40, a fastidious prelate has no appetite and despairs of his health; he enters Cistercian order, goes bareheaded and acquires an enormous appetite; in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 479, p. 412, a story with a similar point is told of a dog by the same writer, No. 191, p. 166.—Greven, No. 47, story of the hermit who burned a bundle of letters without looking at them for fear his mind would be disturbed, from the *Vitae Patrum*, IV, 34, and the earlier Cassianus *De instituto coenobiorum*, V, 32, cited by Greven.—Greven, No. 48, a preacher left his ass at churchdoor while he prayed. His mind was distracted by the thought of his ass, and when he came out he said to it, "You have had more of my *Pater noster* than God," and gave away the ass to a leper; in Odo of Cheriton, Hervieux, p. 282; Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 27 (Jacques de Vitry); 64 (Odo of Cheriton); 419 (*Liber Exemp. sec. ord. Alph.*), 460, 490, 530, 658; a similar story is in *Scala Celi*, fol. 37 vo.—Greven, No. 49, a similar story, in which a man complains to a friend that he cannot pray without his thoughts wandering. His friend boasts that he can, and the man says that he will give him his horse if he can recite the *Pater noster* without thinking of anything else. He wonders whether he will get the saddle with the horse and so loses his wager; in Étienne de Bourbon, No. 264, p. 177; see Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, p. lxxxviii, note, and Gödeke, *Asinus Vulgi, Orient und Occident*, vol. I, p. 543, no. 5.—Greven, No. 50, a man asks forest to give him a bit of wood to make a handle for his axe; in fables of Johannes de Schepeya, Hervieux, IV, p. 446. Frenken cites as sources Romulus III, 14, and mentions Lafontaine, XII, 16, and *Wendunmuth*, I, 23; VII, 103.—Greven, No. 54, Saint Bernard does not punish monk

because he himself is angry; in Odo of Cheriton, Hervieux, IV, p. 409, where the story is told of "quidam nobilis."—Greven, No. 60, Saint Cerbonius accused of saying mass in the night, goes to visit the Pope. On the way he commands a flock of wild geese to accompany him as a gift to the Pope. The Pope rises to meet him and confers that mark of favor on his successors. The saint at his usual time said mass in the presence of the Pope and the angels were heard singing the *introit*. The story is found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., vol. V, p. 99, and there are three versions of it in Herbert's *Cat.*, pp. 489, 628, and 711.—Greven, No. 61, devil attempts to delay Saint Theobald summoned to make peace between warring factions by pulling one of the wheels of his chariot off and throwing it into the river. The saint commands the devil to take the place of the wheel. The factions not seeing the devil are amazed at the miracle of the chariot proceeding with but one wheel and obey the saint's injunctions. On the way home the devil is ordered to fish the wheel out of the stream and fit it to the chariot; in *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. V, p. 594.—Greven, No. 65, the stag is said to stop and listen to the baying of the dogs and so is captured; in *Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, No. 43, pp. 58, 246, where is given as authority "Barthélemi l'Anglais," i. e., Bartholomew Glanville, *De proprietatibus rerum*.—Greven, No. 68, Devil aids a thief, who grows to expect his help. At last the thief is led to the gallows, and the devil tells him he is now sure of him and that his help in the past has been given only to bring him to that state. Greven cites Knust's edition of the *Conde Lucanor*, p. 404, where a large number of references is given. The same story is found in the Tours MS. 468, printed by Welter in his edition of the *Speculum Laicorum*, p. 127, note 190. A similar story is in the work just cited, No. 190, and in Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 169, 384, 495, 527, 648.—Greven, No. 70, a son asks father to give him two wives; one proves too much, and husband advises giving her to a robber as latter's worst possible punishment. Greven cites Adolphus of Vienna in Ulrich's *Proben der lateinischen Novelistik des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 4, and *Recueil général des Fabliaux*, III, p. 186; to these references may be added Wright's *Latin Stories*, pp. 78, 194, and *Anglia*, vol. VII, p. 155.—Greven, No. 71, man unhappily married wants shoot of tree on which another man's two wives have hanged themselves. Greven cites Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, No. 637, where many references are given.—Greven, No. 73, story of the Apostle Peter and Simon Magus, from the *Clementine Homilies*; Greven cites *Clementina*, herausg. von Paul de Lagarde, Leipzig, 1865, pp. 194–199.—Greven, No. 77, Saint William Courtney blushes when robbed of his underclothes. Frenken, p. 135, note, gives references showing spread of this story.—Greven, No. 80, Toll on bodily defects, from Petrus Alphonsus, No. 6, a widely spread story; see Pauli, No. 285, and Oesterley's *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 157.—Greven, No. 85, a certain saint had entertained many guests during the day and eaten heartily with them. At night the devil came and felt the saint's belly and said: "It is well with this belly." The saint replied: "Not with this belly, but with charity." The devil retreated in confusion. Greven says the story is from the life of St. Philibert, *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., vol. IV, p. 76.—Greven, Nos. 92 and 93, two stories of Saint Athanasius; Greven cites Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, XXV, pp. cxcvi, cxcvii.—Greven, No. 11, story of rustic who had applied hot onions to sore foot and recommends same treatment to a neighbor suffering from his eye. The result is the total loss of the eye.

In Odo of Cheriton, Hervieux, IV, p. 278, and Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 63, 490.—Greven, No. 102, ape on shipboard throws into the sea the ill-gotten gains of a passenger who had cheated pilgrims with false measures and frothy wine. This is a most popular story and many examples of its diffusion may be found in the notes to Pauli, No. 375; see also Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 374 (*Speculum Laicorum*, No. 14, ed. Welter, pp. 6, 113), 422 (*Liber exemp. sec. ord. Alph.*), 497 and 609.

Of the remaining sixty-six stories, which did not get into any considerable circulation, a certain number are taken from treatises on natural history, and a few are fables. Among the first class are: Greven, No. 29, the sea-urchin, which, when a storm is approaching, anchors itself to a pebble (Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, II, 34).—Greven, No. 30, the crab puts a pebble in the open shell of the oyster and is thus able to devour it (Neckam, II, 36).—Greven, No. 31, the polyp is a deceitful fish, it resembles the rocks in color and by remaining motionless catches its prey (Neckam, *De laudibus sapientiae*, II, 659, *et seq.*).—Greven, No. 32, the crocodile is a fish on land and a beast in water. Jacques de Vitry, when he was beyond the sea, heard of one that bit off an ox's tail, whereupon the ox in shame swam to Cyprus, and when it was derided there swam back again and lay in wait for the crocodile and slew it with its horns.—Greven, No. 33, there are said to be whales so large that they are taken for islands and when they move ships and sailors are swallowed up in the sea. For this episode of the Sindbad story see Chauvin, *Bibl. des ouvr. arabes*, VII, p. 9.—Greven, No. 66, when the whale is hungry it opens its mouth and emits a powerful odor, by which fishes are attracted and caught. In this connection may be mentioned the curious story, Greven, No. 26, of the Sicilian who could not live long upon land. Sometimes he would proceed from Brindisi to Acre on the bottom of the sea, and frequently rising to the surface would talk with sailors and tell them of approaching storms. This is clearly the legend of "Fish Nicholas," cited by Cervantes in *Don Quijote*, II, 18, but that legend is of the fifteenth century and the *sermones feriales* are between 1229 and 1240; see note by the Spanish Academy to its fourth edition of *Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1819, vol. III, p. 403, where various authorities for the story are cited, among them Feijoo, *Teatro critico*, who seems to believe the story.⁵

The fables are few and not very important, we may mention: Greven, No. 2, a stag flees from the hunters and takes refuge in a stable, where it devours the hay of the oxen and is overlooked by the negligent herdsman. One of the oxen warns the stag that the master has eyes in the back of his head as well as in the front, and that the stag cannot remain hidden from him. The stag is soon discovered and killed by the master. Frenken cites Romulus III, 19, Lafontaine IV, 21, and Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop*, I, 248.⁶—Greven, No. 5, a fox accuses a wolf of stealing a lamb of his. A rabbit is made judge and the case is tried

⁵ Frenken prints this story on p. 149 as *Anekdote I*, and gives the literature relating to the Schiller Ballad *Der Taucher*. The legend is found before J. de V. in Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, Oxford, 1914, p. 188, and Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 94.

⁶ A version of this fable is found in the recent edition of Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, Oxford, 1914, p. 261. The editor says it is in a collection of numbered stories, two of which are attributed to Walter Map, in a MS. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

in the presence of the dogs, kites and crows, all of which hope to get their share of the prey. The judge keeps the skin, the flesh is divided between wolf and fox, the entrails go to the kites and crows, and the bones to the dogs. Frenken cites Romulus I, 4 and Jacobs I, 231.—Greven, No. 22, a wolf seeing a wandering sheep said: "You have departed from your mother, it is better for me to eat you than for your mother to lose you."—Greven, No. 55, an ass insults a goat, which scorns to attack such a mean adversary. Frenken cites Romulus I, 11, Jacobs I, 235, Lafontaine VIII, 15, and Kirchhoff VII, 147.—Greven, No. 96, the well-known fable of the treaty between the wolf and the sheep, by which the sheep give up their dogs as hostages; see Johannes de Schepeya, No. 68, in Hervieux IV, 447; a similar fable is in the *Sermones vulgares*, Crane, No. 45. Frenken cites Romulus III, 13, Jacobs I, 246, Lafontaine III, 13, Kirchhoff VII, 39, and Pauli 447.

I have space to mention only a few of the most characteristic stories which are left: Greven, No. 23, Jacques de Vitry heard of a certain man who came to Chartres and could find no shelter. He went to the prévôt and demanded to be received under his roof; when he refused, the tramp said he would make him provide shelter for him, and struck him in the face. The prévôt ordered him to be thrown into jail and so he had shelter for the night.—Greven, Nos. 45, 46, two extraordinary stories which Jacques de Vitry tells on his own authority. In one, which happened while he was preaching in Brabant, a pious virgin every year at the Feast of the Conception begins to have all the signs of pregnancy, which last until the Nativity, when she resumes her usual condition, except that her breasts were filled with milk. The other story is of a pregnant woman, who on the point of delivery has all the signs of childbirth vanish. She keeps her bed for twenty years, and during all this time she is conscious of a child in her womb who leaps in adoration of the Cross. Jacques de Vitry saw with his own eyes how the child seemed to follow the Cross when it was moved from side to side. Some of the stories are connected with Jacques de Vitry's experiences in the East, as Greven, No. 74, a certain Count Josselin married the daughter of an Armenian on condition of letting his beard grow in accordance with the custom of the country. The Count contracts debts which he does not know how to pay. At last he tells his father-in-law that he has pledged his beard for a thousand marks, and if the debt is not paid his beard will have to be cut off. His father-in-law gives him the money rather than have the Count incur the shame of losing his beard.—Greven, No. 75, Jacques de Vitry knew a certain knight in Acre that had offended a minstrel, who took his revenge by passing off on the knight an ointment which removes the beard instead of preserving the face in good condition.—Greven, No. 79, Jacques de Vitry heard that a certain Saracen, over sixty years of age, had never been outside of Damascus. The Sultan summoned him and commanded him to remain in the city in the future. As soon as he was forbidden to leave it he longed to go, and gave the Sultan money to permit him to do so. Frenken cites Pauli 319, who gives Petrarch as his authority. Greven, No. 99, a woman of Acre knew excellent remedies for the eyes, so that even Saracens came to her. One day she was in a hurry to hear mass and left the case of a Saracen to her maid, telling her to put such and such medicine in his eyes. The Christian maid determined to blind the Saracen, so she put quicklime in his eye and told him not to open it

in three days. A week later, after great pain and copious tears, he was cured, and returned with fee and gifts, greatly to the maid's wonder.

There is another group of stories, the scene of which is laid in Paris in the time of Jacques de Vitry. Some of the more interesting of these are: Greven, No. 84, while J. de V. was at Paris three youths from Flanders came there and on their way told their purposes: one wanted to be a Parisian theologian (*magister*), the second a Cistercian, the third an "organizator, hystrio et jocular." J. de V. saw later with his own eyes the realization of their desires.—Greven, No. 86, I remember (he says) while at Paris that a certain scholar, religious and abstinent, went on a Friday to visit friends near Paris and ate wherever he stopped. His *famulus* at last whispers to him that it is Friday and that he has eaten twice already. His master replies that he had forgotten it. J. de V. remarks that some eat so much that they cannot forget it, but have to say: "*Ventrum meum doleo.*"—There are four stories of a certain Parisian priest named Maugrinus. In one, Greven, No. 103, he refuses, on account of some offence, to say vespers on Christmas eve. After urging him in vain, one of his parishioners says he refuses because he does not know the service. In his anger the priest says he will show him that he does and so says vespers as his people wished.—Greven, No. 104, the same priest is called to hear the confession of a certain scholar who speaks in Latin. Maugrinus does not understand him, and calls the servants and tells them that their master is in a frenzy and must be bound. When the scholar recovers he complains to the bishop, who pretends to be ill and sends for Maugrinus to confess him. He, too, speaks Latin, and at every word he utters Maugrinus says, "May the Lord forgive you." At last the bishop cannot restrain his laughter and says, "May the Lord never forgive me, nor will I forgive you," and made him pay a hundred livres or lose his parish.—Greven, No. 105, the same Maugrinus, during the disputes at Paris between the Realists and the Nominalists, is persuaded by a wag into excommunicating all the Nominalists in his parish. The bishop is a Nominalist and threatens to expel M. from his charge. M., however, redeems himself by paying a hundred Parisian livres.—Greven, No. 106, Maugrinus's bishop is in pecuniary straits and, feigning to have sore eyes, asks M. to read certain letters. M., who cannot read, opens the letters and looking them over says that they contain news that the bishop is in need and that Maugrinus will lend him ten marks.

In conclusion I will mention a few stories of more general interest. Greven, No. 20, J. de V. heard that an astrologer predicted that a certain king would die within six months. The king is naturally much depressed and tells one of his knights, who calls the astrologer and asks him how sure he is of the king's death. He answers as sure as he is of his own. "How much longer do you expect to live?" asks the knight. "More than twenty years." The knight cries, "You lie in your throat," and kills him on the spot. The king recovers his happiness, seeing that the astrologer was so mistaken in regard to his own life. Frenken cites Abraham a Sancta Clara, *Judas der Ertsschelm*, II, 299.—Greven, No. 39, a prelate had a very fine horse which his brother, a soldier, coveted for his own use but could not induce the prelate to part with it. The soldier, however, borrows it for a few days and teaches it to rear and run when it hears the words *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*. The next time the pre-

late recites his breviary on horseback, his steed acts so badly that he is glad to give it to his brother. In *Scala Celi*, fol. 138; a somewhat similar story is in Crane's J. de V, No. 258.—It would be strange not to find the usual monastic diatribes on the other sex; here are some: Greven, No. 62, a certain demon in disguise served a rich man, who gave him his daughter and great wealth. She was quarrelsome and left her husband no peace. At the end of a year, the demon told his father-in-law that he wished to return to his own home. When asked where that was, he answered that it was in hell, where he had never suffered such discord and vexation as he had the past year with his quarrelsome wife. He ended by saying: "I would rather be in hell than live any longer with her," and straightway vanished from their sight.⁷—Greven, No. 63, J. de V. once passed through a certain city in France, where a ham was hung up in the public square to be given to the one who swore that after a year of married life he did not repent of his bargain. The ham had hung there unclaimed for ten years.—Greven, No. 67, a certain man had a bad, quarrelsome and adulterous wife whom he could no longer endure, so he determined to go away on a pilgrimage to St. James. At his departure his wife asks "To whom do you commend me?" "To the devil," he replies, and leaves her. The devil guards her against lovers and hands her over to her husband on his return just as he had received her, saying that he would rather guard ten wild mares than such a bad woman. Frenken cites *Mensa philosophica*, Lips., 1603, p. 241.

From the above résumé, it will be seen that these new *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry contain material of much interest and value for the study of mediaeval culture, although they are not so important for the history of mediaeval fiction as those contained in the same author's *Sermones vulgares*.

Greven's edition, to which I have referred thus far, is, like the other texts in Hilka's *Sammlung*, edited very briefly, and intended to afford material for further study. Frenken's edition, on the other hand, contains a large amount of valuable introductory matter, which I shall pass rapidly in review. In pp. 5–16, Frenken gives a history of the *exemplum* as used in ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric and in Christian eloquence. The latter section is merely a sketch of the knowledge and use of classical rhetoric by Christian writers. In pp. 16–18, Frenken deals with the beginning of the use of *exempla* in sermons, and concludes that Odo of Cheriton is the first preacher of whom *exempla* in sermons have been preserved in large numbers. His *sermones dominicales* can be dated with certainty in 1219. Almost contemporary are Jacques de Vitry and Caesarius of Heisterbach. This is the conclusion I reached in my Introduction to the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, where I said, p. xix, that it was not until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century that the practice of using *exempla* became common, owing to the rise of the preaching orders.

This statement of mine was questioned by the late Anton Schönbach in his *Studien zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*, Erster Theil, p. 2. He contents himself by stating that my conclusion so far as French preaching in the twelfth century is concerned is in contradiction with the facts, and refers to Bourgain's *La Chaire française au XII^e siècle*, pp. 258 *et seq.* Bourgain no-

⁷ For the Belphegor story Frenken cites Axon in the *Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Lit.*, 1902, pp. 97–128.

where mentions the systematic use of *exempla*; indeed, he never, I believe, uses the word in its technical meaning. He does cite Guibert de Nogent, without place, as to the use of illustrative material. I said in my Introduction, p. xix, note, that I could find no reference to *exempla* in Guibert de Nogent's *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*; here is the passage quoted by Bourgain; and another I may add. The first is Migne, CLVI, col. 25:

"Placere etiam nonnullis comperimus simplices historias, et veterum gesta sermoni inducere, et his omnibus quasi ex diversis picturam coloribus adornare."

The second passage is in col. 29:

"et per considerationem naturae illius rei de qua agitur, aliquid allegoriae vel moralitati conveniens invenitur, sicut de lapidibus gemmariis, de avibus, de bestiis, de quibus quidquid figurate dicitur, non nisi propter significantiam profertur."

Schönbach also cites Honorius of Autun, Werner von Ellerbach, and the collections of German sermons edited by himself and Hoffmann. In Schönbach's collection, Graz, 1886-1891, there are sixteen stories in the first volume, most of them from the *Vitae Patrum* and Gregory's *Homilies*; in the second volume there is one story from Gregory's *Dialogues*, and in the third volume there are no stories. In Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, vol. I, there are only half a dozen stories. In Werner's *Libri Deflorationum*, Migne, vol. CLVII, I do not find *exempla* of any kind, unless the occasional references to animals, birds, fishes and plants moralized in the usual way may be considered *exempla*. On the other hand there are many *exempla* in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun (flourished 1106-1125), and I should not have overlooked Cruel's reference on p. 137 of his *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt*: "Ausserdem treten die nach Gregor's Beispiel einzeln auch in deutschen Predigten vorkommenden Exempel bei Honorius zuerst massenhaft als stehender Schlusstheil auf." Still, it is evident that Honorius was an exception; and the statement that the use of *exempla* systematically in sermons was not common until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century is, I still think, correct.

Frenken gives, pp. 18-22, a biography based on that of Funk, a much better source than Mätzner whom I used. A reference to Jacques de Vitry, in No. 4 of the new *exempla*, seems to establish the fact that he was a canon of Cambrai and had his origin in Reims. The mysterious "Vitry" has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

The remainder of Frenken's Introduction, pp. 24-87, is devoted to an examination of the origin and diffusion of the *exempla* in both the *Sermones vulgares* and the *Sermones communes*. The principal sources, viz., the *Vitae Patrum*, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, lives of the saints, Saint Ambrose and Saint Gregory, are carefully scrutinized. Especially valuable is the section, pp. 31-37, on the sources of Jacques de Vitry's fables, in which many additions are made to my references. A long chapter, pp. 37-56, is devoted to the *exempla* taken from possible oral tradition. Frenken is inclined to believe that Jacques de Vitry depended more largely on oral tradition than on written sources. He thinks, for instance, that Jacques de Vitry did not use the *Disciplina Clericalis* directly, but that this work was known outside of literary tradition. Similarly he thinks it cannot be shown that Jacques de Vitry used the *Fabliaux* directly,

but employed the popular traditions on which they were based. Frenken also minimizes the direct Oriental element in Jacques de Vitry, and thinks the stories of undoubted Oriental origin reached Jacques de Vitry in the Occident by way of oral tradition. Considerable space is devoted to the influence of Jacques de Vitry on German preaching; and two famous preachers, Geiler von Kaisersberg and Abraham a Sancta Clara, whom I omitted in my Introduction, are treated at length.

The concluding chapter, pp. 72-87, is a very interesting consideration of the penetration of Jacques de Vitry's *exempla* into profane literature. The works examined are: the *Mensa philosophica* attributed to Michael Scotus, the *Dialogus Creaturarum* (formerly attributed to Nicolaus Pergaminus, but now to the Italian physician Mayno de Mainery), Abstemius, *Der Stricker*, Ulrich Boner and Johannes Pauli. These, with the exception of Abstemius and *Der Stricker*, I used for my notes. I did not dwell on them in my Introduction (except the *Dialogus Creaturarum*), because my limit was precisely the point where the religiously employed *exemplum* became profane literature. It is greatly to be wished that some one would trace the history of the great collections of *facetiae* of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, and show the influence of the *exemplum* on the Italian *novella* and its imitations in other countries.

It is impossible to speak too highly of Frenken's work. It is a model of thorough research and wide learning and an invaluable contribution to the history of mediaeval fiction.

The enormous extent of *exempla* literature may be estimated from the hundred and nine manuscript collections in the British Museum alone (so admirably analyzed by Mr. Herbert in his *Catalogue*), which contain something like eight thousand stories. A few of the typical collections, as, for example, the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, were frequently copied, and are found in many of the continental libraries. But, in the main, no two collections are alike, and each represents the individual fancy of the compiler. Very few of these collections have been published, but some have long attracted the attention of scholars. Among these the most interesting is the collection contained in a MS. in the library of Tours, of which an incomplete version is in the University of Bonn. Both MSS. are of the XVth century, but the collection itself goes back to the second half of the XIIIth century, and was probably made by a Dominican monk well acquainted with the French provinces of Touraine, Maine and Anjou. The Tours MS., now No. 468, was carefully described by L. Delisle in the *Comptere rendu*, Nov. 27, 1868, of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, pp. 393-405, reprinted in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXIX^e année, Paris, 1868, pp. 598-607.

Dr. Hilka, the able editor of the *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, in which Klapper's and Greven's works were published, communicated a considerable number of the *exempla* in the Tours MS. to the *Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur*, in whose ninetieth annual report they were printed. The *exempla* collections are in a comparatively few instances arranged alphabetically; sometimes they assume the character of treatises of theology and are disposed according to subjects. In the Tours MS. alone, I believe, the stories are arranged in nine groups, under the heads of classes and professions. The number

of *exempla* is very large; there are four hundred and ten in the eighth group, which deals with secular and civil society. The *exempla* themselves are of great value for the question of the diffusion of popular tales, and they contain a large number of stories which belong to the most widely circulated class. Dr. Hilka intends to publish in his *Sammlung* the entire collection, which apparently is worthy in point of interest to stand by the side of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* and the *Scala Celi*. I can give here only a rapid survey of the most interesting of the stories published by Dr. Hilka.

There are many parallels to wellknown stories: No. VI, p. 10, Fridolin ("Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer"), to Hilka's references to Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 198, 524, may be added pp. 341, 419, 509.—No. VII, p. 11, "The Cranes of Ibycus."—No. VIII, p. 11, Poor man sings all day, but is silent when envious rich man gives him a bag of gold; see Crane's Jacques de Vitry, No. 66.—No. IX, p. 12, Man gives his property to ungrateful daughters, who treat him badly. On advice of a friend he fills a chest with stones and the daughters thinking it contains a treasure treat their father with honor.—No. X, p. 12, "Milkmaid," see Crane's Jacques de Vitry, No. 51; to Hilka's references may be added Montanus, ed. Bolte, p. 604; Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, Nos. 26, 53; and Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 610, 654.—No. XV, p. 18, Go-between persuades deceived husband that he sees double; see Crane's Jacques de Vitry, No. 251.—Nos. XVI, p. 18, XVIII, p. 20, "Weeping Dog," see Crane's Jacques de Vitry, No. 250, for first part of story; the second part is found independently only in the sources cited by Hilka.—No. XVII, p. 19, Go-between at instigation of devil sows discord between man and wife, by persuading latter to cut off with a razor three hairs of husband's beard to use as a charm. Husband thinks she intends to murder him and kills both her and himself; add to Hilka's references Herbert, *Cat.*, pp. 592, 654 and 678.

Some of the stories are told at great length, contrary to the usual abbreviated form of the *exemplum*. This is the case with No. I, p. 4, "The Clever Maid," which belongs to the group of stories treated by R. Köhler in his notes to Sercambi's *Novelle* (in *Kleinere Schriften*, II, pp. 602 *et seq.*). An episode in the story is the choice of the clever maid by propounding difficult questions. A similar feature is found in No. II, p. 8, "Disputation," where a soldier has consumed his substance in arms and, having nothing left, goes to a tournament, at which the king offers to give half his kingdom to the one who can dispute with his clever daughter. She gives soldier choice of propounding or answering three questions. He prefers the former and puts the questions, one of which the princess cannot answer, and so the soldier prevails and recovers all that he has expended.—No. III, p. 8, contains two stories of Merlin; the first involves the answering of questions in an enigmatic manner, and is found in Solomon and Marcolf (in version recently published in Hilka's *Sammlung*, No. 8, edited by W. Benary, p. 22); the second is the story of Merlin laughing at three things: a man buying shoes and soles for them before the shoes were worn out; a bailiff leading a thief to the gallows, when the bailiff was the greater thief; and a priest singing at the burial of a child and parents weeping, although the child was the priest's.—In No. IV, p. 9, Solomon, when a boy, gives for three grapes three pieces of advice to a man: not to cross bridge on horseback; not to travel with a man without asking his name; and never to bet more than a penny. The

man disregards advice, and Solomon has later to help him out of his troubles.—No. V, p. 10, contains the curious story of the queen of Sheba when she visited Solomon, inventing long dresses because the floor of the palace was covered with mirrors and she feared for her modesty.

One of the remaining stories, No. XIII, p. 16, treats a theme familiar to the readers of Boccaccio (II, 9, "Zinevra") and Shakespeare ("Cymbeline"). The cycle to which this story belongs has been treated by G. Paris in *Romania*, XXXII, 481, "Le Cycle de la gageure," and by Hulme in *Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, 218, "A Middle-English Addition to the Wager Cycle."—No. XIX, p. 21, apparently contains the source of the Old-French *fabliau* Auberee. The story goes back to the Oriental versions of the *Seven Wise Masters*, and turns on the craft of an old go-between in deceiving a husband and screening a guilty wife, by pretending that she has left in the husband's room a garment which the lover gave her to repair.

One of the longest and most interesting of the *exempla* is No. XX, p. 21, "The Thankful Beasts," well known from the version in the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 119, "Ingratus and Guido," also of Oriental origin. The ungrateful rich man is here named Adrianus and the poor rustic Mados.—There are two *exempla* which belong to very widely spread groups, not heretofore represented in sermon-book literature: one, No. XI, p. 13, belongs to the cycle of the "Maiden with her hands cut off," of which a version is found in the *Scala Celi*, fol. 27 v^o., "Castitas," and another has been published recently by Klapper, No. 1; to Hilka's references should be added D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, vol. III, p. 235.—No. XII, a. b., pp. 14, 15, contains versions of the theme of the "False Bride"; in the first version the wife substitutes in her place a maiden, whose finger the faithless bailiff cuts off; in the second, the wife kills the senechal to whose care she had been entrusted, substitutes for herself a maid-servant whom she subsequently kills; and is miraculously saved from the denunciation of wicked confessor.

Finally, I can refer only very hastily to the thirty-one stories found in the chapter "De mulieribus ignobilibus." A considerable number are found in Crane's Jacques de Vitry: No. 7 = C. 227; No. 8 = C. 221; No. 9 = C. 222; No. 10 = C. 236; No. 11 = C. 228; No. 12 = C. 51; No. 14 = C. 199; No. 17 = C. 230; No. 19 = C. 248; No. 20 = C. 231; No. 21 = C. 232; No. 24 = C. 237, 254. No. 25 is Étienne de Bourbon, No. 432, and No. 30 is the famous mediaeval story of the "Snowchild," see Pauli, No. 208.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Hilka will soon publish the entire MS., which is so exceptionally interesting, both on account of the form of its stories and of their great value for purposes of comparison.

I have treated at length elsewhere Klapper's selection of *exempla* from MSS. of sermons in Breslau libraries. His work shows what a mine of stories of this kind remains to be explored, and affords additional proof of the important rôle played by preachers in the diffusion of popular tales.

T. F. CRANE.

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NOTE.—After the above article was in type I received J. Klapper's *Erzählungen des Mittelalters in deutscher Übersetzung und lateinischem Urtext* ("Wort und Brauch. Volkskundliche Arbeiten namens der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von Prof. Dr.

Theodor Siebs und Prof. Dr. Max Hippe," 12. Heft. Breslau, Verlag von M. & H. Marcus, 1914, gr. 8vo, pp. 474). This work contains two hundred and eleven *exempla* from six MSS. of the Royal and University Library of Breslau, and (one *exemplum*) one MS. of the National Library at Paris. This new collection of Klapper's is the most interesting which has appeared in many years. It does not afford many hitherto unknown *exempla* (that was hardly to be expected), but the stories are told at greater length and in a more literary manner than is usual with the *exempla* contained in sermons or in treatises for the use of preachers. There are, however, a few new stories, or variants of old ones, of great importance. One, No. 6, is the source of Hartman von Aue's "Armer Heinrich"; another, No. 193, may be the source of Konrad von Würzburg's narrative poem "Von der werlde lön zu schaffen"; No. 164 is the oldest version of the story of the "Dead Guest," which plays so important a part in the Don Juan legend; No. 79 is the story of "Gregory on the Rock"; No. 34 is the "Proud King" ("deposuit potentes"); No. 150 is the "Prince in Paradise" (miraculous lapse of time); No. 150 is the story of the Queen who kills the faithless Seneschal (Herbert, *Catalogue*, pp. 259, 344); No. 28 is the story of the innocent Queen persecuted by wicked brother-in-law ("Hildegard"); No. 211 is "The Hermit and the Angel"; and finally, No. 111 is the story which afforded material for the Volkslied, "Der Meister der Blumen." There are also a large number of miracles of the Virgin, visions of Paradise and Hell, etc. The editor gives his stories in a German translation for the use of the general public and also in the original Latin. The notes are brief and wisely intended only as references to fuller sources of information. I greatly regret that I cannot here now treat with the care it deserves this most important and interesting contribution to *exempla* literature.

T. F. C.

Dante and the Mystics: A Study of the Mystical Aspect of the Divina Commedia and its Relations with some of its Mediaeval Sources. By EDMUND G. GARDNER, M. A. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1913.

The name of Edmund G. Gardner on the title-page of any book gives assurance of a sympathetic treatment, based on a comprehensive study of the literature of the subject. His *Dante's Ten Heavens* has become a standard work, as an introduction to that part of the *Divina Commedia* which presents the most difficulties to modern students. His most recent book on *Dante and the Mystics* throws much light on a phase of Dante's intellectual and religious development which has never been envisaged as a whole. In running down the sources of certain of the poet's conceptions and phrasings, Mr. Gardner has at once added considerably to our knowledge on Dante's theological readings, and shown the appeal a group of writers made to his sympathy.

Chronologically these writers, who may be called Dante's spiritual precursors, commence with St. Augustine, and end with Ubertino da Casale, whose *Arbor Vitae Crucifixe* was the latest of the poet's literary sources. If Dante ranked the former as an eminent mystic, it was not on account of the first-hand personal experience revealed by the dogma-bound theologian in the *Confessions*, a work which, if known to Dante, did not impress him; it was rather on account of his *De quantitate animae*, which the poet cites in the Letter to Can Grande as one of his chief authorities on the transcendental powers of the human intellect. Even then, for the poet, St. Augustine was primarily a theologian, and as such, Mr. Gardner suggests (76), was enthroned in the celestial Rose in a position lower than St. Francis, who represented the perfect imitation of Christ, and St. Benedict the representative of contemplation. It is a pity that

Mr. Gardner (63-64) bolsters up with his authority the conjecture that this source of the pathetic figure of speech used by Statius in addressing Vergil (*Purg.*, xxi, 67-8):

Facesti come quei che va di notte,
Che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova,
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,

is a sentence in the *Confessions* (IV, 6), which presents quite a different conception. St. Augustine could not explain why he derived intellectual pleasure from reading humanistic books, because he did not yet know God, the beginning of all good:

"Et gaudebam in eis et nesciebam unde esset, quicquid ibi verum et certum esset. Dorsum enim habebam ad lumen et ad ea quae illuminabantur faciem, unde ipsa facies mea qua illuminata cernebam, non illuminabatur."

If Dante ever made use of this Latin phrase it was when he was searching for synonyms for "behind" and "before" (*Par.* vii, 94-5; cf. 12, 136):

"S'io posso
Mostrarti un vero, a quel che tu domandi,
Terrai il viso, come tieni il dosso."

In the discussion of the sources of Dante's conceptions of the angelic hierarchies in the *De caelesti hierarchia* of Dionysius, the subject seems to call for something more than the summary statement (82, 84, n.) that this work borrowed largely from Proclus. The author constructed his hierarchies of great intelligencies after the model of the triads of Proclus and his followers, one of whom, Dionysius's contemporary, the Edessa mystic Stephen bar Sudaili, supplied in his Book of Hierotheus the most complete account of the nine orders of celestial essence. Dionysius only applied to these orders the names given in the Old Testament prophets and the Pauline epistles (87). Mr. Gardner adds much to our knowledge of St. Bernard as a source of the poet's attacks on the corrupt successors of St. Peter, and of his conceptions on the incomplete attainment of happiness by the blessed before the resurrection, and on the functions and attributes of the nine orders of angels. But it is not necessary to think (114) that Dante had to transfer the saint's strictures, in his *Apologia*, upon the light conversation of monks, to his own attack upon the practise of telling frivolous stories in sermons. The poet's complaint has been sounded by spiritual minded men, before and after him (Cf. *R. R.*, II, 217; Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 74). To the admiration of St. Bonaventura for Hugh of St. Victor is due, no doubt, the high place Dante assigns to the latter in the *Paridiso*, but Mr. Gardner has shown Hugh's literary influence in both the *Convivio* and the *Paradiso*. Further, contrary to general mediaeval opinion, he gives even a higher place to his pupil Richard of St. Victor, "Che a considerar fu più che viro," regarding him as the one who had completed building up the Church's mystic theology. It is instructive to see how the great poet, by the use of more specific terms, has enhanced an image of Richard, in his comparison of the motions of the contemplative saints up and down the celestial ladder, to the flight of birds at dawn (172-3).

One is tempted to accept Mr. Gardner's interpretation based upon a pas-

sage of Richard's works (255-6) of "la sinistra cura," which St. Bonaventura tells Dante he has always neglected (*Par.*, xii, 27-29). This, generally taken as a reference to an interest in temporal affairs. According to Richard, the two Cherubim on the right and left of the mercy seat (*Exod.*, xxv, 17-22) mystically signified two kinds of contemplation, the left-hand cherub signifying that highest contemplation of "hidden things" which St. Bonaventura had neglected on account of his administrative duties. *Se non vero è ben trovato*. It is satisfactory to imagine that the poet showed discrimination in his judgment of the author of the colorless official life of St. Francis, to which he was so much indebted (235-237), the persecutor of the Spiritual Franciscans. Again, the explanation of Dante's vindication of Joachim of Flora as a true prophet (195-8; 262-4; 322-330) in the mouth of this political and religious trimmer, who persecuted the Franciscans who credited Joachim's prophecies, is interesting if not convincing. If Dante, through the same speaker, did not find in Ubertino da Casale the true Franciscan (*Par.*, xii, 124), Mr. Gardner has shown, more fully than has been done before, on what points the poet agreed or disagreed with the recalcitrant mystic, and his indebtedness to his work for literary material (214-224; 230-1). It is strange that no one has already pointed out the significant place in the religious life of Tuscany given to "Petrus Pectinarius" by Ubertino in his autobiography (214-215), because the passage offers such an illuminating comment on the words of Sapia of Siena (*Purg.*, xiii, 124-9). It is interesting to compare the interpretation we have here (257-264) of Dante's choice of the scholastics and mystics in the two garlands of the sun, with that of Tocco, in an article which was quite accessible to the author ("Le correnti del pensiero filosofico nel secolo XIII," in *Arte, Scienza e Fede ai giorni di Dante*, Milano, 1901, 179 ff.)

The array of passages from the works of those two German mystics of the second half of the thirteenth century, the nuns Mechthild of Magdeburg and Mechthild of Hackeborn, fails to convince the reader that Dante was under a specific or general indebtedness to their writings, nor does it support the theory that either of them—Mr. Gardner inclines to her of Magdeburg—was the model for the debonnaire Matilda of the Earthly Paradise. The final chapter, on "The Science of Love," shows how Dante's general mystical tendencies make him kin with the great mystics of earlier and later times. Very tempting is the conjecture set forth in an appendix, that in the phrase in which Dante says:

"Vidi e conobbi l'ombra di colui
Che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto,"

he accepted a hint from the life of Celestine, by his disciple Tommaso da Sulmona, which tells how, in his flight after the renunciation, he was recognized by even those who had never seen him. Such a miraculous recognition is not unknown to hagiographical writers (Cf., e. g., Johannes Monachus, *Liber de Miraculis*, ed. Huber, 108, cf. 118, xxx). The "Table of some parallel passages in the works of Dante and the Mystical writers quoted," puts before the reader, in a summary form, the results of this important contribution to the study of the poet's literary sources.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

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No. 3

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

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EL JUEGO DEL HOMBRE: AUTO SACRAMENTAL

THIS auto, which constitutes MS. No. 14873 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (No. 1685 in the Catálogo de Paz y Melia), is written on poor paper and comprises twenty folios in quarto. It has a modern full-leather binding, but before binding the top of the MS. had been worn, so that the first line is abraded, wholly or in part, from each of the first ten folios. The average number of lines per page is about 33, but pages 12 and 13 of folios 6 and 7 have two columns; here the final syllable of some of the long lines is missing, as the edge also of the folios is somewhat worn. At the end of the play is found the autograph of the author, Luis Mejía de la Cerda, Relator de la Real Audencia de Valladolid, and also the date, 1625.

Very little is known about the author. Agustín de Rojas Villandrando in his *Viaje entretenido* (1603) mentions "el licenciado Mejía" as an author of dramas, and Cervantes in his *Viaje al Parnaso* (1614), chap. 7, writes:

Hacer milagros en el trance piensa
Cespeda, y acompañale Mejía;
Poetas dignos de alabanza inmensa.

As these references can be applied as well to the author of *El Parnaso Antártico*, Diego Mejía of Seville, as to Juan Mejía de la Cerda, it is impossible to say that we have here references to our author.

In the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. 43, Madrid, 1884 (*Dramáticos contemporáneos á Lope de Vega*), is found a tragedy by Mejía de la Cerda, entitled *Doña Inés de Castro, reina de Portu-*

gal. In the introduction Don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos says:

"Absolutamente nada sabemos ni hallamos en los autores de biografías de la del licenciado Mejía de la Cerda, ni aun su nombre de bautismo, solo sí lo que dice Navarro a los principios del siglo XVII, que era relator de la chancillería de Valladolid. Tampoco se conoce de él más obra teatral que la tragedia de Doña Inés de Castro."

There is no similarity between *Doña Inés de Castro*, which was first published by Aurelio Mey in a collection of dramas in 1612 at Barcelona, and *El Juego del Hombre*; but this is only natural, since the tragic note in the former requires a different style.

There is another auto sacramental, dated 1601, which may be by our author; it is entitled *Las Pruebas del linaje humano*. The author did not sign his name to this work, but it is attributed to Luis Mejía de la Cerda because of a reference which occurs at the end. Cf. No. 2764 in the *Catálogo* of Paz y Melia.

At the suggestion of Señor Menéndez Pidal, I offer the text of this *auto sacramental*, in the hope that it may interest the reader and be of some service in the study of the Spanish stage at the beginning of the 17th century. If it has no great literary value, it is nevertheless simple, dignified and well balanced. It can compare favorably with the autos of Lope de Vega or those of José de Valdiviedo, but it lacks the dramatic action found in the autos of Calderón.

The meters employed in *El Juego del Hombre* are those usually appearing in the autos and plays of this period, *viz.*, quintillas, rondallas, décimas, silvas and romance intermingled with short songs. It has no *loa* or *argumento*.

I have introduced punctuation to facilitate the reading, and accents to discriminate homonyms. Abbreviations have been expanded and the text has been slightly reconstructed in a few places where syllables are missing, but in every case this is indicated by brackets.

On the fly-leaf at the end of the manuscript some one has written this graceful redondilla:

Los casos dificultosos
tan justamente embidiados,
los intentan los osados
y acabanlos los dichosos.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

LOUIS IMBERT

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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para sembrar. Con él sale el Zelo vestid]o⁶ de ga[l]an, una zag[a]ya en la mano y ceñida una hond[a colga]da del ceñidor).

<i>Zelo.</i>	Tuyo el mundo.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	No lo dudes.	
<i>Zelo.</i>	Tierra infrutifera tienes.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Zelo, si a guardarla acudes, sembrarela de mis bienes, regararla mis virtudes;	5
<i>Zelo.</i>	fruto coge quien bien labra. Antes que sus fuentes abra el cielo y passe el noviembre, tu deidad el trigo siembre de su divina palabra;	10
	Zelo soy, y el de tu casa me ha comido de manera, que esta tierra, pingue y crasa, lograra su sementera si la niebla no la abrasa.	15
	Sere un lince vigilante, cuyo silvo al orbe espante; y quando el eco responda, será de David la honda contra Goliad el gigante.	20
	Guarda sere deste trigo, simbolo de tus electos, que si tus caminos sigo no a de llegar a sus setos la sombra del enemigo.	25
<i>Cristo.</i>	Esta parda ⁷ es gentil era. Pues, por semilla primera de mi celeste caudal, sea la ley natural principio de sementera.	30
(Fol. 2 ^o)	Un sacra[mento profund]o los sacros cielos coligen desta ley que siembro y fundo; pues su verdad tuvo origen	

⁶ It is impossible to tell whether one or two lines are missing in the MS. The reconstruction is based on the stage direction after line 169.

⁷ *Parda* for *tierra parda* (?).

	del primer (fiat) del mundo. ^a	35
<i>Zelo.</i>	Qué otras semillas selectas siembras?	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Promessas discretas, y lei escrita tambien; sembrada ésta, por Moissen, aquéllas, por los profetas.	40
	Mas aunque sembradas dejo, con más alta perfeccion en el humano consejo, estas leyes, al fin, son semillas de trigo anejo.	45
	Fueron aquellas edades caducas antigüedades. Oy, con más firme efficacia, esparze mi ley de gracia semilla de sus verdades	50
	al mundo que mando y rijo. Habló Dios de varios modos, que por sus profetas dijo. Oy nuevamente habla a todos, en mí, su humanado hijo.	55
	Yo, que del paterno seno, de esplendor, de gloria lleno, soi desde mi etherna infancia imagen de su substancia, sembrar paz al mundo ordeno.	60
(Fol. 2 ^o)	Ya la passada discordia en piedad se va trocando; buelva al mundo igual concordia, y [sigan todos sembrando] granos de misericordia.	65
	Ya de Jeremias el llanto, se convierta en dulce canto; pues mis dichosas andanças siembran bien aventuranças, dones de espiritu sancto.	70
	Fructifique mi humildad, en tierra nunca sembrada, espigas de caridad.	

^a The parentheses are in the MS.

- Zelo.* Esta musica me agrada;
cielos, si ois, escuchad. 75
- (*Canta una voz buena, esta cancion y sea tiple*)
—Cancion—
- Voz del padre eterno,^o
humanado Dios,
no sois vos, Señor mio,
para labrador.
- Si humanos martelos 80
os traen desvelado,
sois muy delicado
para mal de celos;
vistiendoos los cielos
de rayos del sol, 85
no sois vos, Señor mio, &
- En tierra tan dura,
cómo labrar puede
quien tierno procede
de una virgen pura? 90
Labrar, es ventura;
ser labrado, amor.
No sois vos, Señor mio, &
- Zelo.* A fe que la letra tiene 95
grande secreto encerrado.
- Cristo.* Ser labrador y labrado
a mí sólo me conviene.
Labrador soi de terrones;
que mi divina palabra,
a fuerça de sangre, labra 100
diamantinos coraçones.
Ser labrado con desgustos
tambien me quadra, de suerte,
que a de labrarme la muerte
para dar vida a los justos. 105
- (Fol. 3^{ro}) El grano de [.]
que muerto, en tierra, al instante,
a de dar fruto abundante;
siembro, y sembrando me voy.

^o In the left margin is written: *Joan 1^o verbum caro factum est.*

El Juego del Hombre

245

Que muero con gusto digo
por el hombre. 110

Zelo. Estraño amar!

Cristo. Ay cosecha como dar
la vida por un amigo?¹⁰

Zelo. Si das tu vida, Señor,
justamente te ha quadrado 115
ser sembrador y sembrado,
ser labrado y labrador.

Cristo. Ya la tierra está sembrada;
y pues limpio trigo tiene,
que tu la guardes conviene. 120

Zelo. Zagaya tengo estremada;
guardaré la a fe de pobre.

Cristo. Defiendela de tiranos.

Zelo. Cultivada por tus manos,
qué bien ay que no le sobre? 125

Cristo. Quiero a mis viñas llegar,
porque a tiempo conveniente,
el cachican diligente
las haga, amigo, cavar.
Soy labrador caudalosso 130
y assi tener determino
mi caudal en pan y vino.

Zelo. Puedes, como poderoso.

Cristo. Queda en paz. (*Vasse Cristo*)

Zelo. Zagaya y honda
tengo. La zagaya quito, (*hincala en tierra*) 135
y el son de la honda remito
que mis ecos corresponda.

Cantaré para espantar
las aves. Saldre al encuentro
si entrare algun ladron dentro. 140
Ola! hao! cantar y andar.

(*Canta el Zelo. Da voces y estalla la honda*)

Ladrones que al hombre
quereis hazer tiros,
esta voz no os cumple

¹⁰ On the left hand margin is written: *Maiozem hac dilectio nen nemo habet. Joan C. 15.*

(Fol. 3 ^{ro})	entrar en sus trigos;	145
	que [.]	
	quien sembro el cort[ijo]	
	de esperanças ciertas,	
	de bienes divinos,	
	de virtudes altas,	150
	granos de oro ay ricos,	
	premios de Dios grandes	
	por trabajos chicos.	
	Aqui todo es paz,	
	todo afectos pios;	155
	que el ganar al hombre	
	trae a Dios perdido.	
	Ola! hao! volad fuera aves del siglo,	
	porque es el Zelo guarda destos trigos.	
	No se descubre una mosca;	160
	y segun de claro está,	
	un atamo no vendra	
	que al puto no le conozca.	
	Seguro está; dormir puedo	
	mientras mi labrador tarda,	165
	que el campo y la viña guarda;	
	no la guarda sino el miedo.	
	Ola! hao! No ay enemigos;	
	de acogerme a dormir trato. ¹¹	
	(Arranca la zagaya y entrase)	
	(Sale el Zizañador, que es el demonio, vestido de labrador como	
	Cristo, y prevenido como él salio para sembrar.)	
Zizañador.	Acechando he estado un rato	170
	a la guarda destos trigos.	
	Al sembrador desta tierra	
	llaman labrador del cielo,	
	la fama, el rustico Zelo,	
	hijos de esta inculta sierra;	175
	siembra para hazerme guerra,	

¹¹ In *La Siega*, an auto sacramental by Lope de Vega (written between 1621 and 1635) we find practically the same situation. Ignorance, who is watching the fields, falls asleep; Envy sows tares. When the Master finds it out he gives orders that they wait till harvest time and then burn the tares. Cf. note on line 1362.

(Fol. 4^{ro}) trigo casto, limpio y puro.
 [.]
 poner su trigo d[e] modo
 que quede ahogado todo; 180
 y yo de su pan seguro,
 entresembraré cizaña
 con que su doctrina tuerça;
 porque estando el trigo en uerça,
 se le consume la çaña. 185
 Sólo el barbecho de España,
 que a de oponerse, ymagino,
 a un Lutero, a otro Calvino;
 pero quando éstos no acierten,
 tengo canas que despierten 190
 su lascivo desatino.
 Dare falsas esperanças,
 y entre las misericordias
 yre sembrando discordias;
 contra bien aventuranças 195
 sembraré vicios, mudanças,
 gustos, entretenimientos,
 festines, bailes contentos,
 cuya estraña novedad
 entibie su caridad, 200
 desbarate sus intentos.
 De cizaña vaya aqui;
 siembro malva porque asombre
 al mundo hazersse Dios hombre.
 Malva, mal me va sin ti. 205
 Abrojos no truxe? Sí;
 ocupen estas cortinas.
 Hombre, si a gustos te inclinas,
 ven por flores de favores,
 (aparte) que en algun tiempo estas flores. 210
 te parecieran espinas.
 Mas que descansando duerme (*mirando dentro al*
 la guarda, ventura a sido; *vestuario*)
 (Fol. 4^{ro}) [.]
 Daño pudiera hazerme¹² 215

¹² Between lines 215 and 216 three verses have been canceled, but this was done by the author, since the quintilla is still preserved. The lines discarded are:

que el Zelo de sueño enferme
 y en despertar tanto tarde?
 Pero venga Dios y guarde
 el trigo con su asistencia,
 que en haziendo Dios ausencia 220
 qualquier criatura es cobarde.
 Ya esta trampa queda hecha;
 el descuido de sus siervos
 verá Dios en los acerbos
 del trigo de su cosecha. 225

(*Ay dentro voces de fiesta e instrumentos*)

Ésta es, cielo, la derecha,
 contraria a tu curso pio.
 Holgaos hombres, que yo fio,
 si logro mi sementera,
 que presto esta primavera 230
 se os convertira en estio. (*vasse*)

(*Salagan el Hombre y el Mundo de galanes; musicos y bailarines
 con ellos*)

[*Los Gustos.*] Flores olorosas, templados aires,
 pues el Hombre os busca, lisonjealde.
 Mill siglos te gozes, Hombre, en el mundo,
 que los cielos se gozan de darte gusto. 235
 Por su rey te conocen los animales,
 porque en bizzarria no ay quien te iguale.¹³
 Tiempo tienes, Hombre; date a deleites
 antes que él consuma tus años verdes.

Mundo. Qué te ha parecido?
Hombre. Bien! 240

Mundo. Huespedes nobles, es justo
 que en mis tierras, a su gusto,
 aposentados esten;
 si estima hazeis de mi nombre,
 Gustos, el ocio dejad 245
 y pues [v]eamos [. . .]

que de occiosidad enferme
 el Zelo, causame espanto;
 mas si se descuida tanto

¹³ In the MS. two vertical lines have been drawn through lines 236-7, probably to indicate that they should be omitted.

en agazajar al Hombre.
 Desse monte y de sus faldas
 traed calandrios, rui señores;
 presentes le hazed de flores. 250
 Sarificalde guirnaldas
 entre mirtos y laureles;
 passe las horas dichosas,
 sirvan de alfombras las rosas
 de cortinas los claveles. 255
 Dalde con mano no escasa
 quanto su gusto dessea,
 porque goze y porque vea
 los regalos de mi casa.

Musicos.

Vamos a servirte. (vansse)

Hombre.

O mundo, 260
 tu voz alienta y anima!
 Quién tu grandesa no estima,
 quien de tu estilo fecundo¹⁴
 no se agrada? Honrrarte puedes,
 que de millagrossos modos 265
 eres todo para todos,
 y en todo a todos excedes.
 Que vivo dezir podre,
 que hasta averte conocido
 ni he vivido, ni he tenido 270
 ser, que de ti lo heredé.
 'A ti por señor te adoro,
 mis gustos te sacrificio,
 y a tus aras, por ti rico,
 consagro victimas de oro. 275
 Tus heroicos hechos cante
 la fama.

Mundo.

O ventura mia!

D[a]me esos braços, y fia
 que yo tu nombre levante
 hasta la más alta esfera.

(Fol. 5^{vo})

280

¹⁴ This line and the seven that follow it have been written on the margin. Over the original lines, which were canceled, has been pasted a piece of paper with the words: *Aquí se prosigue lo que está en la margen*. It seems to be in a different hand.

	<i>(Salen los músicos con las coronas y flores)</i>	
<i>Musicos.</i>	Mira si gusto te dan estas diademas.	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Estan gallardas.	
<i>Musicos.</i>	La primavera. a brotado flores tantas, que a dar por tributo empieza, lauros para tu cabeza, jasmínes para tus plantas; parece se va esmerando de industria el cielo contigo.	285
<i>Hombre.</i>	No quiero más, cielo amigo, que el mundo que estoy gozando.	290
<i>Musicos.</i>	Aristoteles afirma que es eterno.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Quanto ves en mí, obra de Dios es, y por suya lo confirma, pues dize le ha parecido bien, quanto en mí a fabricado.	295
<i>La Verdad</i> <i>(dentro.)</i>	Si no me la aveis pagado, por qué os aveis atrevido a derramarme la fruta?	300
<i>Uno (dentro.)</i>	Porque traeis una carga de fruta aspera y amarga; eres labradora astuta, mas desta vez poco medras. Con essas piedras le dad!	305
	<i>(Sale fuera la Verdad)</i>	
<i>Verdad.</i>	En hablando le verdad, luego el mundo tira piedras.	
<i>(dentro)</i>	Dale!	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Amparenme, señores, desta atrevida canalla!	
<i>Hombre.</i>	No temas; sosiega y calla; desecha vanos temores.	310
<i>(Fol. 6º)</i>	Aquí [t]e llega a mí [la]do que yo ser tu amparo quiero.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Éste es el hombre primero,	

El Juego del Hombre

251

	que la verdad ha amparado!	315
<i>Hombre.</i>	Quién te hizo mal?	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Unos moços,	
	con necia descortecia,	
	en la fruta que traia	
	y en mí, an hecho mill destroços;	
	echaronme la por tierra	320
	y pisaron la. A Dios ruego	
	que os de paz, vida y sosiego,	
	en retorno de la guerra	
	que me aveis dado los dos.	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Bien le pagas sus castigos.	325
<i>Verdad.</i>	Rogar por los enemigos	
	es el precepto de Dios.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Qué fruta vendes? Enseña.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Verdades, fruta escoxida.	
	(<i>saca la fruta en la mano</i>)	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Que fruta tan desabrida;	330
	aspera es como una peña!	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Jesus! Que dize, señor!	
	Ay fruta de tanto gusto	
	como verdad para el justo?	
	Mal le sabe al peccador	335
	que dezir que por su amor	
	se vistio de humanidad	
	uno de la trinidad;	
	y viendo a Dios padecer,	
	libro nuevo a de hazer	340
	si quisiere su amistad,	
	No es verdad?	
	Si el Dios que a ser hombre viene,	
	con magestad disfraçada, ¹⁵	
	en una mano la espada,	345
	y en otra la oliva tiene;	
(Fol. 6 ^{ro} col. 1)	[.]	
	en quietud, paz y lealdad,	

¹⁵ Lines 343-4 were originally:

Si el rey que a ser un dios viene
con magestad limitada,

The corrections are of a different handwriting, as is also this marginal note:
assi se ha de decir, y no como estava.

y trata con igualdad al grande y al pequenuelo, que de magestad del suelo irá a eterna magestad, no es verdad?	350
Si el señor, o el potentado, porque dinero le sobre, deviendo dar carne al pobre él le deja descarnado, que ni carne ni pescado come por necesidad, que a este Dios que es caridad dará su messa y sustento y a aquél le será tormento su hartura y prosperidad, no es verdad?	355
Que el buen pastor y prelado, de quien Dios su iglesia fia, a de estar de noche y dia cuidando de su ganado negocio es averiguado; mas si por su floxedad da al ganado enfermedad de culpa y no lo socorre, que por quenta suya corre su perdida y mortandad, no es verdad?	360
Si el juez los vicios destierra y le da en tiempo oportuno lo que es suyo a cada uno, no será sal de la tierra?	365
Mas si el que a de hazerle guerra a la mentira y maldad la encubre por amistad, o por [.] que de todo a de dar quenta a otra mayor potestad, no es verdad?	370
Si el Regidor que gobierna, tiene con gusto y solaz	375

(Fol. 6^o col. 2)

a su republica en paz,
no es digno de fama eterna ; 390
mas si la piedad paterna
trueca el rigor en piedad
y anhela a falsa deidad,
vendiendo el comun provecho,
que el regimiento abrá hecho 395
verdugo de su crueldad,
no es verdad?
Si el que elige religion
guardar su regla procura,
el cielo no le asegura 400
cambios de su salvacion ;
mas si allá en su reclusion
busca en vez de austeridad,
gusto, officios, vanidad,
que al fallo del mayor precio 405
le quedará como necio
su grave paternidad,
no es verdad?
Si el causidico letrado,
de la republica espejo, 410
quando le piden consejo
desengaña al engañado¹⁶
sancto es, mas si cargado
de aurifera cantidad
tuerce la cinzeridad 415
[. .] pal [. . .] jus [. .]
que le dexara echo un urto
su avara testualidad,
no es verdad?
El que escussa los galenos,¹⁷ 420
que de entenderlos no trata,
y con sus recipes mata

(Fol. 7^{mo} col. 1)

¹⁶ Between lines 412 and 413 these four lines have been canceled by the the author:

sembra es de Cristo abogado
mas si por curiosidad
tuerce la fidelidad
de lo que el Cristo dispone

¹⁷ Lines 420 to 430 inclusive, are written on a piece of paper which was pasted over the original; it is probably the same handwriting.

más que Italia con venenos,
 si echa culpa a los serenos,
 y vendiendo abilidad 425
 quiere encaxar sanidad
 a puñados de aforismos,
 que le pondra en los abismos
 su aforisma necedad,
 no es verdad? 430
 Y si el mercader, que vino
 con empleos de importancia,
 busca una justa ganancia
 para hazerse de Dios digno,
 éste será el buen vezino; 435
 mas si con iniquidad
 busca su comodidad
 y en el dinero idolatra,
 que no tendra su mohatra
 en el cielo vezindad, 440
 no es verdad?

(*Al dezir cada una de estas coplas va sacando una fruta diferente de la cestilla que traera en el braço y en acabando aquélla la mete y saca otra*)

(Fol. 7^{ro} col. 2)

Mundo.

Verdad, mal tu vida [. .]
 justo castigo as tenido
 por sólo averte metido
 sin causa en vidas agen[as]; 445
 gentiles tus frutos son,
 más amargan que higuta.¹⁸

Verdad.

Gustaredes de la fruta
 si fuera murmuracion;
 mas como verdades saco, 450
 al que es del mundo confu[ndo],
 porque estamos en un mun[do]
 que es grandissimo vella[co].

Mundo.

Señores, guardense dél.
 Pues, villana, en mi presen[cia] 455
 tomas tan loca licencia?

¹⁸ Read *cicuta*; probably a contamination with the word *higo*. I have been unable to find the word.

- Verdad.* Menos airado y cruel
por su vida, que enfadado,
está.
- Hombre.* Calla por tu f[e],
que es el mundo.
- Verdad.* Su mer[ce] 460
no será tan desossado.
- Mundo.* Por quien soi! Si no estuvie[ra]
puesto el hombre entre los [dos]—
- Verdad.* Verdad es hija de Dios.
Un pelo no me offendiera, 465
quien se lo ve tan galan;
pues a fe que por lo viejo,
pudiera ser del consejo
de la camara de Adan.
- Mundo.* Calla, villana parlera! 470
- Verdad.* Porque ablo verdades ri[ñe]!
Ya sabemos qué le tiñe;
galan a la primavera,
al otoño se ha de ver.
- Mundo.* Ya no lo puedo sufrir; 475
(Fol. 7^{vo}) quita!
- Hombre.* No he de consentir
maltrates a una mujer.
- Mundo.* Dejame, que yo a essa necia
le hare que caro le cueste.
- (*Sale el Zelo a la puerta de su choça*)
- Zelo.* Qué diablo de ruido es éste? 480
- Verdad.* O, que de galan se precia!
Pues venga el enredador
que yo le hare.
- Zelo.* En los sembrados
tanta chuzma? Mis cuidados,
descuidos dire mejor, 485
causan este desconcierto
a galanes a quien digo
vayanse fuera del trigo,
que ya el Zelo está despierto
y por vida de mi madre
Desazer!¹⁹ 490

¹⁹ The MS. has *desazer*, or *dehazer*. Read *deshacer* (?) meaning obscure.

- Mundo.* Vamonos de aqui.
Verdad. Habla agora que está alli
 un criado de mi padre.
- Hombre.* Quién es tu padre?
Verdad. Dios.
 No he dicho que soi su hija? 495
Hombre. Por tu gusto es bien me rija. (*lo dise al mundo*)
 Qué haremos?
- Mundo.* Vamos los dos
 por este campo buscando
 nuevos entretenimientos.
- Hombre.* Glossas me los pensamientos. 500
Zelo. Esso sí; vayan mondando
 la haça.
- Mundo.* Amigos cantad.
Verdad. Quedesse ésta con su envidia.
 Todo al mundo le fastidia
 en diziendole verdad. 505
- (*Entranse el Mundo y el Hombre y van cantando los musicos*)
- Musicos.* Amargan verdades que al alma tocan;
 açucarenme el gusto dulces lisonjas.
- Verdad.* Tan estragado quedó
 por el primero delito
 el mundo, que como a[hi]to 510
 el gusto del bien perdio.
 Desafusiado le veo;
 ya su muerte es conocida,
 si Dios, que es salud y vida,
 no se la da.
- Zelo.* A lo que creo, 515
 hablando aqui entre los dos,
 por causas en que me fundo,
 estas locuras del mundo
 le an de costar mucho a Dios;
 que desde las desventuras 520
 de Adan, obra a Dios ingrata,
 este vellacon no trata
 sino de hazer mill locuras.
 No ay en su boca verdades;
 virtud en el no aprovecha, 525

porque son de su cosecha
mentiras y liviandades;
todos son enredadores
sus amigos y aliados.

(Sale Cristo, labrador del cielo)

Cristo. Salir a ver sus sembrados 530
es de buenos labradores.

Verdad. Tal gentezilla se ussa,
para no andar con temor?

Cristo. O Verdad!

Verdad. A fe señor,
que todo el mundo me acussa 535
de necia murmuradora,

de curiosa impertinente,
de polilla de la gente,
del mundo registradora;
que afirmo lo que no sé, 540
que en embustes tengo mano

y que sin ser escrivano
de todo quiero dar fe,
que soi saco de maldades,
que en mal hora aca naci, 545
y esto y más dicen de mí

porque digo las verdades.
Cristo. Verdad, si verdad es Dios,
(Fol. 8^{vo}) y es la verdad perseguida,
tu pena no merecida 550
padeceremos los dos.

Verdad. Padeciendo tú, será
mi persecucion consuelo.

Cristo. Como va de panes, Zelo?
Zelo. Señor, de oi más bien irá. 555

Cristo. Irá dizes? No va bien?

Zelo. Algun daño me previene.

Cristo. Mucha yerva el trigo tiene.
Zizaña en mis panes? Quién
a entrado en ellos?

Zelo. Señor, 560
viendo seguro el sembrado,
me dormi, de confiado.

Cristo.

Mi contrario labrador,
 el que es del hombre enemigo,
 el que a mi hechura engaña, 565
 a sembrado esta zizaña
 entre granos de mi trigo.
 Zelo, a los que tienen cargos
 no les conviene dormir,
 que al officio an de asistir 570
 y velar con ojos de Argos.
 Poco zelosos antojos
 importan, si se destierran
 de su obligacion, y cierran
 a los peligros los ojos. 575
 A de velar el pastor,
 el juez a de velar,
 y de su pueblo cuidar
 el zeloso senador;
 siempre deve estar en vela 580
 el buen padre de familias,
 que contra honrradas vigili-
 as no vale torpe cautela.
 Y desengañote, Zelo,
 que si eres guarda dormida, 585
 qualquiera accion [es] perdida
 en la cosecha del cielo.
 Que el sueño pierdas, amigo,
 otra vez es necessario,
 porque no mezcle el contrario 590
 su zizaña entre mi trigo.
 Mi viña mejor está,²⁰
 pues con la labor primera,
 como flor en primavera
 razimos brotando [está]; 595
 mas tan gallardos obrer[os]
 travajando en ella v[i],
 que a los ultimos les di
 tanto como a los pri[meros];

(Fol. 9^{ro})

²⁰ Lines 592-603 are written on the margin of the MS. with indications that they should be inserted after line 591. Where the page is worn off, some of the lines are not complete; they are very compact, but seem to be the same handwriting.

- en bondad no se le iguala 600
 el pan que a cargo as tenid[o],
 pues que le hallo oprim[ido],
 Zelo, con yerva tan mal[a].
- Zelo.* No te de pena, Señor,
 que pues nacida la vemos, 605
 la Verdad y yo podremos
 arrancarla.
- Verdad.* Por mi amor
 que no se acabe en ti el gusto
 con que vida al mundo das,
 que en un punto la verás 610
 desarraigada.
- Cristo.* No es justo;
 tened las manos los dos,
 que si arrancarla quereis,
 con la mala arrancareis
 la sementera de Dios. 615
- Zelo.* Por qué, Señor, nos detienes?
Cristo. Porque ya que a hecho el daño
 mi enemigo,²¹ de su engaño
 he de sacar yo mill bienes;
 no hagais, mis justos, menos 620
 por cortar torpes regalos,
 pues fuerça que aya malos^{21a}
 para que luzgan los buenos.
 Si Nerones y Mezencios
 esta zizaña no diera, 625
 cómo mi iglesia pudiera
 tener Pedros y Laurencios?
 Si no dejamos espinas
 de hombres tiranos crecer,
 no podra rosas aver 630
 de Engracias y Catarinas.
 Que el malo vida possee
 en el mundo, es cosa cierta,
 o para que se convierta
 o el bueno por él grangee. 635

²¹ *Mi enemigo*, written on the margin, replaces an original *el demonio*.

^{21a} This line is the corrected form for: *que conviene que aya malos*. In the margin is found the note: *desta suerte se ha de decir y no com[o] estava*.

(Fol. 9^{vo})

Crezca la z[izaña] ag[ora],
que a tiempo de la cosecha,
quando menos aprovecha,
la segareis.

Zelo.

En buen hora.

Cristo.

Cumple que cuidado tengas
en las cosas que te instruyo.
Ven.

640

*(Vanse Cristo, el Zelo y la Verdad)**([Sale]n el Zizañador y el Mundo)*

Zizañador.

Pues soi principe tuyo;
lo que digo es bien prevengas.

Mundo.

Tanto estimo tu nombre,
monarcha de las concavas cavernas,
que por servirte, al hombre,
dado a regalos y delicias tiernas,
mis gustos le dedico.

645

Pobre de bienes, si de males rico,
no ha inventado deleites
la occiosidad, del apetito vanos,
si bien dulces afeites,
que no le ponga florida en sus manos,
haziendole (aunque adusto)²²
brillo a los ojos y regalo al gusto.

650

Ya la muchacha hermosa,
gracia aparente, fealdad oculta,
poco durable rosa,
breve bien, largo mal, maleza inculta,
pena a la gloria asida,
es el alcaide de su loca vida.

655

Ya la lisonja vana,
aire regalador de los oidos,
con su blandura allana
el primer rebellin de los sentidos;
y alli tomando asiento
le tiraniza el ser y entendimiento.

660

Ya la abundante escuela
de torpes bailes, deshonestas danças,
su cuidado desvela.

665

670

²² The parentheses are in the MS.

	venciendo en ser mudable a sus mudanças, donde las cabriolas, son de mis bienes inconstantes olas.	
(Fol. 10 ^{ro})	Ya el [.]ña señuelo de sus lugubres festines arroja, alli acompaña principio alegre, desastrados fines, donde el brio porfia vencer al mismo dueño en bizarria; ya antes que el tiempo borre sus años verdes, con la edad marchitos, desenfrenado corre hoveros de sus torpes apetitos.	675
Zizañador.	Deribaránle.	
Mundo.	Espera ; celebrando está el vulgo su carrera.	685
(Dentro.)	El freno se ha rompido! Procúrate arrojar!	
(Otro, dentro.)	Que te despeñas!	
Hombre.	Que me valgas te pido, mi Dios!	
Zizañador.	Tan presto infame, me desdeñas?	
Hombre.	Mi Dios, favor me embia.	690
Zizañador.	Parece que en la manga lo traia.	
(Dentro.)	Cayó! (otro) Ya se levanta.	
(Dentro.)	Recibiste mal?	
Hombre.	No, Dios me ha librado.	
Zizañador.	De confiança tanta reniego. (Dentro.) Agua le den.	
Zizanador.	A se escapado!	695
Hombre.	Ya he cobrado el aliento.	
Zizañador.	Nunca pude con él lograr mi intento. Mundo, tu le visita ; quiça tendras más prospera fortuna, y a mi amistad le incita.	700
Mundo.	No dejaré por ti ocasion ninguna que no intente, hasta darte, como de mí, tambien del hombre parte.	
Zizañador.	Yo sigo otro camino en tanto que con dadivas le tornas	705

- al primer desatino,
y con nuevos deleites le sobornas.
Mundo. Hacia ca viene; vete,
que asire la ocasion por el copete.
Zizañador. No me apartaré lexos; 710
breve será mi mal sufrida ausencia
si guarda tus consejos;
segura tiene de mi horror la herencia.
Mundo. Val[d]rame tu cautela.
Zizañador. El odio que le tengo me desvela. 715
(Fol. 10^{vo})

(Sale el Hombre y con él los gustos, que son los musicos)

- Hombre.* Vi me a peligro de muerte
y escapé.
Musicos. Ventura a sido!
Mundo. De brioso y atrevido,
casi pudieras perderte. 720
Gustos y entretenimientos
tengo yo con que servirte,
sin procurar divertirte
en peligrosos eventos.
Estás lastimado?
Hombre. No;
y si acaso lo estuviera, 725
tu vista salud me diera.
Mundo. Mi fortuna te ayudó;
quierote bien, y procuro
que aun el aire no te offenda.
Hombre. Si de mí te he hecho offrenda, 730
está de mi amor seguro.
Mundo. Pues pesadumbre no sientes;
ya que entre flores estamos,
los dos nos entretengamos
con festines diferentes. 735
Quieres musica?
Hombre. No.
Mundo. Quieres
bailes que el gusto entretengan?
Hombre. Deja bailes, naipes vengan.
Juguemos si tahir eres.

- Mundo.* Ganarte he.
- Hombre.* Perder contigo 740
será florida ganancia.
- Mundo.* Apazible es esta estancia,
y sólo tu gusto sigo.²³
- (Fol. 11^{ro})
Hombre. Messa y naipes!
- Mundo.* Dime, Mundo,
qué es lo que se ha de jugar? 745
Largo, si quieres ganar;
y advierte . . .
(*Hablan entre si aparte passando los naipes
como que juegan pintas conversando*)
- (*Salen Cristo, la Verdad y el Zelo*)
- Cristo.* Mi intento fundo
en dar libertad al hombre
del yugo destos tiranos.
- Verdad.* Es hechura de tus manos 750
y ensalçador de tu nombre,
por quien es y por quien eres
no has de permitir, Señor,
que un fingido labrador,
falso como sus plazerres, 755
la estampa de Dios destruya;
y como Nembrot²⁴ triunfante
a tu pessar se levante
con el que es hechura tuya.
- Cristo.* Tengole grande afficion 760
y voi su bien procurando.
- Zelo.* Con el Mundo está jugando;
llegas a mala occasion.
- Cristo.* Mi auxilio tiene presente,
Zelo, y aunque es dél capaz, 765
si no le fuere efficaz
de mi parte, es sufficiente
ponga el de la suya.
- Zelo.* Qué?

²³ After line 743 a piece of paper has been pasted on the MS., covering about four lines. On this paper is written in the same handwriting: *Pasa a la otra oja.*

²⁴ *Nemrod.*

- Cristo.* Dolor que su error matize;
 porque aunque sin él lo hize 770
 sin él no le salvaré.
 An de juntar, no te assombre,
 aunque no con parte igual,
 (Fol. II^{vo}) el Hombre y Dios su caudal
 porque alle²⁵ ganancia el Hombre. 775
- Zelo.* Entre deleites injustos,
 qué bien se puede esperar
 dél?
- Cristo.* Yo le he de ganar,
 Zelo, con sus propios gustos;
 las cautelas más discretas 780
 que ay, advierte lo que digo,
 son dar mate al enemigo
 con sus armas y sus tretas;
 a Adan vencio por comer,
 yo con comer le rescato; 785
 plazer da al hombre, y yo trato
 de ganarle con plazer.
 Oy al cielo y a la tierra,
 mostrar mi potencia quiero;
 que es Dios mana verdadero 790
 que todos gustos encierra.
 Juegos no le dan lugar
 para que de mí se acuerde,
 y pues jugando se pierde,
 jugando le he de ganar. 795
 Oy he de alcançar la palma
 del que mi muerte previene,
 que juegos la iglesia tiene
 con que se entretiene la alma.
 Propio es²⁶ de los labradores 800
 holgarse, mientras que llega
 el tiempo para la siega;
 demos le al hombre favores.
 Llego.
- Hombre.* Suertes venturosas!

²⁵ *alle* was written over an original *aya*.

²⁶ MS. has *propios*; this is probably due to the fact that the author is thinking of the number of syllables.

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- Hombre.* Perder contigo 740
será florida ganancia.
- Mundo.* Apazible es esta estancia,
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²⁴ *Nemrod.*

- que dar. Ola! caxas!
- Cristo.* No;
 esso es para vos deçente,
 (Fol. 12^{vo}) que comeis curiosamente;
 pan y vino quiero yo,
 que a mí un bocado me basta. 840
- (Saquen los musicos una mesica con
 sus manteles y un panezico y una
 copa de vino con sus saluillas)*
- Musico[s].* Aqui el pan y vino estan.
Cristo. La substancia deste pan,
 cielos y tierra contrasta;
 atended a esto: en el nombre
 de mi padre, en quien confio, 845
 este pan, el cuerpo mio
 es. Llega y prueba dél, Hombre.
 El caliz es éste, advierte,
 de mi sangre, que colmado
 por ti será derramado 850
 y por muchos con mi muerte.
 Come, Hombre, deste manjar
 que a los angeles admira,
 mas si lo gustares, mira
 que en gracia se a de llegar, 855
 que es en extremo tan fuerte
 la virtud desta comida,
 que estando en gracia, da vida
 y en pecado, causa muerte.
- Hombre.* Gran Señor, yo no me atrevo 860
 a engolfarme en esse abismo.
- Cristo.* Yo como mi cuerpo mismo,
 y mi propia sangre bevo.
- (Levantandosse de donde comia)*
 Conque ya más alentado,
 entraré, Mundo, en tu juego. 865
- Mundo.* Qué as hecho y dicho?
- Cristo.* Estás ciego,
 y este bien no has penetrado.
- Mundo.* Tu cuerpo este pan, Señor?

(Fol. 13 ^{ro})	Tu sangre este vino? Di.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	No se engasta bien en ti piedra de tanto valor. Creer lo que no se vee es fe, y si buscas su augmento, cautiva tu entendimiento en servicio de la fe.	870 875
<i>Mundo.</i>	Entiendo menos agora.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Quanto especulares más, menos, Mundo, entenderas.	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Su discrecion enamora.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Deja eso, juega y baraja.	880
<i>Hombre.</i>	Oi sere de buena suerte.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	De vencida vamos, Muerte, ([A la] Muerte)	
	si este juego no se ataja.	
<i>Muerte.</i>	Siendo robado el partido no des al juego lugar.	885
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Con los dos no as de jugar, (<i>tomaes los naipes</i>) que eres tahir conocido, que si las cartas conoces, en juego tan desigual los dejaras sin caudal y meterlo has todo a voces. Es mandria el hombre, es cuitado, polilla de su hazienda. Juega tú con quien te entienda las tretas que as siempre ussado! A ver que ganancia llevas!	890 895
<i>Cristo.</i>	Arrogante, tahir eres.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Sin juicio estás, pues que quieres hazer con él vassas nuevas.	
<i>Zelo.</i>	Bolvera descalabrado como en el juego primero.	900
<i>Cristo.</i>	Yo contigo jugar quiero, pues tu hora ha ya llegado.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Y a qué avemos de jugar?	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Al hombre, pues yo lo soy!	905
<i>Zisañador</i>	Mal con esse juego estoy, porque no puede llegar	

(Fol. 13 ^{vo})	occasion que yo hombre sea.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	De essa ventura estás falto.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Loca, yo pico más alto.	910
<i>Verdad.</i>	Bueno.	
<i>Zelo.</i>	Luzbel, devanea.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Sin juicio estais los dos, en dar al juego esse nombre; juegue ésse al juego del hombre, yo juego al juego de Dios.	915
<i>Zelo.</i>	Calla vil!	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	De juego vaya.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	A de aver tramoyas?	
	No;	
	que en tus tramoyas sé yo que no ay tahir que no caya.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Luzbel, llano a de ir el juego.	920
	Algo esta llaneza anuncia y repone quien renuncia.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Repone vida y sosiego, el que, el bien que es celestial tesoro de amor profundo	925
	renuncia por el del mundo, caduco y devil caudal.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Quién jugará? El mundo?	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Sy,	
	que en el juego que oy prosigo, jugará el mundo conmigo, haziendo escarnio de mí.	930
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Tres jugadores estamos.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Quién será el quarto?	
<i>Cristo.</i>	La muerte	
	que tambien a de hazer suerte en mí.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Pues a jugar vamos.	935
<i>Cristo,</i>	Oy, por ensalzar tu nombre,	
(<i>Al Hombre.</i>)	Hombre, me vere afrentar, que es el que voy a jugar el propio juego del hombre. Vengan naipes.	

El Juego del Hombre

269

(Saca unos naipes la muerte)

Muerte.

Éstos son

940

buenos.

Hombre.

Pinturas distintas

(Fol. 14^{ro})

traen.

Cristo.

Hombre, son estas pintas,
dibujos de mi passion.

Discreta, Muerte, as andado

en medio de tu locura,

945

pues el caliz de amargura

me le offreces disfraçado

en juego del que se a hecho

hombre por el hombre. Ven

a jugar.

Zisañador.

Pues mira bien

950

los naipes.²⁷

Cristo.

Ya yo lo he hecho.

Quieres que por los dos juegue?

(Esto con el hombre aparte. Hablan entre sí los otros jugadores aparte)

Hombre.

En juego que an de affrentarte,

me quieres a mí dar parte?

Cristo.

Quando yo a esse punto llegue,

955

aunque la muerte me assombre!

Cumple, vaya por los dos,

porque passiones de Dios

son regalos para el hombre.

Hombre.

Yo no tengo caudal.

Cristo.

No.

960

Hombre.

Son muy cortos mis averes.

Cristo.

Pon, hombre, lo que pudieres,

que lo demas pondre yo.

Hombre.

Qué pondre?

Cristo.

Si yo por ti

hago de mi vida empleo,

965

pon tú siquiera el desseo

de dar la tuya por mí;

pon un ay de contricion,

un dolor, arrepentido

de aver a Dios offendido,

970

²⁷ This stands for an original: *estudia bien las cartas.*

	que éstos tus caudales son; un odio del mundo loco, un amor al bien eterno, un sí de tu pecho tierno, que aunque esto todo es tan poco,	975
(Fol. 14 ^{vo})	con mi sangre lo acredito por modo tan celestial, que el tuyo con mi caudal un todo hara infinito; y quando Luzbel arguya tu vida por alevosa,	980
	madre tengo yo piadossa, que será abogada tuya.	
Hombre.	Todo mi caudal te offrezco; Señor, juega por los dos y mereceré por Dios,	985
	lo que por mí no merezco.	
Cristo.	Ya voy a jugar gustosso; tomo assiento. (<i>Sientasse Cristo</i>)	
Zizañador.	Y yo tambien. (<i>Quitale el Zelo el asiento al Zizañador y haze lo sentar cayendo en el suelo</i>)	
Zelo.	Descomedido deten!	990
Zizañador.	Siempre as de ser embidiosso.	
Zelo.	Tu desverguença atrevida merece esta afrenta.	
Verdad.	Espera; no te bastó la primera, sin dar segunda caida?	995
Zizañador.	Pessia!	
Verdad.	Calla fanfarron.	
Zelo.	Menos brio.	
Zizañador.	Esto consiento.	
Verdad.	Los dos no tomáis assiento.	
Mundo.	Nuestras rodillas lo son.	
Zelo.	Discretos aveis andado; humillate tu mestizo.	1000
Zizañador.	A pessar de quien me hizo ya estoi, villano, humillado.	
Cristo.	Qué polla se pone?	
Mundo.	Yo	

	pongo la honrra en que me fundo.	1005
<i>Cristo.</i>	Poca cosa honrra del mundo.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Yo, mi poder.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Tuyo no.	
(Fol. 15 ^{ro})	El que tienes, bestia fiera, te le da el Dios de Jacob, que no offendieras tú a Job si licencia no te diera.	1010
<i>Muerte.</i>	Yo pongo los triunfos todos que esta guadaña a ganado.	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Brava polla se a juntado.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Todos, por diversos modos, puesto aveis vuestros caudales, mas yo pongo el de mi vida.	1015
<i>Verdad.</i>	La ventaja es conocida.	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	De mi daño veo señales si éste el hijo de Dios es; pero creerlo no quiero. No es hijo de un carpintero? Mundo, alerta es bien estés. Alço a la mayor de espadas. El siete me ha entrado.	1020
<i>Mundo.</i>		
<i>Cristo.</i>	Dar	1025
	puedes mano.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	He de robar?	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Siempre de robar te agradas.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Mira este eceso de amor, ²⁸ hombre, pues por tu sosiego, desde aqui comiença el juego de su pasion el Señor; sus penas, sus agonias, entre sufrimiento santo, que en ellas ²⁹ principia el llanto de sus trenos Jeremias.	1030
<i>Mundo.</i>	De copas triunfo a salido carta blanca, algo sospecho.	1035
<i>Cristo.</i>	Zelo y Verdad, de mi pecho, que nos canteis algo os pido.	

²⁸ Lines 1028 to 1035 inclusive, are written on the margin, with an indication that they are to be introduced here.

²⁹ MS. has *que ellas*. Cf. note on line 800.

	(<i>Cante el un coro</i>)	
(<i>Cantan</i>)	El hijo del padre eterno, el que de los cielos altos, bajó a ser hombre a la tierra juntando extremos contrarios, con Luzbel, con Mundo y Muerte juega al hombre, por sacarlo del Argel de los abismos, ladronera de cossarios.	1040 1045
(Fol. 15 ^{vo}) (<i>Otro coro</i>)	Puestos estan fronte a fronte ⁸⁰ los dos valerosos campos, el de Dios y el de Luzbel, Señor justo y siervo ingrato; para començar sus lides escaramuçan jugando.	 1050
(<i>El otro coro</i>)	Las que a los ojos son cartas son al dar el golpe rayos!	1055
<i>Cristo.</i>	Vamos horros Mundo.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Juega. (<i>Como que no quiere</i>	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Del partido hazes desprecio? <i>ir horro</i>) Pues hombre soy, hombre digo!	
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Moriras, si hombre te as hecho.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Juego de mano el tres de bastos, de Diego, de Juan y Pedro, que viendome en la oracion se durmieron en el huerto.	1060
<i>Muerte.</i>	Como leños se quedaron!	
	Esse seis espadas juego.	1065
<i>Zisañador.</i>	Yo el seis bastos.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Tantas armas contra un humilde cordero!	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Echo el quatro de los palos que sirven de puente al huerto por el arroyo Cedron.	1070
<i>Zisañador.</i>	La primera vassa he hecho. (<i>Primera vassa</i> Sota de oros juego, gano. <i>del demonio</i>)	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Yo echo el seis.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Oros no tengo;	

⁸⁰ A line has been drawn around ll. 1048-1055, but no indication has been given for this.

	que yo siempre estoy baldado de esse manjar de sobervios.	1075
	Fuerça es que con copas gane. Juego el quatro de los premios que recebiran los justos comiendo en gracia mi cuerpo; suavidad, solaz, hartura,	1080
(Fol. 16 ^{ro})	con un espiritu interno, inflamado en caridad, que al hombre le haze un Dios nuevo, no como aquel desdichado a quien oy le di mi cuerpo y me pagó con venderme las mercedes que le he hecho.	1085
<i>Muerte.</i> <i>Cristo.</i>	Cinco oros va. Multiplica seis por cinco.	
<i>Muerte.</i> <i>Cristo.</i>	Treinta an hecho. Esse es el precio en que Judas me vendio a los Fariseos. (<i>Primera vassa de Cristo</i>) (<i>Coge Cristo esta vassa</i>)	1090
<i>Zizañador.</i>	Gané; juego el dos espadas de dos cuchillos que veo que mis discipulos tienen. No les mandaste tú a ellos, que las tunicas vendiessen para comprallos?	1095
<i>Cristo.</i>	Misterios tan profundos no se ajustan, Luzbel, a tu entendimiento; eres dotor ignorante.	1100
<i>Muerte.</i> <i>Zizañador.</i>	Yo juego el cinco, que quiero que contra ti sobren armas. Con la sota ganar quiero, de la sinagoga ingrata, que de tu vida haziendo escarnio para prenderte, (<i>Segunda vassa del demonio</i>) (<i>Coge esta vassa el Zizañador</i>) Triunfo con el tres de copas;	1105

- Cristo.* Cristo, turbado te veo.
Agonias de la muerte
me dan. 1110
- Zizañador.* Larga, Mundo.
Mundo. Echo
el rey de oros. Voy me dél,
que ya que copas no tengo
no quiero hazer daño.
- Cristo.* Padre,
si es possible, yo te ruego
que passes de mí este caliz! 1115
Verdad, canta, canta presto.
Verdad. Tristis est anima mea
usque ad mortem.
- Zizañador.* Gano el resto
(Fol. 16^{ro}) si esta vassa gano.
Cristo. Aguarda, 1120
que con la musica he buelto
sobre mí. Tu voluntad
se haga, no lo que yo quiero.
Con el dos gano essa vassa, (*Segunda vassa de*
porque si como hombre temo *Cristo*) 1125
esta voluntad humana,
a la divina sugeto;
que el dos, son dos voluntades,
divina y humana, advierto:
pero vencio la divina, 1130
al bien del hombre atendiendo.
(*Coge la vassa Cristo.*)
Buelvo otra vez por espadas
que me perziguén oy; juego
el quatro.
- Muerte.* De oros me voy.
Zizañador. Al perdido bastos juego, 1135
de los que serán açotes
de tu carne, de tu cuerpo;
mas éssa es carta perdida,
pues que no me es de provecho,
pero verás convertida 1140
esta polla en gallo presto,

- despertador de tus penas,
como en su canto de Pedro.
- Mundo.* Yo gano aqui con el siete; (*Primera vassa del*
tengo una vassa! *Mundo*)
- Cristo.* Y yo tengo 1145
fixa essa vassa en el alma,
porque en esse siete veo
los dolores de mi madre,
en cuyas puntas contemplo
clavado su coraçon, 1150
del dolor de mi tormento.
- Mundo.* Oros juego.
- Cristo.* Yo el seis copas⁸¹
de mis penas atraviesso. (*Tercera vassa de Cristo*)
- Muerte.* Estoy baldada y sin triunfo;
bastos juego.
- Zizañador.* Yo los tengo. 1155
(Fol. 17^{ro}) El cavallo me has sacado,
que he ensillado para el ciego
que te ha de hazer un gran tiro.
- Cristo.* Yo estoy a todo dispuesto.
(*Coge Cristo la vassa*)
Con Herodes, rey de copas, 1160
arrastro, que loco y necio,
embriagado de sus vicios
haze de mi menosprecio.
- Muerte.* Bastos echo. Luzbel gane,
porque yo copas no tengo. 1165
- Zizanador.* Yo gano con la malilla
de mis cautelas y enredos.
- Mundo.* No tengo triunfo.
- Zizañador.* Tres vassas
ay seguras por lo menos.
A reposicion me huele 1170
esta polla.
- Cristo.* Calla necio.
- Zizañador.* Juego el cavallo de bastos,
brioso, tascante, fiero

⁸¹ After "*el seis copas*" someone has written "*el as de copas*," perhaps as a more appropriate symbol or else because too many sixes had been mentioned. Cf. ll. 1065, 1066 and 1073.

- que saca el centurion.
Hombre. Para qué?
Zizañador. No oyes los ecos 1175
 que retumban crucifixe?
 Los juncos marinos tiessos
 que le coronan, no ves?
 No ves la caña por ceptro?
 La venda que por los ojos, 1180
 la culpa, le está poniendo?
- Verdad.* No la suya, de los hombres.
Zizañador. No ves?
Cristo. El basto atraviesso
 de la cruz que me da el mundo;
 pessada carga sustento, 1185
 mas con él gano la vassa!
- (*Echa luego en echando Cristo el basto la Muerte una carta*)
Zizañador. Gana, Muerte, gana!
Muerte. Buelvo
 a jugar.
Cristo. Ten! ya as jugado
 carta de bastos.
- Zizañador.* El cielo
 (Fol. 17^{vo}) sólo conmigo podia 1190
 hazer este desconcierto!
Muerte. Gran virtud tiene este basto.
 O poderoso madero
 que me haze temblar!
- Cristo.* Cansado
 me hallo con tanto pesso. 1195
 Ay quien un trago de vino
 me de por que cobre aliento?
- Hombre.* Ves le aqui, Señor famosso.
Cristo. Mirrado está, no le quiero.
 Quatro y tres vassas estamos 1200
 La sota de copas tengo,
 de las hijas de Sion,
 que tristes me van siguiendo.
 Juego la.
- Zizañador.* No ganes, Muerte.
Muerte. Dejar de ganar no puedo, 1205

Zisañador. Luzbel, tengo la espadilla.
 Tragala pesia a tus huessos,
 que gano con el cavallo
 de mi obstinacion.

Muerte. Perdemos;
 pero por morir con honrra, 1210
 por dicha mi daño tengo.
 Por tu malicia, Luzbel,
 en el mundo tengo imperio
 sobre todos los mortales,
 y pues mortal Dios se a hecho, 1215
 contra él he de executar
 el rigor de mis preceptos,
 y aunque sea a costa mia
 muera Cristo. Luzbel, juego
 la espada de mi guadaña. 1220
 Recibe este golpe recio,
 reparador de la vida,
 y muere tú pues me as muerto.

(Levanta la guadaña y tienela en alto tenblando.)

(Fol. 18^{ro}) No puedo.

Cristo. Desmayas [1]oca?
 Pues a costa de mi pecho 1225
 oi, Muerte sere tu muerte,
 tu bocado sere, infierno.
 Llegar puedes.³²

Muerte. Maté Cristo!
Cristo. Con que diste fin al juego,
 gané; mi espiritu, padre, 1230
 en tus manos encomiendo.

(Va subiendo Cristo por la cruz y cubre le una nube)

(Canten a modo de endecha)

Llorad cielos,
 que el autor de la vida, avida, es muerto!

³² Lines 1225-1229 were originally:

Cristo. No estás arrogante y loca
 Oi Muerte, sere yo tu muerte,
 tu bocado sere, infierno.
Muerte. Hombre, a Dios me he atrevido!
Cristo. Atrevida, acabo el juego.

	(<i>Ay dentro mucho estruendo y golpes</i>)	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Ya diste a tu padre la alma divino Señor, qué es esto?	1235
	Qué noche cubre la tierra? Qué relampagos y truenos, la quarta esfera vomita?	
<i>Verdad.</i>	De los sepulcros abiertos salen los muertos clamando;	1240
	las piedras se dan encuentros! ^{**}	
<i>Zizañador.</i>	A Muerte, indiscreta y loca! Harto te avisé en los sueños de la mujer de Pilatos!	
<i>Muerte.</i>	Luzbel, no pude hazer menos;	1245
	llamóme y obedecile.	
<i>Mundo.</i>	Hijo de Dios verdadero es éste; leon de Juda.	
<i>Zelo.</i>	Y de Baptista el cordero.	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Ojos deshazeos en llanto,	1250
	que si en el sepulcro muerto está quien os dio la vida, hazed del sepulcro centro y alli os enterrad con él;	
(Fol. 18 ^{vo})	culpas que grillos y hierros teneis puestos en mi alma, dejadme; ya es otro tiempo, ya la noche de mi error que tanto me tuvo presso, passó! Ya amanece el alva	1255 1260
	de mis propositos nuevos! Virgen, como luna hermosa, si del sol del hijo vuestro sentis ausencia tan larga, justo es vuestro sentimiento;	1265
	a llorar quiero ayudaros.	
<i>Zelo.</i>	Dame albricias, Hombre, el cielo se aclara, ya sale el sol; la luna en frente se a puesto.	

^{**} A line partly surrounds these three lines spoken by Verdad. To the left is a stage direction which I have not been able to make out; it seems to read: *cantado esto quelautodelo.*

(Parece Cristo glorioso en la cruz.³⁴ En una mano una hostia muy grande, en la otra un caliz. Desde la hostia al suelo ay espigas de trigo, y abajo, pajas largas con espigas, como sembrado. Desde el caliz ay pampanos hasta abajo y en el tablado abra desde aquellos pampanos y sarmientos un pedaço como viña. Está el Cristo cercado de rayos y otra cerca más afuera, como la del toison, que seran naipes eslabonados y pintados en ellos los instrumentos de la passion, y pendiente bajo de los pies del Cristo, donde se a de rematar, estará un cordero degollado. En la parte frontera, en el otro vestuario del corro, estará la Virgen Maria, cercada de rayos, el dragon a los pies y puesta sobre una luna grande.)

en medio del tablado.³⁵

Hombre	Juntos me han salido	1270
(De rodillas).	el sol y la luna.	
Todos los	Quién creyera, cielos,	
musicos.	tan gran ventura?	
	y juntos me han salido	
(Fol. 19 ^o)	el sol y la luna. ³⁶	1275
Hombre.	Quién creyera, cielos,	
	tan gran ventura?	
Musicos.	Quién creyera, hombre,	
	tan gran ventura?	
Hombre.	En medio deste trofeo,	1280
	adónde bolverme elijo?	
	que a esta parte veo al hijo	
	y a ésta a la madre veo.	
	Sustentame aquel costado,	
	porque al alma le aproveche	1285
	este pecho me da leche,	
	que al mismo Dios a criado;	
	en tan divinas señales,	
	qué escogere por partido?	
Cristo.	Hombre, para ti an salido	1290
	la luna y sol celestiales.	

³⁴ In *La Viña del Señor*, auto sacramental, by Calderón de la Barca, last scene, Christ is likewise represented on the cross. It was published in 1676 but acted in 1674.

³⁵ This addition seems to be intended for the preceding sentence, since there is a line around it; it may belong, however, to line 1270.

³⁶ A line has been drawn around lines 1274-5. In the margin is written *no ce*. The same thing occurs with the next four lines, and in the margin occurs the word *nose*. Probably this repetition was obnoxious.

<i>Maria.</i> ³⁷	Ya vivir contento puedes, de hijo y madre regalado.	
<i>Hombre.</i>	Tienenme de mí robado tan soberanas mercedes.	1295
<i>Cristo.</i>	Obligado y satisfecho, el Adan Antiguo olvida, pues a costa de mi vida tan grande ganancia as hecho. Juego de importancia a sido; tu dicha fue soberana pues el resto que se gana es averte redimido.	1300
	El juego por ambos fue, y dél tomé para mí todas las quiebras, y en ti las ganancias renuncié.	1305
(Fol. 19 ^{ro})	Goza tú todo el empleo, mas por obligarte a amarme, sólo quiero yo quedarme con las cartas por trofeo. Pobre te vi entre esos dos, por mí envidian tus caudales; mira si medrado sales de la compania de Dios.	1310
	Vela mientras dura el dia que mi sol oi te concede.	1315
<i>Hombre.</i>	Señor, noche aver no puede donde es la luna Maria.	
<i>Maria.</i>	Favor tienes de mi parte porque Luzbel no te arguya, pon, tú hombre, de la tuya, bien que pueda aprovecharte.	1320
<i>Hombre.</i>	Si a las Indias de la corte celeste he de navegar, con vos estrella del mar no puedo yo errar el norte.	1325
<i>Cristo.</i>	El llanto tanto aprovecha al justo, embuelto en su canto, que tras hibierno de llanto	1330

³⁷ MS. has *M^a*.

	viene agosto de cosecha. Trigo sembré, planté vides de que hazerte heredero, porque fundar en ti quiero el mayorazgo que pides; y estan oy tan sazonados, que te dan frutos opimos los mazuelos de razimos y de trigos los sembrados.	1335
(Fol. 20 ^{ro})	Obreros míos, sacad, briosos, fuertes, galanes, las hoces. Segad los panes, los razimos vendimiad, que pues dar me determino en pan a hijos de Adan. Sobre de mi cuerpo el pan; aya de mi sangre vino, que luego lo hagais os mando. Cantad pues; la hoz se aplica, porque cosecha tan rica a de hazerse cantando.	1340 1345 1350
<i>Segundo un coro.</i>	Gallarda cosecha los panes nos muestran.	
<i>Otro coro,</i> <i>cortando razimos.</i>	Celestial vendimia tiene nuestra viña.	1355
<i>Zelo.</i>	De pan offrenda te hazemos, con granos limpios y puros.	
<i>Verdad.</i>	Y los razimos maduros en tu lagar los ponemos.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Del trigo que está crecido, la zizaña arrancad luego y sirva al eterno fuego. ³⁸	1360
<i>Zelo.</i>	Éstos, la zizaña an sido.	
<i>Cristo.</i>	Ataldos y hazed gavillas dellos.	
<i>Zelo.</i>	A este entazo ³⁹ aparta.	1365
<i>Verdad.</i>	Veni aca vos cariharta,	

³⁸ In Lope de Vega's *La Siega* almost the same thing happens. At the end the reapers bring in *Hebraísmo*, *Idolatría*, *Herejía* and *Seta*, with their hands tied, and *Hebraísmo* is cast into eternal fire. Cf. note to line 169.

³⁹ From Sp. *gente* (?) or Fr. *entasser* (?)

que cuestan vuestras costillas
más al cielo.

Muerte.

En mí te ensaya!

Zizañador.

Que a un angel se atrevan estos!

*(Atanlos, enbuelos si puede ser, en algunas yervas, cada uno hecho un
manejo o gavilla en parte diferente)*

(Fol. 20^{ro})

Zelo.

Bellamente quedan puestos.

1370

Verdad.

Vade, vaya amigos.

Hombre.

Vaya.

(Cantan dandoles vaya)

La Muerte y Luzbel vencidos,
van a las eternas llamas.

Ucho, ho, que los corren las damas!

Ucho, ho, que van corridos!

1375

Cristo.

Oy por mí, ilustras tu nombre.

María.

Del juego vas mejorado,

y en este triunfo senando

da fin el juego del hombre.

1379

*(Podran bolver a cantar si les pareciere, entrandosse y cerrando las
aparencias)*

—Fin—

Dictum contra fidem indictum habeatur.

Laus Deo & dei pare, virgini & Joseph sponso.

el licenciado Luis Mejía de la Cerda.

Relator de la Real Audencia de Valladolid.

—1625—

A TRANSLATION OF CENE DA LA CHITARRA'S PARODIES ON THE SONNETS OF THE MONTHS

"Ed io dissi al Poeta: 'Or fu giammai
 Gente sì vana come la sanese?
 Certo non la francesca sì d' assai.'
 Onde l'altro lebbroso, che m' intese,
 Rispose al detto mio: 'Trammene Stricca,
 Che seppe far le temperate spese;
 E Niccolò, che la costuma ricca
 Del garofano prima discoperse
 Nell' orto dove tal seme s'appicca;
 E tranne la brigata in che disperse
 Caccia d' Ascian la vigna e la gran fronda,
 E l' Abbagliato il suo senno proferse."

Inferno, XXIX, 121-132.

IN these familiar lines Dante was probably¹ expending his Florentine irony upon that Spendthrift Brigade of Siena, whose elegance and prodigality Folgore of San Gimignano celebrated in his *Sonnets of the Months* and of the *Days*. After the *brigata spendereccia* had gone its proud road to destruction, and those twelve young madcaps (of whom Folgore himself was doubtless one) found themselves penniless, a poet of Arezzo proceeded to versify their plight, not without gusto. Taking the same rhyme-words that Folgore had used in his *Sonnets of the Months*, this Aretine, who bore the tuneful name of Cene of the Guitar, composed certain other sonnets in parody of the first. Where Folgore had sung the pleasures of delicate living enjoyed by twelve young dandies with two hundred thousand florins in their pockets, Cene described the latter state which succeeded to that one, and all the discomforts of being too cold in winter, too hot in summer, and under-fed and out-at-elbows in all seasons.

¹ For a discussion of this question, see G. Navone, *Le rime di Folgore da san Gimignano e di Cene da la Chitarra*, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1880; A. Bartoli, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ii, 258, and G. Mastella, *Intorno a quel Niccolò a cui Folgore da san Gimignano dedicò la corona dei Sonetti dei mesi*, Venezia, Cordella, 1893, and *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, xxviii, 444.

His method of parody is for the most part the artless one of reversing the conditions described by Folgore. If the latter promises his company "for July, in Siena, by the willow-tree," earth-cooled wines and toothsome jellies, Cene sends them forth to plough, and gives them vinegar to drink; if in January Folgore comforts them with furred mantles and warm coverlets, and fires within doors, Cene exposes them in their rags to the snow and hail. There is seldom a touch of real fun; on the other hand there is singularly little coarseness, scarcely any, indeed, on that subject in dealing with which comic writers have usually found it easiest and pleasantest to be coarse.

When Dante Gabriel Rossetti made his exquisite translations of the sonnets of Folgore, he refrained from a version of the parodies because, he says,² of their lack of poetic quality. It is true that they lack literary value, but they have a kind of human value. The sudden anti-climax which overtook the prodigality of those exquisite youths was funny, especially so, perhaps, to a needy satirist who had never shared such high company; and Cene's laughter echoes across the years like a plucked guitar-string. A rather cracked guitar; Cene was not much of a poet. But Dante, whose Midas-touch turns all to gold, presumably mentioned the *brigata* which Cene derides, and that fact may excuse this attempt at a translation of Cene.

Its only merit is its faithful literalness. These sonnets will often be found to be padded, as in the seventh and eighth lines of V, and the eleventh of X; but so are their originals. And they contain not a few irrelevant lines, such as the twelfth of VI and the thirteenth of VIII; but these cause equal bewilderment in the Italian, though sometimes, as in the twelfth line of II, the irrelevance results from the awkward attempt to use in the parody as fully and as literally as possible the material of the original.

The text followed is that of G. Navone.³ Wherever it has seemed discreet, in the interests of vividness or intelligibility, or to eke out scanty material, I have helped myself freely from the

² *The Early Italian Poets from Ciullo d' Alcamo to Dante Alighieri, in the original metres, Together with Dante's Vita Nuova.* Translated by D. G. Rossetti. London, Newnes, 1904, p. 84, footnote.

³ *Op. cit.*

variants given in that text. The following is a list of the borrowed lines:

- IV, the second quatrain;
- V, lines 7, 8, and 10;
- VI, the octave;
- VIII, lines 2, 8, 10, and 13;
- IX, line 1;
- XI, lines 3, 7, 8, and the sestet;
- XII, lines 4, 6, 8, and 10.

Where Cene has mentioned a place named in the *Divina Commedia*, I have given the reference.

I

DEDICATION

To that impoverished, miserly brigade,
In what parts they may be, no matter where:
I give them dice and gaming-tables there
Where the hot sun beats fiercest, with no shade;
That they may travel light to tout for aid,
Be through the year a shift their only wear;
Through miry, soggy ways shall they repair,
With divers grievous burdens on them laid.

And needy Paglierino be their lord;
While Lippo of Chianzano, called the Wise,
Benci, and hare-brained Senso, out of luck,
Shall pay the scot from their abundant hoard.
Lithe Senso! could you see him as he plies
The foils, you'd say: "He's graceful as a duck!"

II

JANUARY

In January, I give you to lie
On beds as easy as the Genoese
Is tossed on, as he sails the wintry seas;
And smoky fires, and winds that never die,
And dearth of damsels; for your gullets dry,
Of sharp Calabrian wine to drink the lees;
And not a penny for your pocket's ease;
And rags and tatters for your panoply.

Then for your pastime at this season, choose,
 To sit beside you snug upon a bench,
 A lame old crone grown overripe and black,
 And while each one with snow-balls swift pursues,
 Stay gazing rapt upon your comely wench.
 Such joys your company shall never lack!

III

FEBRUARY

Let February find you in a vale
 Ice-locked, the haunt of mountain-bear;
 And as you track him barefoot to his lair,
 Cold snows shall beat on you, and colder hail.
 What gladdens any, that the rest bewail;
 Your braggart pages have of you no care,
 And when at night you to your inn repair,
 A niggard host and hostess stint your ale.
 In this month you shall go without a cloak,
 And crabbed wines shall sharpen appetite;
 While in your hostel you shall find no ease,
 For tempest, earthquake, hurricane and smoke
 Shall plague and harry every weary wight,
 From nightfall till the laggard dawn he sees.

IV

MARCH

For March I give you respite on this wise:
 Among the pools of the Apulian⁴ Plain,
 Where frogs and water-leeches swarm amain,
 On sorbs and bitter pears to gormandize;
 And fishing ye shall have in such a guise
 That scorpions, snakes and lizards be your gain,
 While leaky bottoms, rudderless and vain,
 Shall furnish forth your only argosies.
 Straw roofs to shelter you, and with your feast
 Nothing to drink but black wine from ill bins;
 Your beds unclean, your cushions harsh and hairy;
 And let the lord among you be a priest

⁴ *Inferno*, xxviii, 9; *Purgatorio*, vii, 126.

Who grants no absolution for your sins,
Nay, worse, at every turn a monastery!

V

APRIL

For April, such a life as knows no fret:
Let gad-flies swarm upon you; and the bray
Of asses beat so on your ears all day
That all Perugia's⁵ citizens there seem met!
From the Campagna *sbirri* ye shall get
A goodly drubbing in a hot affray;
And if this does not please you, why then, pray,
Let loudest outcry publish your regret.

Your dancers shall be friars lame and old;
For music, you shall hear for your delight
A wooden clapper rattling day and night.
And whosoe'er to boast of you makes bold,
Shall win his neighbor's enmity, pardee!
Because he praises such a company.

VI

MAY

For May, fine horses not a few I bring:
Each one too lame for caper or curvet,
Each with brave harness on his bald hide set,
(For breast-strap stout, strong onions in a string!)
And round about you, dancing in a ring,
Disheveled, bawling peasants, whose rank sweat,
Distilling from their reeking bodies wet,
Offends your nose and makes your eyes to sting.
And others, of their bounty, alms have flung
Of rotted chestnuts, onion, turnip, leek,
Good cheer to make you gossip and carouse!
Up with your pitchforks, down with beds of dung!
Gaffer and gammer kissing cheek to cheek
Hold converse high anent the sheep and cows.

⁵ *Paradiso*, vi, 75; xi, 46. In the original, Bevagna shares this slur upon Perugia.

VII

JUNE

See where I lodge you for the month of June:
 Where only dwell the dormouse and the crow,
 Swamps round about and not a skiff to go,
 An islet in the midst of a lagoon;
 And there a spring you come upon full soon,
 From which hot sulphurous waters flow,
 Dividing in a thousand streamlets, so
 That all the land receives their healing boon.
 The service-apple and the bitter thorn,
 Sour cornel-cherries, crabbed medlar-trees,
 Line all the miry roadway's narrow span;
 And all the folk, swart, scrofulous, forlorn,
 Do one another such discourtesies
 As make them burdensome to God and man.

VIII

JULY

I wish July may find this same brigade
 In Val di Chiana,⁶ guzzling swamp-brewed wine
 Of sovereign vinegar mixed well with brine
 To wash down pig's-meat, peppery, half-decayed;
 Next, for a salad, you with garlic's aid,
 Rosemary, sage and thistle shall combine;
 On half-cooked wolf's-meat then you fitly dine,
 With smoky-flavored bread of bean-flour made.
 Then, clad in woolen robes, for hermits meet,
 Beaten and scolded for your little skill,
 I'd have you reap the grain in all this heat;
 A base lay-brother, your intendant, still
 Makes profit of you, whining, "Life's a cheat!"
 And each man's wife, I hope, may use him ill!

IX

AUGUST

In August, wend to Talamone's⁷ shore,
 Or else at Sinigaglia⁸ find a den:

⁶ *Inferno*, xxix, 47.

⁷ *Purgatorio*, xiii, 152.

⁸ *Paradiso*, xvi, 75.

Each day I order for your regimen
That you ride horseback thirty miles or more,
On saddle-less thin nags that lame you sore;
Your way along a sewage-reeking fen,
And, to your other hand, a slaughter-pen,
The pickled-tunny market just next door!
And if such stenchs fail to sicken you,
I send you on to Chiusi,⁹ queenly town,
So tired that to dismount you vainly seek;
Then, pockets emptied of their pennies few,
And mouths agape like famished wolves', go down
Into Siena one day every week.

X

SEPTEMBER

I give you for September fair outlay:
Needles and spindles for your armament,
And heavy bows, awry, and badly bent;
To hawk with kites and kestrels; for your prey,
The bats and owls 'twixt here and Montpellier;
And woollen gloves, game-bags for poachers meant;
So panoplied, for her astonishment,
Before your Lady hold high holiday.
Be buying, selling, trafficking all day,
With haggling merchants dealing niggardly,
(For such delights September well befit;)
Then up and down Siena¹⁰ go, and say:
"Down with whoe'er loves liberality,
The Salimbeni put a ban on it!"

XI

OCTOBER

Now in October I desire that you
To Faltarona¹¹ wend, and there abide;
On acorns you must needs be satisfied,
For never there hen clucked nor yet cock crew;

⁹ *Paradiso*, xvi, 75.

¹⁰ *Inferno*, xxix, 109; *Purgatorio*, v, 134, xi, 111, 123, 134, xiii, 106.

¹¹ *Purgatorio*, xiv, 17.

Clear water there shall be your choicest brew—
 Drink deep, my sons, and be well fortified!
 By lingering summer's gnats you still are tried,
 While coming winter's chilblains bite you too!
 At three o'clock o' mornings you shall rise,
 And smear yourselves with garlic 'gainst the pest;
 See you bathe neither hands nor face nor eyes;
 If all these things you do, you shall be blest
 As any fish that through cool water plies.
 Like dogs, obey each appetite's behest!

XII

NOVEMBER

In chill November, poor and bare of gain,
 Of coldest planets shivering 'neath the rule,
 I lodge you cheerless in an icy pool,
 Beaten upon by sleet and hail and rain.
 For goodly living you shall sigh in vain:
 Your bread, from flour of broom-corn and threshed straw;
 Your dainties, nuts and apples green and raw.
 And each man, shunning each, is shunned again.
 Within your houses there is never a fire,
 Comfortless they as any hermit's cell;
 Your nearest neighbor than six leagues no nigher;
 Of wine or flesh you shall not have a smell;
 And any scrubby wretch whom none would hire
 Shall gibe at you, and all men think it well.

XIII

DECEMBER

December finds you in a quagmire damp
 Mid mire and frost, with garments few and mean,
 Your only cates coarse pulse and the hard bean,
 Your host a wight of the Maremma¹² Swamp.
 Your cook, ill-favored, dismal, stupid scamp,
 Shall give you half-cooked neck-bones few and lean;
 And like a fool 'mongst wise men, were, I ween,
 Whoe'er of you had chessmen, dice or lamp.

¹² *Inferno*, xxv, 19, xxix, 48; *Purgatorio*, v, 134.

And threadbare cloaks I give you, scant and torn,
And every man bareheaded to the weather ;
And mountain wine to drink from old cracked casks ;
And whoso sees you, wretched and forlorn,
Returning to Siena thus together,
Wondering, the wherefore of your sad plight asks.

RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

I

Alla brigata avara senza arnesi
in tutte quelle parti dove sono,
davanti a' dadi e tavolier li pono
perchè al sole stien tutti distesi ;

e in camicia stiano tutti i mesi
per poter più leggier ire al perdono,
entro la malta e 'l fango gli imprigiono
e sien domati con diversi pesi.

E Paglierino sia lor capitano,
e habbia parte di tutto lo scotto
con Benci e Lippo savio da Chianzano.

Senso da Panical ch' ha leggier trotto,
chi lo vedesse schermir giuso al piano
ciascun direbbe: e' pare un anitrotto.

II

Io vi doto del mese de gennaio
corti con fumo al modo montanese,
letta quali à nel mare il genovese,
acqua e vento che non cali maio ;

povertà en fanciulle, a colmo staio
da ber aceto forte galavrese,
e star come ribaldo en arnese
con panni rotti senza alcun denaio.

Ancor vi do così fatto soggiorno
con una vegla nera vizza e ranca
ciascuno gittando la neve atorno ;

appresso voi seder in una bancha
e resmirando quel suo viso adorno ;
così reposi la brigata manca.

III

DI FEBBRAIO

Di febraio vi metto in valle ghiaccia
 con orsi grandi, vegli, montanari,
 e voi cacciando con rotti calzari,
 la nieve metta sempre e mai disfaccia;

e quel che piace a l' uno a l'altro spiaccia,
 con fanti ben retrosi e bachalari,
 tornando poi la sera ad osti chari,
 lor mogle tesser tele et ordir accia.

En questo vo' che siate senza manti,
 con vin di pome ch' el stomago affina,
 in tali alberghi gran sospiri e pianti,

tremoti, venti e nosia con ruina;
 ma sian si forte che ciascun si stanchi
 da prima sera enfino la matina.

IV

DI MARZO

Di marzo vi riposo en tal maniera
 en pugla piana tra molti lagoni,
 en esse gran mignatte e ranaglioni,
 poi da mangiar abiate sorbe e pera,

¹ oleo di noce veglo mane e sera
 per far calde gli arance e gran cidroni,
 barchette assai con remi e con timoni,
 ma non possiate uscir de tal rivera;

Case de pagla con diversi raggi,
 da bere vin gergon che sia ben nero,
 letta di schianze e di gionchi piumacchi;

tra voi signori sia un priete fero
 che da nessun peccato vi dislacci,
 per ciascun loco v' abia un monistero.

¹ Variant followed:

e pescator vi sieno in tal maniera
 che piglin serpi, botte e iscorpioni,
 con barche isgangherate e ma' timoni
 siate forniti e non d' altra maniera.

V

DI APRILE

Di aprile vi do vita senza lagna,
tavani a schiera con aseni a tresca,
raiaando forte perchè non v' incresca
quanti ne sono in Perosa o Bevagna;

con birri romaneschi di campagna
e ciaschadun di pugna sì vi mesca,
¹ e quando questo fatto non riesca
restori i marri de pian de Romagna.

Per danzatori vi do vegli armini,
¹ una compagna la qual peggio sona
stormento sia a voi e non refini;

e quel ch'en millantar sì largo dona
en ira vegna de li suoi vicini
perchè di cotal gente si rasona.

¹ Variants followed:

lines 7 and 8:

e quando questo fatto vi rincresca
urlin sì forte che ciascun 'sen pianga.

line 10: una tabella chioccia sempre suoni.

VI

DI MAGGIO

¹ Il maggio voglo che facciate en Cagli
con una gente di lavoratori,
con muli e gran distrier zoppecatori,
per pettorali forte reste di agli;

intorno questo siano gran bagli
di villan scapigliati e cridatori,
dei qual resolvan sì fatti sudori
che turben l'aire sì che mai non cagli.

Poi altri vilan facendo mance
di cepolle porrate e di marroni
usando in questo gran cavazze e ciance;

en giù letame et in alto forconi,
massari e vegle baciarsi le guance,
di pecore e di porci sì rasoni.

¹ Variant followed:

Di maggio vi dono di molti cavalli
che tutti quanti sien zoppicatori,
habbian pelato la testa e gropponi;
per pettorale habbate reste d'agli.

e 'ntorno a questo sien gran ridde e balli
di villan scapigliati gridatori,
che di loro escan sì fatti sudori
che 'l senso appuzzi e gli occhi vostri abbagli.

VII

DI GIUGNO

Di giugno siate in tale campagnetta
che ve sien corbi et arghironcelli,
le chiane intorno senza caravelli,
entro nel mezo v'abia una isoletta;

di la qual esca sì forte venetta,
che mille parte faccia e ramicelli
d'aqua di solfo cotta in gorgoncelli,
sì ch'ella adaqui ben tal contradetta;

Sorbi e pruni acerbi siano lie,
nespole crude e cornie savorose,
le rughe sian fangose e strette vie;

le genti ve sian nere e gavinose,
e faccianvesi tante villanie
che a dio e al mondo siano noglose.

VIII

DI LUGLO

Di luglo vo' che sia cotal brigata
¹ en Arestano con vin di pantani
con aque salse et aceti soprani,
carne di porco grassa appeverata;

e poi di retro a questo una insalata
di salvie e ramerin per star più sani,
carne de volpe guascotta a due mani,
¹ e, a cui piacesse, drieto cavolata;

Con panni grossi lunghi d'eremita,
¹ e sia sì forte e terribil el caldo
¹ com'à il sol leone a la fenita;

et un brutto converso per castaldo
¹ avaro che si appaghi de tal vita;
la mogle a ciascadun sia in manovaldo.

¹ Variants followed:

line 2: stea in val di Chiana con vin di pantano.
line 8: e pan di fave e paniccia fumata.
line 10: stando poi a mieter per quel caldo.
line 11: con panni grossi e lunghi da romita.
line 13: e uno che si pianga della vita.

IX

DI AGOSTO

¹ Di agosto vi riposo en aire bella
en Sinegallia che mi par ben fina,
il giorno si vi do per medicina
che chavalchate trenta migliatella,

e tutti en trottier magri senza sella
sempre lunga un'aqua de sentina,
da l'altra parte si facci tonnina
poi ritornando a pozzo di macella;

E se ben cotal pozzo non vi annasa,
mettovi en Chiusi la città sovrana
si stanchi tutti da non diffare l'asa;

la borsa di ciascuno stretta e vana,
e stare come lupi a bocha pasa
tornando en Siena un die la semana.

¹ Variant followed, or rather added:
a Talamon per lungo la marina.

X

DI SETTEMBRE

Di settembre vi do gioielli alquanti:
agore, fusa, cumino et aslieri,
nottole, chieppe con nibbi lamieri,
archi da lana bistorti e pesanti,

asiuoli, barbagianni, alocchi tanti
quanti ne son de qui a Monpeslieri,
guanti di lana, borse da braghieri,
stando così a vostra donna davanti;

VII

JUNE

See where I lodge you for the month of June:
 Where only dwell the dormouse and the crow,
 Swamps round about and not a skiff to go,
 An islet in the midst of a lagoon;
 And there a spring you come upon full soon,
 From which hot sulphurous waters flow,
 Dividing in a thousand streamlets, so
 That all the land receives their healing boon.
 The service-apple and the bitter thorn,
 Sour cornel-cherries, crabbed medlar-trees,
 Line all the miry roadway's narrow span;
 And all the folk, swart, scrofulous, forlorn,
 Do one another such discourtesies
 As make them burdensome to God and man.

VIII

JULY

I wish July may find this same brigade
 In Val di Chiana,⁶ guzzling swamp-brewed wine
 Of sovereign vinegar mixed well with brine
 To wash down pig's-meat, peppery, half-decayed;
 Next, for a salad, you with garlic's aid,
 Rosemary, sage and thistle shall combine;
 On half-cooked wolf's-meat then you fitly dine,
 With smoky-flavored bread of bean-flour made.
 Then, clad in woolen robes, for hermits meet,
 Beaten and scolded for your little skill,
 I'd have you reap the grain in all this heat;
 A base lay-brother, your intendant, still
 Makes profit of you, whining, "Life's a cheat!"
 And each man's wife, I hope, may use him ill!

IX

AUGUST

In August, wend to Talamone's⁷ shore,
 Or else at Sinigaglia⁸ find a den:

⁶ *Inferno*, xxix, 47.

⁷ *Purgatorio*, xiii, 152.

⁸ *Paradiso*, xvi, 75.

Each day I order for your regimen
That you ride horseback thirty miles or more,
On saddle-less thin nags that lame you sore;
Your way along a sewage-reeking fen,
And, to your other hand, a slaughter-pen,
The pickled-tunny market just next door!

And if such stench fail to sicken you,
I send you on to Chiusi,⁹ queenly town,
So tired that to dismount you vainly seek;
Then, pockets emptied of their pennies few,
And mouths agape like famished wolves', go down
Into Siena one day every week.

X

SEPTEMBER

I give you for September fair outlay:
Needles and spindles for your armament,
And heavy bows, awry, and badly bent;
To hawk with kites and kestrels; for your prey,
The bats and owls 'twixt here and Montpellier;
And woollen gloves, game-bags for poachers meant;
So panoplied, for her astonishment,
Before your Lady hold high holiday.

Be buying, selling, trafficking all day,
With haggling merchants dealing niggardly,
(For such delights September well befit;)
Then up and down Siena¹⁰ go, and say:
"Down with whoe'er loves liberality,
The Salimbeni put a ban on it!"

XI

OCTOBER

Now in October I desire that you
To Faltarona¹¹ wend, and there abide;
On acorns you must needs be satisfied,
For never there hen clucked nor yet cock crew;

⁹ *Paradiso*, xvi, 75.

¹⁰ *Inferno*, xxix, 109; *Purgatorio*, v, 134, xi, 111, 123, 134, xiii, 106.

¹¹ *Purgatorio*, xiv, 17.

Clear water there shall be your choicest brew—
 Drink deep, my sons, and be well fortified!
 By lingering summer's gnats you still are tried,
 While coming winter's chilblains bite you too!
 At three o'clock o' mornings you shall rise,
 And smear yourselves with garlic 'gainst the pest;
 See you bathe neither hands nor face nor eyes;
 If all these things you do, you shall be blest
 As any fish that through cool water plies.
 Like dogs, obey each appetite's behest!

XII

NOVEMBER

In chill November, poor and bare of gain,
 Of coldest planets shivering 'neath the rule,
 I lodge you cheerless in an icy pool,
 Beaten upon by sleet and hail and rain.
 For goodly living you shall sigh in vain:
 Your bread, from flour of broom-corn and threshed straw;
 Your dainties, nuts and apples green and raw.
 And each man, shunning each, is shunned again.
 Within your houses there is never a fire,
 Comfortless they as any hermit's cell;
 Your nearest neighbor than six leagues no nigher;
 Of wine or flesh you shall not have a smell;
 And any scrubby wretch whom none would hire
 Shall gibe at you, and all men think it well.

XIII

DECEMBER

December finds you in a quagmire damp
 Mid mire and frost, with garments few and mean,
 Your only cates coarse pulse and the hard bean,
 Your host a wight of the Maremma¹² Swamp.
 Your cook, ill-favored, dismal, stupid scamp,
 Shall give you half-cooked neck-bones few and lean;
 And like a fool 'mongst wise men, were, I ween,
 Whoe'er of you had chessmen, dice or lamp.

¹² *Inferno*, xxv, 19, xxix, 48; *Purgatorio*, v, 134.

And threadbare cloaks I give you, scant and torn,
And every man bareheaded to the weather;
And mountain wine to drink from old cracked casks;
And whoso sees you, wretched and forlorn,
Returning to Siena thus together,
Wondering, the wherefore of your sad plight asks.

RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

I

Alla brigata avara senza arnesi
in tutte quelle parti dove sono,
davanti a' dadi e tavolier li pono
perchè al sole stien tutti distesi;

e in camicia stiano tutti i mesi
per poter più leggier ire al perdono,
entro la malta e 'l fango gli imprigiono
e sien domati con diversi pesi.

E Paglierino sia lor capitano,
e habbia parte di tutto lo scotto
con Benci e Lippo savio da Chianzano.

Senso da Panical ch' ha leggier trotto,
chi lo vedesse schermir giuso al piano
ciascun direbbe: e' pare un anitrotto.

II

Io vi doto del mese de gennaio
corti con fumo al modo montanese,
letta quali à nel mare il genovese,
aqua e vento che non cali maio;

povertà en fanciulle, a colmo staio
da ber aceto forte galavrese,
e star come ribaldo en arnese
con panni rotti senza alcun denaio.

Ancor vi do così fatto soggiorno
con una vegla nera vizza e rancha
ciascuno gittando la neve atorno;

appresso voi seder in una bancha
e resmirando quel suo viso adorno;
così reposi la brigata mancha.

E sempre questo comparare e vendere,
con tali mercadanti il più usando
e di settembre tal diletto prendere;

e per Siena entro gir alto gridando:
moia chi cortesia vuole defendere,
che i Salimbeni antichi li dier bando.

XI

DI OTTOBRE

Di ottobre vi consiglio senza fallo
che nella Faltarona dimorate,
¹ e de le frutta che vi son mangiate;
a rigle grande non vi canta gallo.

chiare l'aque vi son come cristallo,
or bevete figliuoli e restorate;
uccellar bono è a' varchi en veritate,
¹ che farete nel collo nervo e callo;

¹ In quell' aire che è sottile e fina
ben stanno en Pisa più chiari i pisani,
e'l genovese lungo la marina;

prender el mio consiglio non siate vani;
arrosto vi darò mesto con strina,
che l' sentiranno i piedi con le mani.

² Variants followed:

line 3: castagne e ghiande, e non vi canti gallo.

line 7: delle renzale vi sia in quantitate.

line 8: lassù farete con l'inverno el callo.

the sestet:

A renza vi levate la marina,
non vi lavate nè viso nè mani,
l'aglio uccide i bachi e l' corpo affina;

se face questo sarete più sani
che besce in acqua chiara di marina:
seguite gli appetiti come cani.

XII

DI NOVEMBRE

Di novembre vi netto en in grui stagno
in qua parte più po' fredda pareta,

con quella povertà che non si aqueta
¹ di moneta acquistar che fa gran danno;

ogni buona vivanda ve sia in banno,
¹ per lume faceline de verdeta,
castagne con mele aspre di Gaeta,
¹ stando tutti ensieme en briga e lagno;

Fuoco non vi sia mai ma fango e gesso,
¹ se non alquanti luochi di rimiti
che sia di venti migla lo più presso;

de vin di carne del tutto sforniti,
schernendo voi qual è più laido biesso
vegendovi star tutti sì sguarniti.

¹ Variants followed:

line 4: e neve e acqua piova sempre e gragno.
line 6: pan di saggina cotto a paglia trita.
line 8: havendo in odio ciascun il compagno.
line 10: case vi sieno a modo di romiti.

XIII

DI DECEMBRE

Di decembre vi pongo en un pantano
con fango, ghiaccio et ancor panni pochi,
per vostro cibo fermo fave e mochi,
per oste abiate un troio maremmano;

un cuocho brutto secho tristo e vano
ve dia colli guascotti e quigli pochi,
e qual tra voi à lumi dadi o rochi
tenuto sia come tra savii un vano;

Panni rotti vi do e debrilati,
appresso questo ogni omo en capegli,
botti de vin da montanar fallati;

e chi ve mira sì se meravigli
vedendovi sì brutti e rabbuffati,
tornando in Siena cusì bei fancegli.

EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

(Continued from page 218)

V. BEAULIEU AS A SATIRIST OF LEGAL PROCEDURE

IT is as a censor of the corruption of law-courts that Beaulieu makes his entry into the literary world. In 1529, after having won his case at the court of Bordeaux, he published his first work, the *Gestes des Solliciteurs de Proces*. In this poem Beaulieu gives a very minute description of the delays of justice,—a favorite subject with his predecessors, the Rhétoriqueurs. The “farces et sotties” popularized the theme and gave rise to the great output of poetry censuring abuses.⁹⁹

Beaulieu falls in line with his contemporaries in the arraignment of the abuses of justice, but he outdoes them in his very detailed and rather humorous picture of them. After opening with an apology to the judges, he entreats them, the lawyers and the minor court officials to be just with their clients. His aim is to put into writing, he tells us, the grievances, losses and tribulations of those who often through no fault of their own, are compelled to go to court. He states that if one wanted to write about all the troubles involved, it would probably take more than a hundred years. It is madness, Beaulieu continues, to think that for the slightest wrong done to us we are obliged to begin a law-suit. We are often led on by

⁹⁹ An article reproducing the complete text of the *Gestes* was published in the ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. II, No. 3. To the examples there given might be added, Arena, *Meygra Entrepriza Catoloqui Imperatoris*, A.D. 1536, first edition published in 1537, 12mo, Bibl. Nat., 8° Ye 134 (re-edited at Lyons in 1760 by N. Bonafous; published in the *Bibl. provenç.*, Aix, 1860), p. 122 et sqq.:—

Playdegiare volens, borsas ferrare memento.

Argentum, plumbum semper habere decet.

Marot writes on the subject of law-suits,

Pas ne diront, qu'impossible leur semble,

D'estre Chrestien & plaideur tout ensemble. (*Enfer*, ed. 1702, p. 38.)

Coquillart treats of the same subject, *Œuvres*, ed. Charles d'Héricault, Paris, 1857, vol. i, p. 179, vol. ii, p. 7.

false hopes of having speedy justice. The judge must be urged and entreated to give a hasty hearing, and generally one remains outside his door like a fool, without having accomplished what one set out to obtain from him. The lawyers are the next to be implored to take charge of the case, and they often turn a deaf ear unless they are bribed with money. The recorder is the next in rank to whom one must appeal, and he too pays no attention to the poor client unless he has ready money. When the case is finally drawn up, he waits a week or more, often with empty stomach, until the judge deigns to notice him. He keeps putting the wretch off from one day to another, not once, twice, or thrice, but long enough for him to see the whole city and its beautiful buildings! Then there follows in the poem a list, which rivals that of Scapin, of technical terms designating various documents connected with legal procedure:

Payer nous fault aussi force escriptures,
 C'est à sçauoir instrumens et procures,
 Appointemens, contractz, lettres royaulx,
 Et tant d'exploictz de ces sergens loyaulx,
 Congez, deffaulx, demandes, et defenses,
 Seaulx, contredict, actes, signetz, dispenses,
 Doubles rapportz, cas d'opposition,
 Causes aussi de recusations, etc., etc. . . .

 Et autres cas selon les grans excès,
 Et qualité de aucuns diuers proces
 Ausquelz n'a trou que on n'y trouue cheuille,
 Dont d'auoir droit chascun raille et babille.¹⁰⁰

After having paid for all these papers, if our case was not tried in the lower court, we ask that it be taken to the "parlement," and we again give gold or silver, in exchange for which we are told which documents our opponents intend to produce against us. As for consultations, advices and probations, Beaulieu relates that even ten are not sufficient, and that for each one we must lay out money. Then if the counsellor orders the client to continue his suit, in three months or more he receives a document on parchment or wax, giving the history of the case, that is, if he is willing to pay for it! All this

¹⁰⁰ Molière, *Fourberies de Scapin*, Act II, scene 8.

¹ Variant followed:

Di maggio vi dono di molti cavalli
che tutti quanti sien zoppicatori,
habbian pelato la testa e gropponi;
per pettorale habbiате reste d'agli.

e 'ntorno a questo sien gran ridde e balli
di villan scapigliati gridatori,
che di loro escan sì fatti sudori
che 'l senso appuzzi e gli occhi vostri abbagli.

VII

DI GIUGNO

Di giugno siate in tale campagnetta
che ve sien corbi et arghironcelli,
le chiane intorno senza caravelli,
entro nel mezo v'abia una isoletta;

di la qual esca sì forte venetta,
che mille parte faccia e ramicelli
d'aqua di solfo cotta in gorgoncelli,
sì ch'ella adai ben tal contradetta;

Sorbi e pruni acerbi siano lie,
nespole crude e cornie savorose,
le rughe sian fangose e strette vie;

le genti ve sian nere e gavinose,
e faccianvesi tante villanie
che a dio e al mondo siano noglose.

VIII

DI LUGLO

Di luglo vo' che sia cotal brigata
¹ en Arestano con vin di pantani
con aque salse et aceti soprani,
carne di porco grassa appeverata;

e poi di retro a questo una insalata
di salvie e ramerin per star più sani,
carne de volpe guascotta a due mani,
¹ e, a cui piacesse, drieto cavolata;

Con panni grossi lunghi d'eremita,
¹ e sia sì forte e terribil el caldo
¹ com'è il sol leone a la fenita;

et un brutto converso per castaldo
¹ avaro che si appaghi de tal vita;
la mogle a ciascadun sia in manovaldo.

¹ Variants followed:

line 2: stea in val di Chiana con vin di pantano.
line 8: e pan di fave e paniccia fumata.
line 10: stando poi a mieter per quel caldo.
line 11: con panni grossi e lunghi da romita.
line 13: e uno che si pianga della vita.

IX

DI AGOSTO

¹ Di agosto vi riposo en aire bella
en Sinegallia che mi par ben fina,
il giorno si vi do per medicina
che chavalchate trenta migliatella,

e tutti en trottier magri senza sella
sempre lunga un'aqua de sentina,
da l'altra parte si facci tonnina
poi ritornando a pozzo di macella;

E se ben cotal pozzo non vi annasa,
mettovi en Chiusi la città sovrana
si stanchi tutti da non diffare l'asa;

la borsa di ciascuno stretta e vana,
e stare come lupi a bocha pasa
tornando en Siena un die la semana.

¹ Variant followed, or rather added:
a Talamon per lungo la marina.

X

DI SETTEMBRE

Di settembre vi do gioielli alquanti:
agore, fusa, cumino et aslieri,
nottole, chieppe con nibbi lamieri,
archi da lana bistorti e pesanti,

asiuoli, barbagianni, alocchi tanti
quanti ne son de qui a Monpeslieri,
guanti di lana, borse da braghieri,
stando così a vostra donna davanti;

E sempre questo comparare e vendere,
con tali mercadanti il più usando
e di settembre tal diletto prendere;

e per Siena entro gir alto cridando:
moia chi cortesia vuole defendere,
che i Salimbeni antichi li dier bando.

XI

DI OTTOBRE

Di ottobre vi conseglo senza fallo
che nella Faltarona dimorate,
¹e de le frutta che vi son mangiate;
a rigle grande non vi canta gallo.

chiare l'aque vi son come cristallo,
or bevete figliuoli e restorate;
uccellar bono è a' varchi en veritate,
¹che farete nel collo nervo e callo;

¹In quell' aire che è sottile e fina
ben stanno en Pisa più chiari i pisani,
e'l genovese lungo la marina;

prender el mio consiglio non siate vani;
arrosto vi darò mesto con strina,
che 'l sentiranno i piedi con le mani.

¹ Variants followed:
line 3: castagne e ghiande, e non vi canti gallo.
line 7: delle zenzale vi sia in quantitate.
line 8: lassù farete con l'inverno il callo.

the sestet:

A terza vi leviate la mattina,
non vi laviate nè viso nè mani,
l'aglio uccide i bachi e 'l corpo affina;

se fate questo sarete più sani
che pesce in acqua chiara di marina;
seguite gli appetiti come cani.

XII

DI NOVEMBRE

Di novembre vi metto en un gran stagno
in qual parte più pò fredda pianeta,

con quella povertà che non si aqueta
¹ di moneta acquistar che fa gran danno;

ogni buona vivanda ve sia in banno,
¹ per lume faceline de verdeta,
castagne con mele aspre di Gaeta,
¹ stando tutti ensieme en briga e lagno;

Fuoco non vi sia mai ma fango e gesso,
¹ se non alquanti luochi di rimiti
che sia di venti migla lo più presso;

de vin di carne del tutto sforniti,
schernendo voi qual è più laido biesso
vegendovi star tutti sì sguarniti.

¹ Variants followed:

line 4: e neve e acqua piova sempre e gragno.
line 6: pan di saggina cotto a paglia trita.
line 8: havendo in odio ciascun il compagno.
line 10: case vi sieno a modo di romiti.

XIII

DI DECEMBRE

Di decembre vi pongo en un pantano
con fango, ghiaccio et ancor panni pochi,
per vostro cibo fermo fave e mochi,
per oste abiate un troio maremmano;

un cuocho brutto secho tristo e vano
ve dia colli guascotti e quigli pochi,
e qual tra voi à lumi dadi o rochi
tenuto sia come tra savii un vano;

Panni rotti vi do e debrilati,
appresso questo ogni omo en capegli,
botti de vin da montanar fallati;

e chi ve mira sì se meravigli
vedendovi sì brutti e rabbuffati,
tornando in Siena cusì bei fancegli.

EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

(Continued from page 218)

V. BEAULIEU AS A SATIRIST OF LEGAL PROCEDURE

IT is as a censor of the corruption of law-courts that Beaulieu makes his entry into the literary world. In 1529, after having won his case at the court of Bordeaux, he published his first work, the *Gestes des Solliciteurs de Proces*. In this poem Beaulieu gives a very minute description of the delays of justice,—a favorite subject with his predecessors, the Rhétoriciens. The “farces et sotties” popularized the theme and gave rise to the great output of poetry censuring abuses.⁹⁹

Beaulieu falls in line with his contemporaries in the arraignment of the abuses of justice, but he outdoes them in his very detailed and rather humorous picture of them. After opening with an apology to the judges, he entreats them, the lawyers and the minor court officials to be just with their clients. His aim is to put into writing, he tells us, the grievances, losses and tribulations of those who often through no fault of their own, are compelled to go to court. He states that if one wanted to write about all the troubles involved, it would probably take more than a hundred years. It is madness, Beaulieu continues, to think that for the slightest wrong done to us we are obliged to begin a law-suit. We are often led on by

⁹⁹ An article reproducing the complete text of the *Gestes* was published in the ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. II, No. 3. To the examples there given might be added, Arena, *Meygra Entreprisa Catoloqui Imperatoris*, A.D. 1536, first edition published in 1537, 12mo, Bibl. Nat., 8° Ye 134 (re-edited at Lyons in 1760 by N. Bonafous; published in the *Bibl. provenç.*, Aix, 1860), p. 122 et sqq.:—

Playdegiare volens, borsas ferrare memento.

Argentum, plumbum semper habere decet.

Marot writes on the subject of law-suits,

Pas ne diront, qu'impossible leur semble,

D'estre Chrestien & plaideur tout ensemble. (*Enfer*, ed. 1702, p. 38.)

Coquillart treats of the same subject, *Œuvres*, ed. Charles d'Héricault, Paris, 1857, vol. i, p. 179, vol. ii, p. 7.

false hopes of having speedy justice. The judge must be urged and entreated to give a hasty hearing, and generally one remains outside his door like a fool, without having accomplished what one set out to obtain from him. The lawyers are the next to be implored to take charge of the case, and they often turn a deaf ear unless they are bribed with money. The recorder is the next in rank to whom one must appeal, and he too pays no attention to the poor client unless he has ready money. When the case is finally drawn up, he waits a week or more, often with empty stomach, until the judge deigns to notice him. He keeps putting the wretch off from one day to another, not once, twice, or thrice, but long enough for him to see the whole city and its beautiful buildings! Then there follows in the poem a list, which rivals that of Scapin, of technical terms designating various documents connected with legal procedure:

Payer nous fault aussi force escriptures,
 C'est à sçauoir instrumens et procures,
 Appointemens, contractz, lettres royaulx,
 Et tant d'exploictz de ces sergens loyaulx,
 Congez, deffaulx, demandes, et defenses,
 Seaulx, contredict, actes, signetz, dispenses,
 Doubles rapportz, cas d'opposition,
 Causes aussi de recusations, etc., etc. . . .

 Et autres cas selon les grans excès,
 Et qualité de aucuns diuers proces
 Ausquelz n'a trou que on n'y trouue cheuille,
 Dont d'auoir droit chascun raille et babille.¹⁰⁰

After having paid for all these papers, if our case was not tried in the lower court, we ask that it be taken to the "parlement," and we again give gold or silver, in exchange for which we are told which documents our opponents intend to produce against us. As for consultations, advices and probations, Beaulieu relates that even ten are not sufficient, and that for each one we must lay out money. Then if the counsellor orders the client to continue his suit, in three months or more he receives a document on parchment or wax, giving the history of the case, that is, if he is willing to pay for it! All this

¹⁰⁰ Molière, *Fourberies de Scapin*, Act II, scene 8.

having been done, the case is given to other lawyers, and a "libelle appellatoire" is drawn up so that the court may be better able to understand the case. This too must be heavily paid for in fine crowns. Then the lawyer's bag must be handed over to some literary man, one of the gentlemen of the court, asking him to present the case to the first, second or third president. It often happens that when the plaintiff comes to his door to find out whether the work has been done, he is told to move on, and not to return until sent for; but if the valet is generously tipped, he is treated with great respect, and his grievance is listened to. However, if the unfortunate "solliciteur" has been greatly delayed, he often finds, upon returning to his inn, that another has eaten his meal; and if he complains to the landlady, she will make him pay for it just the same. He then goes to the stable to see if his horse has been fed, and he is always sure of finding it without hay and attached to a short tether. But he must not lose his patience, and if he is in need of money he will try to sell the horse, for the lot of the solicitor is to wait and wait, though it be four months or more since he has come from home, and though every limb ache from trotting about from one official to another.

After much delay the case is ready to be concluded, and the poor plaintiffs stand, their faces wrinkled with fear, waiting for the decision; for it often happens that they are worsted. If, however, they win, they must have plenty of money at hand in order more efficiently to prove to their opponents that they, the petitioners, were in the right. Then there are various expenses to pay, such as the fees of the lawyers and others; besides, in order to carry out the decree of the court, they again have to go through very complicated proceedings and await another decree. Wherefore, Beaulieu adds, the person is very fortunate who has no law-suit. He prays that God, who sees all, may take from men the rashness and false hope of resorting to law without a very good reason, or at least without a well-filled pocket, for this is essential when one is in need:

Pour faire fin, le plus seur seroit bien,
De laisser perdre une part de son bien,
Que de plaider, veu que sans menterie
Proces n'est rien qu'une grand Diablerie,
Ung Purgatoire, ou plustost ung Enfer,
Que disons nous? Mais est ung Lucifer

Qui (comme on dict) tout iour rengen ses Chaynes,
 Et ne paruient iamais hors de ses peynes.
 Fuyez, fuyez, fuyez (donc) ces Proces,
 Et à dormir plustost vous exercez,
 Fuyez ces Plaidz, car c'est une despence
 Dont aulcung n'a que Dueil pour recompense.
 Or donq, à toutz & toutes souuiendra
 De les fuyr, et bien vous en viendra.

The Gestes des Solliciteurs is, as we see, a long-drawn-out poem. Its style is sometimes awkward, heavy, and monotonous. The meaning is often sacrificed for the rhyme. What distinguishes it from other poems of its kind is the purely personal element, the human touches, the description of every-day things. Its greatest merit is that it gives us an insight into at least one phase of life of the sixteenth century. To return to the subject of its style, the poem shows that there was little or no distinction between the verse and the prose of the early part of this period. We cannot, therefore, apply to the *Gestes* any of the standards of modern poetry. As a historical document, sparkling with life, more vivid, perhaps, than any chronicle can ever hope to be, the work is of prime importance.

The Pater et Ave des Solliciteurs, likewise referred to in a previous chapter,¹⁰¹ is a sequel to the *Gestes*. It is in the form of a

¹⁰¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. v, p. 268. This use of the "prayer" is very common. Henry Guy, in his *l'Ecole des Rhétoriciens (Histoire de la Poésie Française au XVI^e Siècle)*, Paris, 1910, p. 95, says:

"Voilà donc de nouvelles preuves de la dextérité des rhétoriciens. Ajoutez que ces hommes adroits étaient de très doctes hommes: ayant fait presque tous de fortes études, ils connaissaient à merveille le latin, et l'idée, en conséquence, devait leur venir d'utiliser cette langue pour leurs jeux métriques, d'enrichir la littérature de quelques poèmes latins-français. Et nous les avons, ces poèmes. Certains, où domine le français, ne sont, à vrai dire, que discrètement agrémentés de mots ou de bouts de phrases provenant, en général, du *Pater*, de l'*Ave Maria*, des autres prières catholiques."

We find an example of the same thing as early as Huon le roi de Cambray's *Li Ave Maria en Roumans (Les Classiques français du moyen âge, Paris, 1913, number 13, p. 16)*. In Crétin, *Chantz royaulx | oraisons et aultres petits traictes faits | et composez par feu de bonne memoire maistre Guillaume Crétin en | son vivant chantre de la sainte chapelle royale a Paris | et tresorier du voie de Vincennes, Auec Privilege*, etc. Galliot du Pre, Paris, 1527 (privilege to print granted March 16, 1526), 8vo, Bibl. Nat., Inv. Rés. 1256, fol. 20 v°, *Oraison de la Vierge Marie*. Cf. also, Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françaises des xv^e et xvi^e siècles*, Paris, 1855-1878, vol. ix (1865), p. 191, *L'Ave Maria des Espaignolz; Le Pater Noster en Chanson*, etc.

prayer, and very similar in spirit to the first poem. In a *rondeau* at the end of the *Pater et Ave*, Beaulieu inveighs very strongly against the inventor, as he puts it, of law-suits:

Au plus parfond du creux lac plutonique,
 Ou la puante caterue diabolique
 Faict residence (et aux plus bas fossez),
 Soit colloque l'inuenteur des proces.
 Pour à iamais, en estre pacifique,
 Dans Acheron l'hydeux fleue aquatique,
 Puisse escouter de Vulcan la musique.
 Et qu'on ly plonge tant qu'il soit plusque assez,
 Au plus parfond.
 Au gouffre ou gist Demogorgon l'antique,
 Soyent par cruelle morsure draconique
 Ses oz et membres Rompuz et Conquassez,
 Puis par le chien Cerberus friquassez,
 Et mys au centre du Chaos tartarique,
 Au plus parfond.

Both the last passage cited from the *Gestes* and the *rondeau* from the *Pater et Ave*, smack decidedly of the mystery plays. In the former the poet compares law-suits to the *Grand Dyablerie*, one of the most popular of the plays. The "lac plutonique," the "puante caterue diabolique," the "fossez," the "fleuve aquatique," the "gouffre," are all accessories of the "mysteries," and show Beaulieu's familiarity with at least the commonest plays of the time.¹⁰²

VI.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE RHÉTORIQUEURS AND OF MAROT ON BEAULIEU.—*Les Divers Rapportz.*

Whatever poetic talents Beaulieu may have had before coming to Lyons, it was his contact, either personal or indirect, with the poets

¹⁰² For the *Dyablerie* see Les Frères Parfaict, *Histoire du Théâtre Français*, Paris, 1745-1749, vol. ii, p. 98: "La Déablerie. . . . Le Livre de la Déablerie de Maistre Eloy d'Arnernal qui traicte comment Sathan faict démonstrence à Lucifer de tous les maulx que les Mondains font selon leurs étatz, vacations et mestiers; & comment il les tire à dampnation. Ce Poëme a été composé vers l'année 1500. Nous ne pouvons pas assurer qu'il ait été représenté sur aucun Théâtre." The first edition was that of Michel le Noir, Paris, privilege to print dated the 29th of January, 1507. It was later printed under the title of the *Grant Dyablerie* at Paris, Veuve Trepperel, quarto, and contained from 20,000 to 22,000 verses. Rabelais mentions it in Book v, chap. xiii.

of that city which brought about the development of his gifts. In the *Gestes des Solliciteurs* we saw him as a keen observer and critic of the conditions of the day. But this work consists simply of rimed prose. Now we find him eagerly studying the poetry of his contemporaries, learning new forms, assimilating new ideas, and finally producing poems which rank with some of the best of Marot and his disciples.

In 1537 he published at Lyons the volume of poems entitled *Les Divers Rapportz*.¹⁰³

A large part of the volume is devoted to *rondeaux*, the subjects of which connect Beaulieu with the school of the Rhétoriciens rather than with the Marot of the second period—for the first productions of Marot barely differed from those of his predecessors.

¹⁰³ (A) *Les Divers | Rapportz. | Contenant Plusieurs | Rondeaux Dixains, & Ballades | sur divers propos, Chansons, Epi- | stes, Ensemble une du coq a lasne, | et une aultre de lasne au coq, Sept | Blasons anatomiques du corps fe- | minin, L'excuse du corps pudique | contre le blason des blasonneurs des | membres feminins, La Responce du | blasonneur du c . . . a l'auteur de l'apo | logie contre luy, Noms & surnoms tournez, Gestes, Pater & Ave des | solliciteurs de proces, Aultre Pater | de la ville & cite de Lectore en Ar- | maignac, Le In manus du Peuple sur | le deluge quil craignoit l'adis avenir, | Et aussi ung aultre In manus sur la | grande famine qui regna lan Mille cinq cens vingt & neuf (mesmement au pays | de Guyenne) Oraisons a Iesuchrist Epita- | phes, Une deploration, Et aucuns dictz des | Trespassez incitatifs a penser a la mort, Le tout composé par M. Eustorg, | DE BEAULIEU, Natif de la ville de Beaulieu, au bas pays | de Lymosin. Protestation & excuse dudict M. Eustorg de Beau | lieu, touchant son present Opuscul. Imprimez nouvellement a Lyon par Pierre de Saint-Lucie (dict le Prince) demeurant pres nostre Dame de Confort, 1537. Small 8vo, 150 pages, table, errata, acrostic. Municipal Library of Versailles, fonds Goujet, No. 248.*

There still exist three copies of this edition, one in the library of the city of Troyes (incomplete), one in the municipal library of Versailles (the above), and a third copy in the library of the British Museum (Cat. Grenville, I, 65).

(B) A copy of the second edition of the *Divers Rapportz* is to be found in Munich, K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, P. O. Gall, 8vo, 208: *Les divers RAP-PORTZ. Contenant plusieurs Rondeaux, Dizains, Ballades, Chansons, Epistres, Blasons, Epitaphes, & aultres ioyeusetes. Le tout compose par M. E. de Beaulieu. 1540. On les vend a Paris en la rue neufue nostre Dame a l'escu de France. Par Alain lotrian.*

(C) *Les Divers | Rapportz | Contenantz plusieurs Rondeaux, Huictains, | Dixains, Ballades, Chansons, Epistres, | Blasons, Epitaphes, & aul | tres ioyeusetes. Le tout compose par M. E. de Beaulieu. . . . On les vend a Paris en la rue neufue nostre | Dame a l'enseigne de l'escu de France. | Par Alain lotrian, 1544, 8vo, 88 pages. Bibl. Nat., Rés. Ye. 1603 (cf. Brunet, Picot, Graesse, etc.).*

It is timely to add here, however, that the line of demarcation between the under-estimated *Rhétoriciens*, on the one hand, and their successors, the forerunners of the *Pléiade*, on the other, cannot be so closely drawn. There is no abyss between them. The development (from *Rhétoriciens* to *Pléiade*) was—like all developments—gradual and continuous.

To his immediate predecessor, Collerye, whose works were published in 1536, Beaulieu is perhaps most indebted. The spirit of Beaulieu's verse is very similar to that of Collerye, who in very sincere and most appealing terms describes his own state of poverty, and the faults and imperfections of others. Collerye, too, was a priest, and an indigent one at that—a point of resemblance between the two poets. Of Collerye we read:

“ Né vers 1470 et Parisien, à ce qu'il semble, il dut s'affilier aux clercs du Palais, prendre part à leurs jeux et à leurs querelles (*Œuvres*, 271–6) et rimer quelques soties, quelques farces. A une date que nous ignorons, il entra dans les ordres, partit pour Auxerre, y devint, avant 1494, secrétaire de Jean Baillet, évêque de cette ville jusqu'en 1513, puis de François de Dinteville, qui occupa le siège épiscopal du 3 décembre 1514 au 29 avril 1530. . . . Réduit à mendier, il tâche d'émouvoir ses patrons. En somme, Roger de Collerye ne parvint pas à sortir de l'indigence, et vieillit délaissé et misérable. Il vivait encore en 1538. Pierre Roffet (Paris, 1536) avait publié ses œuvres.”¹⁰⁴

Collerye draws his inspiration largely from Villon, but never attains to his height. It is mainly in the *rondeaux* that he excels. He seems to take delight in censuring the failings of others and in giving a touching portrayal of his own misery. It is that in his verse which appealed to Beaulieu and which he successfully imitated.

Beaulieu's *rondeaux* are moralising in tone. He goes through the whole gamut of the social scale. We find in his poems flatterers, loyal servants, tale-bearers, vain courtiers, unworthy office-holders, villains, noble souls, blasphemers, those who talk in church, those who esteem men only for their money, and finally those who leave their trades to go to war. He tells how to bring up children, how to

¹⁰⁴ Guy, *L'Ecole des Rhétoriciens*, Paris, 1910, p. 332. Cf. *Les Œuvres de Maître Roger de Collerye, contenant diverses matières plaines de grant recreation et passetemps*, Paris, P. Roffet, 1536, 8vo, Bibl. Nat., Rés. Ye. 1411. Also, *Œuvres*, ed. d'Héricault-Jannet, 16mo, Paris, 1885.

serve God; he instructs us concerning honor, law-suits, credit, truth, falsehood, justice, reckless spending, liberty, arrogance, conceit, keeping one's promise and breaking it. In these titles one recognizes the whole output of the *Rhétoriciens*. It would be difficult to sift out the sources of each one, nor would it be conclusive evidence of their origin. In a general way it may be said that we owe this phase of the poetry of the early part of the sixteenth century to the stage—but this shall be treated in greater detail elsewhere.

One of the favorite subjects from Villon down, was perhaps that of the empty purse—"faute d'argent" or "plate bource." With some of the poets it meant going without the necessities of life, it meant hunger, thirst, lack of clothing, and no home. With others it was disappointment in love. For instance, Bouchet states that:

Sans argent ou chascun se fonde,
Ne pensez rien faire en ce monde,
Soit quant a iustice ou eglise.¹⁰⁵

Jean Marot shows also the importance of money:

En faict d'amours beau parler n'a plus lieu,
Car sans argent vous parlez en hebrieu.¹⁰⁶

Charles de Sainte-Marthe, too, complains that without money love is hopeless:

Que sans Argent, Amour est mal assuré.¹⁰⁷

Collerye was the poet *par excellence* of the "plate bource." He sees its disadvantages from all points of view:

Pour estre aymé il faut fonder pecune;
Nul, tant soit beau ou aymé de fortune,
S'il n'a argent ne se doit point renger,
Car sans cela il seroit en danger
De n'aquerir la grace de nesune.

And in another place:

¹⁰⁵ Bouchet, *Cy apres suyvent XII Rondeaux*, Paris, Denys Ianot, 1536. Bibl. Nat., Rés. Ye. 1637, fol. A, 7, v°, *Rondeau a ceulx qui n'ont point d'argent*.

¹⁰⁶ Jean Marot, *Œuvres*, Paris, Coustelier, 1723, rondeau, p. 224.

¹⁰⁷ *Poésie Française*, Lyon, le Prince, 1540, 8vo, Bibl. Nat., Rés. Py. 193, p. 65.

Argent ie n'ay, or massif ne monnoye

 Si biens beaucoup en ce monde i'auoye,
 L'eusse payé à ceulx que ie deuoye,
 Et les quelz m'ont longuement atendu.¹⁰⁸

Beaulieu joined in this universal outcry against poverty:

Vouldriez vous pire maladie
 (Voire et feust ce mesellerie)
 Que n'avoir maille ne denier?

 Pour iouer une momerie
 Telle que la grand dyablerie,
 Qui n'a argent en faict mestier,
 Vouldriez vous pire?¹⁰⁹

In another *rondeau*—on the usefulness of money in matters of love—he develops the same theme:

Argent faict beaucoup en amours,
 Si faict jeunesse, et bonne grace;
 Mais argent en peu d'espace
 Y faict plus qu'ung aultre en cent iours.
 Beau parler, gambades, & tours
 N'y vallent (pourbien qu'on les face)
 Argent.¹¹⁰

Clément Marot, too, takes occasion to speak of the value of money in his "Coq à L'Asne" to Lyon Jamet:

Un bon present
 Sert en amours plus que babils.¹¹¹

Jean Marot stands out as the author of a great many of these moralizing poems. In comparing his *rondeaux* with those of Beaulieu, one can readily see that there is no direct borrowing on the part of our poet—the comparison extends to the titles alone.¹¹² Sebas-

¹⁰⁸ Collerye, *Œuvres* (ed. d'Héricault), *rondeau* 21; ed. 1536, *rondeau* f. 35 v°. Cf. Picot, *Sotties*, vol. ii, p. 152.

¹⁰⁹ *Div. Rap.*, fol. 13 v°.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, *rondeau* 76.

¹¹¹ *Œuvres*, La Haye, 1702, p. 120.

¹¹² Cf. J. Marot, "De promettre et tenir" (Beaulieu, "De tenir promesse"); "De croyre trop legierement" (Beaulieu, "De ne croire trop de legier"), and many others.

tien Brandt¹¹³ and Jean Bouchet seem to have set the fashion for these didactic poems in the field of poetry. Bouchet, in the *Epistres Morales et Familieres du Trauerseur*, writes concerning the treatment of children :

Si les enfans sont de bruit & valeur,
Pensez combien est griefue la douleur
Quand quelque mal corporel les dissipe,
Ou quand la mort les prend & anticipe.¹¹⁴

He entreats the parents to be kind to them. Beaulieu is an advocate of judicial chastising :

Les pere & mere, en lassant leur mesnage
Sans chastier ont ung beau tesmoignage
En Salomon, qu'en termes triumphans
Dict que c'est eulx que hayssent leurs enfans. . . .
Qui les chastie il monstre qu'il est sage.¹¹⁵

Beaulieu gives a rather humorous picture of what must have been a common practice in his time, that of talking in church :

Pour babiller quand on est à l'église,
Et marchander fut deffendue la guise
Par Iesuchrist, quand chassa les vendeurs
Et mist à bas les tables des changeurs
Qui commettoient faictz dignes de reprise.
Mais aujourd'hui son faict quelque entreprise,
C'est dans le temple, auquel chascun s'aduse
D'en tenir plaid, quoy qu'on deust estre ailleurs
Pour babiller.
Femmes aussi ont quelque mode apprise
D'y quaqueter comme une pye prise,

¹¹³ Brandt, *La grand nef des folz du monde en laquelle chascun homme sage prenant plaisir de lire les passages des hystoires*, &c., Lyons, Juste, 1529, one vol. small folio, Bibl. Nat., Py. 2. 281. Some of the titles in the book are: "De la doctrine des enfans" (fol. xiii); "Des raporteurs detracteurs et litigieux" (fol. ix); "De prendre credit"; "Des blasphemés contre Jesu Crist"; "Des delateurs et vains raporteurs" (fol. xxxi), etc.

¹¹⁴ Bouchet, Bibl. Nat., Rés. Y. 4540, Epistre viii; fol. 24, Epistre aux peres & meres pour bien traicter & gouverner leurs enfans.

¹¹⁵ *Div. Rap.*, rond. 31, also "sur le propos du precedent," rond. 32.



(Lors que deburoient offrir à Dieu leurs cueurs)
 En regardant ung tas de gaudisseurs
 Qui font les tours attendant la remise,
 Pour babiller.¹¹⁶

He is rather sceptical about the reward of virtue—the flatterers, he says, always get into the good graces of their masters, while the loyal servants, who speak frankly, are despised.¹¹⁷ The court, too, is the subject of a great deal of criticism on the part of our author. What is the use of being called “monsieur” and of getting chilled to the bone in serving a lord and in running errands for him in cold, wind and rain? (rond. 2, fol. 2 v°). Truth, too, seems to have no place in society; falsehood always triumphs:

Pour dire vray saint Iehan perdit la teste,
 Si ferez vous qui dictes verité,
 Ou pour le moins perdrez auctorité,
 Biens, & honneurs, qu'en mentant maint acqueste,
 Le temps n'est plus qu'on face chere & feste
 Aux vrays disans, car Dieu fut mal traicté
 Pour dire vray.¹¹⁸

The portrait of Justice, according to Beaulieu, can be better painted in gold and silver than drawn with a pencil or sketched in colors. It is no longer the office of a painter but that of a silversmith to represent it!

Et ne fault pas qu'ung tel ouurier soit nice,
 Car s'il aduient qu'ung peu la main luy glisse,
 Ou n'ayt couleur d'or, ou d'argent qui vaille,
 Pour en iouyr il fauldra que l'esmaille
 Autour des doigtz, & puis les luy garnisse
 D'or, & d'argent.¹¹⁹

Everything, Beaulieu says, is at the disposal of the rich—every one tells the rich man, “monsieur, dieu vous doint ioye,” and offers him money or whatever he may happen to need, while the poor man is sent on with the consolation that God will provide for him!¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, rond. 20, f. 10.

¹¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, rond. 3, fol. 2 v°. Cf., also, Collerye, ed. d'Héricault, p. 169: *Ballade Contre les flatteurs de Court.*

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, rond. 9, “*de Vérité et Mensonge.*”

¹¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, f. 8 v°.

¹²⁰ *Op. cit.*, rond. 27, f. 13.

Contrary to the majority of his contemporaries and successors, Beaulieu praises the art of medicine:

Salomon en faict beaulx rapportz
En la sainte Bible ou il signe
Que l'homme sage ne abhomine
Medecine en ses confortz
Après Dieu.¹²¹

Three poems on death show that Beaulieu is not incapable of deep feeling. He handles the subject with no little delicacy. For example, the *rondeau* on the death of the poet's mother, which was quoted in a preceding chapter.¹²²

Among the persons to whom Beaulieu dedicated some of his *rondeaux* we find the celebrated painter Corneille of Lyons, who made portraits of the sons of Francis I., of Jacqueline de Rohan, of Marguerite de France, Madeleine de France, Claude de France, and many others.¹²³ He was one of the most popular portrait painters of the sixteenth century. Brantôme, in the "Dames Galantes," tells of the visit paid by Catherine de Médicis to Corneille, and the pleasure it gave her to contemplate in his studio her portrait as well as those of her children. The museum of Versailles contains the greater number of his paintings. Beaulieu says of Corneille (or Cornylle, as he calls him):

Pour bien tirer ung personnage au vif
Ung painctre dict Cornylle est aloué,
Et de plusieurs extimé & loué,
N'auoir en France aucun comparatif.
Car veu son oeuvre on dict de cuer hastif
C'est tel, c'est telle, O l'homme bien doué
Pour bien tirer.
Bref, ce qu'il painct monstre ung incarnatif
Qu'on diroit chair, dont il est aduoué,
N'auoir eu per, puis le temps de Noé,
Non Apelles, iadis superlatif
Pour bien tirer.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Op. cit.*, rond. 49, fol. 23, "A la louenge de l'art de medecine."

¹²² *ROM. REV.*, vol. v, p. 255.

¹²³ Cf. Léon Horsin-Déon, *Les Portraitistes français de la Renaissance*, 1483-1627, Paris, 1888, p. 101; cf., also, Montaiglon, *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art*, 1872, p. 110, etc.

¹²⁴ *Div. Rap.*, rond. 69.

Were we to judge portraitists solely by the standard set up by Beaulieu in the first part of his poem many artists would doubtless deserve the name of "great." Fortunately in estimating Corneille's portraits, our poet is not content that one can recognize the sitter, but adds a criterion of a more exacting nature. Corneille, he declares, "monstre ung incarnatif Qu'on diroit chair"!

In Beaulieu's verse there is very little which shows any direct borrowing from Italian sources. We find none of the conceits which had already become rather well known to the poets of his time. The only poem, indeed, in the whole collection which suggests any Italian influence is the following, in which we find the theme of the voluntary prisoner:

Prisonnier suis, à maintz aultres contraire,
 Car leur vueil est d'estre loing de leur garde,
 Et i'ay desir que la mienne me garde,
 Pour des prisons de soulcy me deffaire.
 D'un en bonté & beaulté singuliere
 (De qui le temps de la voyr trop me tarde)
 Prisonnier suis.
 Nostre alliance est que ie me declaire
 Son prisonnier, & qui bien y regarde
 Ma garde elle est, mais mal me contregarde,
 Car son absence est cause qu'en misere
 Prisonnier suis.¹²⁵

Beaulieu differs but little from his predecessors in the choice of subjects but the absence of love poems sets him apart from most of his contemporaries. The reader may also be willing to admit that the threadbare themes of the *Rhétoriciens* when handled by Beaulieu seem to have more life and less artificiality. We are not so conscious of the mechanism behind them. There is one thing which makes Beaulieu conspicuous and that is his love and appreciation of

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, rond. 88, "D'ung prisonnier contraire aux aultres." Cf. Marot, *Élégie I*, p. 47 (ed. 1702):

Finalement avec le Roy mon maistre,
 Delas les monts prisonnier se vit estre
 Mon triste corps, navré en grand souffrance,
 Mais quant au cuer, puis tu es la garde
 De sa prison, d'en sortir il n'ha garde
 Car telle prison luy semble plus heureuse . . .

nature. The beauty of nature played but little part in the lives of the people of the sixteenth century—at any rate they seldom wrote of it. We find almost no landscape description. For Beaulieu nature is a source of inspiration and also of physical comfort. He writes of the forest :

En la forest a mainte chose,
 En la forest on se repose,
 En la forest fait beau chasser,
 Beau chanter, beau le temps passer,
 Beau composer en Rhyme & Prose.
 Tous motz ioyeux on y propose,
 On y rid, on raille, on marmose,
 Et s'il pleut on vient s'adresser
 En la forest.
 Maint connin y est en sa crose,
 Et maint Ruysseau qui l'herbe arrose,
 Sur laquelle on se vient coucher
 Au temps nouveau sans se fascher
 Ou mainte pensée est declose¹²⁶
 En la forest.

A dixain in the same vein extols the usefulness of the barn, while a third praises the shade of the vine-arbor, not without appreciating the juice of the grape :

Il n'est que l'ombre de la treille
 Pour se rafreschir plaisamment,
 Et ny a umbre sa pareille
 Ne qui tienne plus freschement,
 Et si est saine grandement,
 Puis tronc, branches, fruitz et la fueille,
 (Mais qu'en leur saison on les cueille)
 Tout est a l'homme secourable,
 Et (qui est de plus grand merueille)
 Leur liqueur est tres prouffitable.¹²⁷

One of the few evidences that our poet knew Latin is a rather clumsy translation of an anacreontic poem by Melancthon :

¹²⁶ *Div. Rap.*, rond. 92, f., 37 v°, "*A la louenge de la forest.*"

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.*, dix. 7, "*De l'ombre de la treille.*"

Ung iour aduint que Cupido du ciel,
 Pour se repaistre en bas voulut descendre,
 En un verger, ou des mouches à miel
 Auoient leurs nidz (pour de leur liqueur prendre),
 Mais une mousche au furt le vint surprendre,
 Et luy picqua les mains tant qu'il seigna;
 Lors de douleur de ses piedz trepigna,
 Et à Venus feiste plainte de l'iniure,
 Qui s'en mocqua (disant), filz que craigna
 Ton corps la mouche, alors que t'empoigna,
 Veu que toy seul blesses toute nature?¹²⁸

A poem entitled "Cinq Placquars mys par les dictz paintres le iour de la feste du Sacrement audit an (1536) autour de l'eschaffault où ilz iouerent le Murmurement & fin de Chore, Dathan, et Abiron," together with a ballade "pour dire par ung personnage, au commencement de l'histoire morale de l'enfant prodigue," brings us to the question whether Beaulieu was also a dramatic author. Beauchamps, in his *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, reprints the two poems of Beaulieu, with the following statement:

"Les deux pièces que je viens de transcrire, servent à le faire insérer parmi les poètes dramatiques qui ont précédé le premier âge de la comédie; il est incertain si le Murmurement de Chorè, Dathan & Abiron est de lui, ce qui pourtant est assez vraisemblable. A l'égard de la moralité de l'enfant prodigue, le fait n'est plus clair; Du Verdier en indique une édition à Lyon, Benoist Chaussard sans date, et si cette édition est différente de l'histoire de l'enfant prodigue attribuée à Antoine Tyron, par La Croix du Maine & imprimée selon lui à Anvers en 1584 sous le titre de comédie, il y a apparence que l'édition citée par du Verdier est celle de la moralité

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.*, *Amor Mellilegus, Philip Melanthon commençant, E paruo alueolo &c, traduit par L'auteur comme s'ensuyt, f. 49.* Cf. Melanthon, *Opera Omnia*, Halle, 1842, vol. x, p. 486:

E parvo alveolo furantem mella procacem
 Fixit apis puerum Veneris, digitosque tenellos
 Vulnere non uno laceravit, saucia laeso
 Intumuit que manus, verum puer ipse doloris
 Impatiens, plodensque solum pernicious alisis
 Subuolat ad matrem, digitos monstratque cruentes,
 Quantula ait, volucris mortalis vulnere fecit,
 Mater ait ridens, tantillus qualis saepe
 Vulnere das puer, ac apibus non corpore praestas.

faite par Eustorg; il faudroit pour en mieux juger, avoir vu les deux éditions, & je n'ai vu ni l'une ni l'autre."¹²⁹

We see that first Beauchamps, speaking of the "Enfant Prodigue," says that though it is uncertain whether Eustorg was its author, yet it is probable. A little later he seems to consider it a positive fact. One can reasonably suppose that the author of the prologue presented his own piece to the public; that this was the case cannot be proved. We presume that had the mystery been written by Beaulieu he would have taken care to mention the fact, as he did with all his other compositions. It is also very natural to suppose that Beaulieu, as a poet, was asked to write the prologue to the play, especially as we have seen that he was somewhat interested in the theatre. It is also just as possible that Beaulieu's prologue was never even read at the performance of the play.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Beauchamps, *Recherches sur les théâtres de France* (Paris, Prault père, 1735, 2 vols.), vol. i, p. 151.

¹³⁰ For the *Enfant prodigue* cf. *Bibliothèque française de la Croix du Maine et Du Verdier*, articles *Ant. Tryon* and *Enfant*. Also, Lérès, *Le dictionnaire portatif, historique et littéraire des théâtres*, &c. (Paris, Jombert, 1763), article *Enfant*. Cf. Brunet and his *Supplément*, and Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 3d edition, 1879, 4 vols., 8vo. The morality which some authors attribute to Beaulieu is *Le Mirouer et exemple Moralle des enfans ingratz pour lesquels les peres et meres se destruisent pour les augmenter qui à la fin les descognoissent* (Brunet, article *Miroir*). There is extant an edition published at Lyons by Rigaud in 1589, 16mo. The first edition, from the library of La Vallière, is now in the library Méjanès at Aix-en-Provence. It was reprinted at Aix in 1836 (12mo, 66 copies). Rigoley de Juvigny attributes this play to Antoine Tyron. The Abbé Mercier de Saint Léger, in one of his notes, says that Beaulieu may be its author, and M. Rouard, the librarian at Aix, accepts this attribution. (Cf. *Notice sur la bibliothèque d'Aix*, Aix, 1831, p. 196; also Brunet.) Barbier and Brunet repeat this opinion without contradicting it, and make the observation that one must not confuse the "Enfant ingrat" with the "Enfant prodigue," translated by Tyron from the Latin of Macropedius. According to Clément-Simon (p. 41 of the article on Beaulieu, from which most of this information is taken) both of the bibliographers erred—"La *Moralle des enfans ingrats* n'a pour auteur ni Antoine Tyron ni Eustorg de Beaulieu. Nous viendrons tout à l'heure à Tyron. En ce qui touche Eustorg et son prologue, le titre seul de 'enfans ingrats' indique que le sujet est distinct de l'histoire de l'enfant prodigue. La fable n'a aucun rapport avec la parabole évangélique. Il s'agit d'un enfant pour lequel ses père et mère se sont dépouillés au point d'être réduits à la mendicité. L'enfant refuse de les recevoir, les renie et leur fait jeter du pain de ses chiens. Dieu le punit, sa figure est changée en crapaud. Il est alors touché de repentir, mais il ne peut être absous, et sur la prière de sa mère, que par le pape lui-même. L'enfant ingrat est riche, marié à la fille d'un grand

In the prologue, having the form of a *ballade*, Beaulieu exhorts all persons to refrain from "noyse," so that they can hear the story of the foolish child who dissipated all his father's wealth:

seigneur; c'est son opulence qui fait ressortir son ingratitude. Aucun rapport avec l'enfant prodigue de l'Evangile, celui de la ballade-prologue d'Eustorg dont le refrain est

Ung jeune fils de parens mal instruit,
Mist au bordeau le bien qu'eust de son père.

La morale des enfans ingrats n'est pas davantage d'Antoine Tyron. Cette attribution de Rigoley de Juvigny est erronée, comme le déclare Brunet. D'après La Croix-du-Maine, Tyron est l'auteur da l' 'Histoire de l'enfant prodigue,' réduite et estendue en forme de comédie et nouvellement traduite du latin en françois, par Ant. Tyron. Anvers, 1564. (Cf. La Croix-du-Maine, art. *Ant. Tyron*; also Du Verdier, *Enfant Prodigue*, and Brunet, *Macropedius*.)

Cette comédie est-elle traduite de Macropedius (Lanckvelde), hollandais, comme l'indiquent Brunet, Barbier et autres, ou de Gnapheus (Volder), aussi hollandais, comme l'assure La Monnoye sur La Croix-du-Maine? La question n'est pas de notre sujet. Mais cette traduction ni même l'original latin n'avaient paru en 1537, date de la publication des *Divers rapports*. Rigoley de Juvigny dit avec raison que c'est une autre 'Histoire de l'enfant prodigue' et non celle-ci qui peut être attribuée à Eustorg de Beaulieu." (Clément-Simon, p. 41.)

There is an "Enfant prodigue par personnages, nouvellement translaté de latin en françois selon le texte de l'Evangile. Et lui bailla son père sa part laquelle il despendit meschamment avec de folles femmes." Paris, n. d., 4to, Goth, 10ff. This copy belonged to the library La Vallière. Brunet, following the catalogue of Soleinne (*Catalogue des livres de M. de Soleinne par le Bibliophile Jacob*, 1843-1844, 5 vols.), cites another edition, published at Rouen (n. d. and 20ff., 4to), which he takes to be a reproduction of the preceding, even though there is a variant in the end of the title.

The *Bibliographie de Bure* (*Cat. de la Bibliographie de M. le duc de La Vallière*, Première partie, Guillaume de Bure, 1783, 3 vols., 8vo. (*mss. et livres rares*); 2e Partie, de Nyon, 1788, 6 vols., 8vo, *autres livres*, now at the Arsenal) mentions *La moralité de l'enfant prodigue mise par personnages et en rimes françoises* (n. d., 4to, Goth). It is analyzed in the *Histoire du théâtre françois* by the Frères Parfaict, vol. iii, pp. 139 ff. Du Verdier mentions another edition in the *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*, vol. i, p. 4; *Histoire de l'Enfant prodigue, par laquelle est démontrée la vie misérable où parviendront ceux qui dépensent leurs biens prodigement*, Lyon, Pierre Rigaud, 16mo. Ce mystère est à 11 personnages. On p. 3 of the same volume we find *Le Mirouer et l'Exemple des Enfans Ingrats, pour lesquels les peres et meres se detruisent pour les augmenter, qui à la fin les descognoissent*. Moralité à 18 personnages, 4to, Goth, Lyon, Benoit Rigaud, 1589, 16mo.

In Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du Théâtre Comique en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 4to, 1886), p. 57, is noted a performance of a play, *L'Enfant prodigue*, at Laval in 1504, another at Bethune in 1532 and 1563, a third at Cadillac sur Garonne about 1538, and finally one at Limoges in 1539.

Tout homme & femme estant en ceste place,
 Ayant espoir prendre esbat & deduyt,
 Souffrez ung peu, sans que nul se desplace,
 Et vous gardez de faire noyse & bruyt,
 Car (dieu aydant) deuant que soit la nuyct,
 Verrez iouer comme, & par quel maniere
 Ung ieune filz, des parents mal instruyt,
 Mist au bordeau le bien qu'eust de son pere.

Tenez vous quoy, chascun se face arriere,
 Parlez tout beau, abbaissez voz quaquetez,
 Vous gens d'eglise entendez la matiere,
 Et vous marchans qui faictes grands acquetz,
 Gens de iustice en lieu de voz parquetz,
 Prenez cy lieu pour ouyr le mistere
 D'ung fol enfant, lequel par ses hucquetz
 Mist au bordeau le bien qu'eust de son pere.

Dames d'honneur, bourgeoyses & marchandes,
 Parlez tout beau, tenez vous coyement,
 Vous raliant par troupeaulx & par bendes,
 Et vous labeur (aussi) pareillement
 Tout pere & mere, escoutez hardiment,
 Et vous orrez la facon trop legere
 D'ung qu'en deffault d'auoir bon chastiment
 Mist au bordeau le bien qu'eust de son pere.

Prince eternal ie te prie humblement.
 Donne nous grace accomplir l'exemplaire
 (A ton honneur) du filz qui follement
 Mist au bordeau le bien qu'eust de son pere.

As for the *Cinq Placquarts* relating to the *Murmurement et fin de Choré Dathon et Abiron*, there is no reason to believe that our poet wrote the play, nor are there any traces of it, so far as we know, in the collections of plays of the period.¹³¹

¹³¹ Fage in his article on Beaulieu (*Eustorg de Beaulieu, Poète et Musicien du XVI^e S., Avec une notice bibliographique, par René Fage, Bulletin de la Soc. des Lettres et Arts de la Corrèze, 1880*) says:

"Je ne vois pas pourquoi nous nous montrerions plus difficiles que les contemporains de Beauchamps et nous disputerions à Eustorg de Beaulieu la qualité de poète dramatique. Ils étaient plus près des sources que nous, connaissaient mieux les traditions. Le fait certain est que du temps de Beauchamps et dès le XVI^e siècle, il était classé parmi les auteurs dramatiques. Staff s'appuyant de

In the ballades which follow, Beaulieu again resumes his censorial tone, arraigning the sins and abuses which reign in the world¹⁸²—hostility of Christian to Christian, lubricity, avarice, simony, vain-glory, pride and presumption. He is confident, however, that God will come to punish the evil-doers. His cry is the well-known one, that times have greatly changed, that things are not what they were. Being poor, he feels most deeply the oppression of the poor by the rich and the advantage that wealth brings with it:

On n'estime plus maintenant
 Ung homme eust-il le sens d'Homere,
 S'il n'est riche & grandz biens tenant,
 Quoy qu'il soit trompeur & faulsaire.
 Et ce sont ceulx qu'on reuere
 Sans qu'on les ose brocarder.
 Mais quelque paoure de bon ayre,
 Soit noble, clerc, ou mercenaire
 Chascun veult, chascun gourmander.¹⁸³

There is quite a Villonesque air about the ballade concerning the fate of all of us mortals after death—pope, legate, emperor, king, prince, duke, lord, bourgeois, peasant, prodigal, poor man, priest, monk, abbess, nun,—

Qu'est ce (mon Dieu) de nous que pourriture
 Qu'est ce mort nous met tous à l'enuers?
 Qu'est ce pour vray de toute creature
 Qu'est ce à la fin de nous, qu'ung sac de vers?¹⁸⁴

l'opinion mentionnée par l'auteur des *Recherches*, ne craint pas d'ajouter qu'on peut aussi mettre au compte d'Eustorg une pièce jouée à Lyon en 1540, qui eut beaucoup de succès, et dont Marmontel dans ses *Eléments de littérature* parle avec éloge, *L'Histoire de l'enfant ingrat*."

The fact that no trace of the *Murmurement* exists is also mentioned in a note of the edition of *Le Mystère du Vieil Testament*, *Anc. Textes fr.*, vol. iii, p. cx, " Cette pièce, qui devait être plus développée que les scènes correspondantes de notre grand drame, ne nous a pas été conservée; mais nous possédons cinq *placquarts* composés par Eustorg de Beaulieu pour annoncer la représentation."

¹⁸² *Div. Rap.*, La premiere Ballade, *d'aulcuns pechez et abus publiques qui regnent maintenant au monde*, f. 50.

La ii, Ballade *sur le propos de la precedente*, f. 51.

La iii, Ballade *d'aucunes mauuaises coustumes qui regnent maintenant*, etc., f. 52 v°.

¹⁸³ *Op. cit.*, ballade iv, f. 52 v°.

¹⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, f. 54.

Les femmes sont doulces d'humble maniere,
Et ont pitié, aussi souuent on voit
Qu'à leur requeste, & deuote priere,
Le roy Iesus son bon peuple pouruoit.
Bref, sans leur ayde ung homme se perdroit
Et ne vault rien si'l n'a secours des femmes.
(Ballade xiii, f. 60 v^o)

Ou voit on femme à Eue estre semblable
 Viuant en paix auecques son espoux?
 Et qui luy soit si humaine & traictable
 Fors bien souuent à le charger de coups?

 Pourquoi ie dy qu'ung homme sus & sous
 Plus ayse est seul qu'avec telle dyablesse.

 Femmes plusieurs ont l'esprit variable
 Et fort cruel quoy qu'elles parlent doux.

¹⁸⁵ The versification scheme of the ballades is as follows (all verses are decasyllabic; *m* stands for masculine rime, *f* stands for feminine):

No. I.—3 stanzas of 11 lines, 1 (envoie) of 6: $a'b^mabbcc^mcd'ccd \times a^mab'c^mab$.

No. II.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 5: $a'b^mabbcb'bbc \times a^mb'aab$.

No. III.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 6: $a^mb^mabbcb'bbc \times a^mab'aab$.

No. IV.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 5: $a^mb'abbcc^mbcbc \times a'b^mabab$.

No. V.—2 stanzas of 6 lines, 1 of 4: $a^mb'abcc^mc \times a'ab^mbb$.

No. VI.—3 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4: $a^mb'abbcb^mbc \times a'b^mab$.

No. VII.—6 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4 (*dissonante et double*):
 $a^mb'abbcb^mbc \times a'b^mab$.

No. VIII.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 5: $a^mb'abbcb^mbbc \times a'b^mab$.

No. IX.—3 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4 (*dissonante*): $a'b^mabbcb'bc \times a^mb'ab$.

No. X.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 4: $a'ab^mabbcc^mbc \times a^mab^mb$.

No. XI.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 4: $a'ab^maabbc'c \times a^mab'b$.

Beaulieu, as we know, was very fond of music and was a composer of some merit. In the *Divers Rapportz* he published twelve songs, but without the music. One of the most graceful songs of the collection is the following (No. 1) :

Mondain seiour i'ay perdu ta presence,
 Mais ie te pry que ton retour soit brief,
 Vien-t'en à moy, car malheur m'est trop grief
 Et prens mon cueur, ie t'en donne puissance.¹⁸⁶

Another song quite as dainty and revealing a strong sentiment for nature is the following :

Voicy le bon temps
 Que chascun s'apreste
 D'aller sur les champs
 Pour luy faire feste,
 Sur la gay herbete
 En nous deduysant,
 D'une chansonette
 Faisons lui present (Chanson 7, f. 64 v°).

These songs are followed in our volume by eleven epistles, mostly

No. XII.—3 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4: $a^mb'abbcm^bcb \times a'b^mab$.

No. XIII.—3 stanzas of 9 lines, 1 of 5: $a'b^mabbcb^bbcb \times a^mb'aab$.

No. XIV.—3 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4: $a'b^mabbcb^bbcb \times a^mb'ab$.

¹⁸⁶ *Div. Rap.*, f. 62 v°.—The other songs are :

2. C'est assez dict ie vous entendz Madame.
3. Les enuieulx ne leurs motz si cuysans,
4. On dict que c'est ung grand soulas.
5. Mondain seiour i'ay perdu ta presence.
6. Fy de Venus, & de son passetemps.
7. Voicy le bon temps.
8. Puis que t'en vas, ne scay ou ie m'aplique.
9. Plaisant Bordeaulx, noble, & royal domaine.
10. Le temps n'est plus tel comme il souloit estre.

This last poem resembles one by Michel d'Amboise cited earlier in this study, "Amour morte est, foy est enseveli." Amboise speaks of "amour, loyaulté, prudence, honneur, lyesse, sagesse follye, justice, sainte doctrine, Dieu, faulseté, tort, enuie, faulx rapport, inique finesse," while Beaulieu's list includes "loyall amour, foy, l'eglise, verité, faueur, justice, charité." Both poets complain that all the virtues are dead and only the vices reign in the world. For the same theme cf. Marot, "Au bon vieux temps" (vol. i, p. 296). Cf. also, Héroet, *Parfait Amour*, ed. Gohin, *Textes fr. modernes*, p. xxviii, and p. 10; cf. *Amie de Court* of La Borderie.

For a treatment of these songs and others by Beaulieu consult a later chapter.

of a biographical nature. Two of them connect Beaulieu very intimately with Marot,—the epistles of the “Coq à l’asne,” in which Beaulieu imitates his master rather closely.¹³⁷ We find in the poems a few direct borrowings. Beaulieu’s *coqs a l’asne* may not be so graceful as those of Marot, but they do not deserve the harsh criticism which they have received. The Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, who reprinted the two poems in question in his edition of the works of Marot, writes :

“Mais Marot s’est exercé en une sorte d’Epistre qu’on n’a pas encore imitée : ce sont le 42, et 43 du Coq à l’asne ; car je compte pour rien celles qu’Eustorg de Beaulieu a prétendu faire dans le même genre, qu’il nomma les *Epîtres de l’asne au Cocq*. Autant on voit dans celles de Marot de délicatesse, de fine raillerie, de traits historiques accompagnez toujours, à son ordinaire, du sel picquant d’une agréable Satire ; autant trouve-t-on dans l’autre poète, son contemporain, de fatuité, de pensées molles et sans force, de fadeur et même de dégoût.”¹³⁸

Beaulieu’s two *coqs a l’asne* abound in proverbs, in attacks on the clergy and on the Sorbonne, in names of heroes of the “chansons de geste,” and in lines taken from popular songs.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Epistre x, *Du coq à l’asne enuoyée de par L’auteur a noble Charlotte de Maumont pour lors damoiselle de la royne*, 1537, f. 84 ; and Epistre xi, *De l’asne au coq, enuoyée de par L’auteur, à Jacques Thibault parisien pour lors secrétaire de la Maison de Castelnau de Bretenoux, en Quercy*, f° 88. Cf. Marot, ed. 1702, vol. i, p. 120, *Du Coq a l’Asne a Lion Jamet*.

¹³⁸ Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Œuvres de Marot*, 6 vols., The Hague, 1731, vol. i, Preface, p. 107.

¹³⁹ Among the proverbs we find :

- a. Et d’aulture part, on voit souuent
Boire deuant soleil leuant
Les petis garçons.

(Cf. Rabelais, Livre ii, 347, ed. Moland.)

- b. Car ie vous prometz que sur l’eau
Faict mal danser une gaillarde.

(The “gaillarde” was a very lively dance. Cf. Kastner, *Parémiologie musicale de la langue française*, Paris, n. d., p. 615 a.

- c. Autant trotte une iument
En plat pays qu’une escriuisse.

- d. Et aussi tel souuent menasse
Qui a grand peur destre batu.

(In Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre de proverbes français*, Paris, 1859, vol. ii, p. 423,

It is in connection with the *blasons* that our poet's name is perhaps best known. In 1534 Marot wrote the famous epigram, *Du* we find: "Tel menace qui ne m'ose touchier; Tel menace qui n'est gueres audace; Tel menace qui puis est battu; Tel menasse qui craint.")

e. Les premiers fruyctz sont tous nouveaulx
Selon la quarte galicane.

f. Car le boire matin porte heur
Au dire des Pantagruelistes.

(Cf. Rabelais, *Gargantua*, xxi, p. 185. Also a note of Abel Lefranc, *Rev. des Et. Rabelaisiennes*, 1911, p. 172, on the earliest mentions of Pantagruel, in which this example, furnished by the author of the study on Beaulieu, is quoted.)

g. Mais vault la babillerie
Si on n'a les escus contens.

(*Read (?)*: Si on a les escus contens. Cf. *Le Roux de Lincy*, ii, p. 112, "Il n'y a rien de plus éloquent que l'argent comptant.")

h. Ce n'est sinon que perdre temps
D'apprendre à danser une Truye.

i. Toutesfois c'est ung grant reproche
A ung marchand d'estre trompeur.

j. Ainsi qu'ung chien ronge l'os,
Ainsi de nuit en maintes sortes
Les amoureux rongent les portes.

k. A la queue gist le venin.

(*Le Roux de Lincy*, i, p. 198, "En la queue et en la fin, Gist de coutume le venin.")

l. Tel disne aujourd'huy chez son hoste
Qui s'en yra sans le payer.

m. Car la fin d'amours n'est que pleurs,
Se dict ma grandmere Laurence.

n. C'est ung bon liure qu'ung psaultier
Pourveu que chascun ne l'entende.

o. Car maint bon chaussetier propose
Ce que Dieu ne dispose apres.

p. Car depuis ny eut beste a l'ombre
Que le soleil ne fust leué.

(*Le Roux de Lincy*, i, p. 132, "Quand le soleil est couché il y a bien des bêtes à l'ombre.")

q. Et qu'apres qu'une Chieure est morte
Ne la fault plus mener aux champs.

r. Si tu vois brusler ta maison
Incontinent ferme la porte,
Pourque la fumée n'en sorte,
Car elle est bonne au mal des yeulx, etc., etc.

beau tetin. His disciples tried to emulate him, and thus all the parts of the body became the objects of *blasons* and of *contre-blasons*. Among the *blasonneurs* were Maurice Scève, Antoine Heroet, Jacques Pelletier, Claude Chapuys, Pierre le Lieur, Lancelot Carles, Hugues Salel, Mathieu de Vauzelles, Michel d'Amboise, Victor Brodeau, Mellin de S. Gelais, Gilles d'Aurigny, Bonaventure des Perriers, Estienne Forcadel, Sagon, J. Garey, d'Apt, and others. Several of the *blasons* were printed at the end of a volume by Léon Battista Alberti, entitled *l'Hecatomphe*.¹⁴⁰ These poems were united under the title of *Fleur de Poésie françoise*. In the *Divers Rapportz* are to be found the seven *blasons* contributed by Beaulieu. They were not included in the *Fleur*.

In the *Art Poétique* of Sibilet we read concerning the *blason*:

"Le Blason est une perpetuelle louange ou continuel vitupere de ce qu'on s'est proposé blasonner. De quelconque coing soit il sorty, le plus bref et le meilleur: mesque il soit agu en conclusion: & est plus doux en ryme plat, & vers de huit syllabes: encores que ceux de dix n'en soient pas reiettes comme ineptes: ainsi que tu peux voir aux blasons du Sourcil (le mieux fait au iugement de Marot)."¹⁴¹

The *blason* did not originate in the sixteenth century. According to Tilley¹⁴² it was a development of the mediaeval *dit*, and came into fashion at the close of the fifteenth century, "the most notable examples of this time being Coquillart's *Blason des armes* and the *Grand Blason des Faulces Amours* of Guillaume Alexis. In the next generation Roger de Collerye wrote a *Blason des dames* in the

¹⁴⁰ Alberti, *Hecatomphe*. *De vulgaire Italien tourné en langage François. Les fleurs de Poesie François*. Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1534. There is an earlier edition, entitled *Hecatomphe | On les vend en la rue neufue nostre Dame a l'enseigne | saint Nicolas, etc., par Pierre sergent, 1529* (Picot, Catal. Rothschild, no. 803, p. 539). Another edition, bearing no date, was published by Juste, at Lyons. Bibl. Nat., Rés. Ye. 3437.

¹⁴¹ *Art Poeti | que François. | Pour l'instruction des ieunes studieux, & encor peu auances | en la Poésie François. Avec le Quintil Horatian, | sur la defence & illustration | de la langue François. Renue & augmentée | A Paris | Par la ruefue Jean Ruelle | .rue S. Iacques, à l'enseigne | Saint Nicolas. | 1573.* Bibl. Nat., Inv. Ye. 7202, p. 148. *Du Blason, & de sa definition & description*, Chap. x. The earliest edition is that of Gilles Corrozet, 1548.

¹⁴² *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1904, vol. i, p. 89, note.

form of a dialogue, and Pierre Gringoire a *Blason des heretiques*.¹⁴³

The *Blasons anatomiques du corps féminin*, which contained the seven *blasons* by Eustorg de Beaulieu, were published in 1550.¹⁴⁴ They met with very severe criticism. Bulteius addressed the following Epigram to the *blasonneurs*:

Ad Poetas Gallos, qui muliebra membra laudarunt,
Foemina quid uestra depingitur arte, poetas?
Depingi uiuo nulla colore potest.¹⁴⁵

Marot then dedicated an epistle to those who, after the Epigram on the *beau Tetin*, composed imitations of it:

Nobles Esprits de France Poétique,
Nouveaux Phebus surpassons les antiques,
Graces vous rends, dont avez imité,

¹⁴³ For the question of *blasons* consult also P. Jacob, *Recherches bibliographiques sur des livres rares et curieux*, Paris, p. 144; Picot, *Français Italiens*, Paris, 2 vols., 1906-07, p. 236; *Œuvres* of Coquillart (ed. d'Héricault), vol. ii, p. 147: "Le Blason était donc bien à place à la fin du xv^e siècle. Il est impossible d'affirmer que Coquillart ait inventé ce cadre poétique, mais il est évident du moins qu'il contribua singulièrement à le vulgariser." Cf. Baur, *Maurice Scève*, p. 36 et sqq.

¹⁴⁴ *Sensuivent | Les Blasons | Anatomiques, du corps fe | minin, Ensemble les Contre | blasons, de nouveau composez, & additionnez, Avec | les figures, le tout mis par | ordre. Composez par plu | sieurs Poètes contempo | rains. Avec la table, des | dictz Blasons & contre- | blasons. Imprimez | en ceste An | née | Pour Charles l'An | gelier | 1550. 16mo, 86 ff. Cf. Picot, Catal. Rothschild, vol. i, no. 810. There is an imperfect copy of this edition at the Arsenal, 8516 B. L. The book was reprinted by Méon, Paris, 1807, 8vo, with a short introduction on the *blason*. It was originally believed that there existed an edition by Juste, 1536, but no trace of the volume has been found. Cf. also Brunet, vol. i, 970. Becker, in his study of Beaulieu as a musician (Paris, 1880), believed there was an edition of 1536. The *blasons* were probably circulated in manuscript before being published. Beaulieu, in his *Chrest. Res.*, p. 207 (published in 1546), also speaks of a book entitled the *Blasons anathomiques*.*

The 1550 edition contains the *blasons* by Beaulieu in the following order: *Du C.*, fol. 10^o; *du P.*, 33^o; *du Nez*, 15^o; *de la Joue*, 11^o; *de la langue*, 13^o; *de la Dent*, 16^o; *de la Voix*, 52^o; *Response du Blason du C.*, 33^o; *L'Excuse du Corps pudique*, 55^o.

The *blasons* of Beaulieu were reprinted in the critical edition of Marot (The Hague, 4 vols., 1731, vol. iii, p. 375), under the title of *Sept blasons anatomiques du Corps féminin*.

¹⁴⁵ *Joannis Vultei Remensis Epigrammaton libri iv, ejusdem Xenia* (Lyons, Parmentier, 1538). Bibl. Nat., Y. 2817a.

Non un Tetin beau par extrémité,
 Mais un Blason
 En me suivant vous avez blasonné :
 Dont hautement je me sens guerdonné.¹⁴⁶

He mentions the fact that Maurice Scève was given the laurel for his blason *du Sourcil* by the princess Renée de France. He informs his disciples that he intends to join in the *contre-blasons*, a sort of parody on the blasons, describing the ugly and the grotesque, but he warns them not to indulge in *saletés*.¹⁴⁷ These *contre-blasons* were also published in the 1550 edition. Among the contributors to the volume was Beaulieu who thereby drew upon himself the wrath of many poets. An anonymous author attacked these *blasonneurs* in an epistle cited by Beaulieu beginning thus :

Deportez-vous, o glorieux folastres,
 Deportez-vous (dis ie) vains ydolatres.¹⁴⁸

Though his name was not mentioned, Beaulieu was especially the object of criticism on account of two of his scatological *blasons*. His answer to these attacks is none too delicate. Gilles Corrozet published a *blason* against the *blasonneurs des membres*, arraigining the writers of obscene poems :

L'ung s'entremect de descripre ung Tetin,
 Et l'autre ung ventre aussi blanc que satin,
 L'ung painct les yeulx, l'autre les cheueulx blondz,
 Mais plus cela tend à concupiscence,
 Qui à demostrer de beaulté l'excellence,
 Las n'y a il que ceulx la que i'a dict?
 Certes si a, & si aulcun mesdict

¹⁴⁶ Marot, *Œuvres*, La Haye, vol. i, p. 166.

¹⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 168 :

Mais je vous pry, que chacun Blasonneur
 Vueille garder en ses escrits honneur,
 Arriere mots, qui sonnent salement,
 Parlons aussi des membres seulement
 Que l'on peult voir la honte descouvers,
 Et des honteux ne souillons point nos vers,
 Car quel besoing est-il mettre en lumiere
 Ce qu'est Nature à cacher coustumiere?

¹⁴⁸ The poem is cited in the *Excuse du corps pudicque, enuers ceulx qui ont composé le liure intitulé: Blasons anatomiques. Div. Rap.*, f. 103.

De leurs escriptz, c'est sans faire nuysance
 A luer parler & parfaicte elegance,
 Mais du subiect c'est le plus ord et salle
 Dont fut parlé iamais en Chambre ou Salle.

Delaissez donc tels escriptz trop horribles,
 Et ensuyerez icelluy qui blasonne
 L'effect de mort qui repos à tous donne,
 Car qui de mort la souunance aura,
 Aultres blasons iamais il ne fera.¹⁴⁹

Beaulieu took a very active part in the *blason* controversy, and this prominence brought upon the rest of his works criticism which he hardly deserved.

The *blasons* are followed in the *Divers Rapportz* by anagrams of many of the most prominent names of the sixteenth century. That of Beaulieu himself is *bouche de verité Hector de Beaulieu*.¹⁵⁰

The *Gestes des Solliciteurs*, the *Pater de la ville de Lectore*, the *In Manus du Peuple sur le deluge*, and the *In Manus dudict peuple sur la Famine*, of which we have already spoken, were reprinted in the 1537 edition of the *Divers Rapportz*, but they do not figure in later editions of the same work. The *Oraisons a Jesuchrist* which follow the above poems are of no particular merit, though they are not devoid of some grace. The epitaphs of François de la Tour and the "deploration" of the same, are Beaulieu's best in that genre. We have cited them also in previous chapters. He wrote in addition an epitaph for the Dauphin, thus following the example of most of the poets of the day:

Il est mort le second Gaulois,
 Et second apres Salomon,

¹⁴⁹ Corrozet, *Les Blasons domestiques*, 1539, Bibl. Nat., Rés. Ye 1380. The poem was reprinted by the *Société Bibliophile Française*, Paris, 1865, 12mo.

¹⁵⁰ Other anagrams are:

Marguerite de Valois = De ma vertu en arroy regneray.

Marguerite de France = Ma feruente grace rid.

Henri de Valois = L'heur as ydoine.

Charles de Valois = Ce soulas ay d'heur.

Magdaleine de France Royne d'Escosse = En cas de ce monde Regarde la fin en soy.

Marguerite de Bourbon = Amour de bon gré tribue.

Anthoyne de Turenne = D'honneur ay entente.

Loyse Perreal = Loyal esperer.

Helayne de Gondi = Loing de hayne, etc., etc.

Le second Francoys de Valoys,
 Et le beau second Absalon.
 C'est le beau Dauphin qu'à Tournon
 Sur son lict mortel fut assis,
 L'an mille cinq cens trente six,
 Le dixiesme D'aoust (dans trente heures)
 Par poyson ytalique occys.
 France, si tu as sens rassis,
 Je te pry doncq que tu pleures.¹⁵¹

Another epitaph, that on the death of a "moineau," is very much in the vein of Marot:

Cy gist le corps d'ung beau petit moyneau
 Qui ne voulut du tout deuenir moyne,
 Craignant les retz ou le deluge d'eau,
 Qui doit venir ung iour de la sepmaine
 L'an mil cinq cens trente et quatre, en grand peine
 Il trespasa à ioze (au moys de may),
 Et a l'obsequie on planta ung beau may
 Sus son sepulchre, or de volonté franche
 Priez trestous L'aygle que de cuer gay
 Sa voix colloqué en quelque verte branche.¹⁵²

Another epitaph (the seventh) is that of Erasmus, who died in July 1536. The volume ends with *aulcuns dictez des trespassez incitatifs à penser à la mort*, written in that satiric Villonesque style in which the poet excels, ending with the verse:

Tout est huy vif, qu'est demain trespasse.

The volume closes with the following advice to the reader:

Si ma muse eust en France use son aage,
 Ou à la court elle eust plus doulx chante,
 Mais l'ung ne l'autre encores n'a hante,
 Dont vous plaira prendre en gré son ramage.

¹⁵¹ Div. Rap., f. 142. Cf. *Recueil de vers latins et vulgaires de plusieurs poètes français composés sur le trespas de feu Monsieur le Daulphin, 1536. On les vend à Lyon chez François Juste pres Nostre Dame du Confort*. For the story of the Dauphin's death see Baur, Scève, p. 47.

¹⁵² Div. Rap., f. 141 v°, *La sixiesme Epitaphe (faicte a plaisir) d'ung Moyneau, que Mesdamoysselles, Anne & Anthoyne de Turenne nourrissayent, du temps que L'auteur leur monstroït a iouer de L'espinette*.

On the last page we find the following acrostic, *Gloire à Dieu seul* (the acrostic starts in the center and can be read vertically and horizontally, either straight or zigzag, to any one of the four corners):

l u e s u e i d i e u s e u l
 u e s u e i d a d i e u s e u
 e s u e i d a e a d i e u s e
 s u e i d a e r e a d i e u s
 u e i d a e r i r e a d i e u
 e i d a e r i o i r e a d i e
 i d a e r i o l o i r e a d i
 d a e r i o l G l o i r e a d
 i d a e r i o l o i r e a d i
 e i d a e r i o i r e a d i e
 u e i d a e r i r e a d i e u
 s u e i d a e r e a d i e u s
 e s u e i d a e a d i e u s e
 u e s u e i d a d i e u s e u
 l u e s u e i d i e u s e u l

Beaulieu, as we have stated, owes much to Collerye and other writers of didactic poetry, as well as to Marot in his *Epistles* and *Blasons*. He does not, with very few exceptions, copy his model slavishly. He is at his best in his *rondeaux* and in poems of a satiric character. His appreciation of external nature is rather surprising for the period in which he lived.¹⁵⁸ Very few "jeux de mots"—a device so frequent in the *Rhétoriqueurs* and still to be found in Marot—exist in his works. The *Divers Rapportz* is interesting from the point of view of literary history. Unfortunately none of his fellow poets left us an estimate of Eustorg de Beaulieu.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de Sainte-Marthe*, p. 312.

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(To be continued)

COLOR SYMBOLISM IN EARLY SPANISH BALLADS

SOME time ago, while going through the collections of Spanish ballads for another purpose, the writer was surprised to note the significance given to colors and the very frequent reference to what appeared to be a code of color symbolism. Further investigation disclosed the fact that this symbolism was not limited to the ballads alone; other types of Spanish poetry furnish frequent examples of such a symbolism, particularly pastoral poetry and the drama.

The purpose of the present paper is to show what the code is and to give examples of its use. However, as the symbolism appears chiefly in the ballads, the formulation of the code will be based upon this type of poetry, with a few citations from other types. In Durán's *Romancero General* alone there are more than two hundred cases of the use of this symbolism.

As one might expect, the code deals principally with love affairs and the state of the wearer's heart. In many of the ballads the hero enters the lists in a garb that would rival Joseph's coat of many colors, publishing to the fair ladies in the gallery his estimate of his past, present and future chances with the queen of his heart. This code was used at both private and public functions as well as in more intimate cases, but it must not be confused with the custom of wearing a lady's colors.

Apparently in the latter part of the sixteenth or in the early part of the seventeenth century this symbolism came into such common use that the kaleidoscopic costume of the amorous young men became rather a laughing-stock and offered a fit subject for the attacks of the satirist. An anonymous poet has held up to ridicule both the amount of clothes and their variegated appearance in the following lines:

Dejadme, le dijo Muza — que los vestidos arrastren,
que me duelen ya los lomos — de andar cargado de trajes,
que los poetas novicios — se desvelan en sacarme,
compuesto de mas colores — que tapete de Levante.

Ya hacen de mi platillo — las damas de todas partes
 llamándome Antón Pintado — y es justo que así me llamen
 pues me pintan los poetas — como retazo de sastres,
 ó capisayo de mona — ó como lienzo de Flandes.
 No hay borra de tundidor — do mas colores se hallen ;
 pues me pintan ya de verde, — ya de blanco, rojo y jalde.¹

The code was apparently so common and well known that poets felt obliged to announce that no significance was intended when colors were mentioned merely to complete the description of a character's dress. Otherwise the poet's audience would naturally have applied the code. Amete Ali's turban is described

Con plumas verdes y azules — poblando un azul bonete
 mas por parecer galán — que por celosos desdenes.²

In many of the ballads the specific colors are not mentioned for apparently the audience would be well enough acquainted with the symbolism to know what colors would be appropriate under the circumstances. In the case of Abenuyema

Son las colores que viste — conforme al mal que pasa.³
 and

Rico de insignias de amor — sale el valiente Abenamar.⁴

In order to make a study of this code, it is necessary to take up one by one the colors so used and consider their significance.

In view of the fact that this symbolism deals chiefly with the state of the wearer's heart it will be fitting to consider as the first color *morado*, or *purple violet*, which is par excellence the color of love. In one ballad this color is expressly named "lo amoroso morado."⁵ The wearing of violet as the most conspicuous color of one's dress signified that the wearer was deeply and seriously in love, and, in most cases, was fairly sure that his affection was returned. At least he had reasonable hopes for a successful conclusion to his

¹ Durán, *Romancero General*, No. 253. References to the ballads are all taken from Durán's *Romancero General*, on the ground that this is the most available collection of Spanish ballads. Several of the references to the use of the code outside of the ballads are due to the kindness of Professor Charles P. Wagner of the University of Michigan.

² Durán, No. 145.

³ No. 49. ⁴ No. 17. ⁵ No. 39.

suit. Sometimes the violet flower itself was a love token.⁶ In an anonymous pastoral a lovesick shepherdess is pictured as reclining on a bed of violets because the violet flowers and the violet color are the only ones that can please her in her despair,⁷ and in still another ballad Venus binds Cupid's eyes with a violet bandage.⁸ In Durán 207 the Moorish lover Zaida combines violet and black plumes, and the use of violet plumes is explained in the following lines:

En las moradas publica — su fe, que no desfallece
por mas que la ausencia triste — su fiero rigor aumente.⁹

The next most important color, and actually the one most frequently mentioned, is *green*. This undoubtedly was a rather bright or primary green, since shades and tints are used to signify modifications of the idea. This color is symbolic of *hope*. This may be hope in any undertaking, but again, as most of the poems under consideration are love poems, it is usually hope for the successful outcome of some love affair. In one of the romances of Gazul the hero presents himself in the Plaza of Vivarambla clad in green:

Se presentó un caballero — sobre un caballo en la plaza,
con una marlota verde — de damasco vandeada;
el capellar de lo mismo — muestra color de esperanza.¹⁰

Muza enters a tournament

Con librea berberisca — turquesda y pespuntada,
sembrada de piedras verdes — que señalan su esperanza.¹¹

Many of the modifications of green are much more interesting than the plain color. A slight touch of green in the costume indicates slight hope. This bit of green usually appears in a feather and is frequently combined with other colors indicative of the predominance of other emotions. In the ballad of Zelizardo the dress of the hero is partly described thus:

Una pluma sola verde — en el bonete llevaba,
por mostrar de su vida — tiene muy poca esperanza.¹²

Even the horse may wear green or the hangings of a room may be of that color. At a *zambra* given by Bravonel,

⁶ No. 1582.

⁷ No. 1543.

⁸ No. 1405.

⁹ For other cases of *morado* as symbolic of love see Durán, Nos. 39, 40, 41, 49, 101, 146, 170, 207, 1128, 1295, 1360, 1536, 1582.

¹⁰ No. 46. ¹¹ No. 90. ¹² No. 227.

De morado, azul y verde — está la sala colgada,
las alfombras eran verdes — porque huellen esperanza.¹³

Because of the loss of hope green is cast aside. When Celia shows herself cruel to Tarfe he challenges those who have declared him false and demands that they lay aside their green scarfs and arm.

Mienten otra vez les digo — los que al contrario dijeren!
Suelten las bandas moradas — y las de esperanzas verdes.¹⁴

After the loss of Baza, believing his mistress to have been there, Celin Audalla says

Las verdes plumas no quiero — pues se perdió mi esperanza.¹⁵

Green may also express a slightly different aspect of hope. In one of the romances of Celindos, Zaida dresses in green to show that she is happy and cares little for the pain that she is causing the hero.¹⁶ In this case it expresses joy and contentment, for she wishes to display a more cheerful color than her lover who is dressed in yellow—the color of despair.

Dark green, being a mixture of black and green, denotes the loss of hope, or that one's hopes are greatly diminished. Jarifa is called to the window to see Audalla pass

En una yegua alazana,
con un jaez verde oscuro — color de muerta esperanza.¹⁷

Because of the close connection of the two colors, green and violet are often combined. At a tourney the ladies wear these colors with a motto which shows how well the code must have been known. They enter

Todas con moradas tocas — y almalafas plateadas,
y en los verdes almaizares — dice un mote "El color basta."^{18 19}

In the case of *blue* it is rather surprising to find that it denotes *jealousy* in a love affair, and usually the jealousy seems to be well founded.²⁰ Arbolan wears a blue turban and toca for this reason.

¹³ No. 209. ¹⁴ No. 70. ¹⁵ No. 124. ¹⁶ No. 146. ¹⁷ No. 128. ¹⁸ No. 239.

¹⁹ Other cases of the use of green are found in Durán, Nos. 24, 26, 32, 37, 75, 93, 94, 101, 145, 147, 152-154, 156, 161, 170, 171, 173, 176, 185, 187, 188, 224, 237, 240, 297, 469, 645, 775, 929, 1055, 1092, 1096, 1128, 1481, 1485, 1487, 1499, 1783.

²⁰ In English folk-lore blue has from the earliest times represented truth and true love. Cf. *The Court of Love*, ll. 246-249; *The Testament of Love* by Thomas Usk, Bk. II, ch. XII, ll. 35; *The Flour of Courtesye* by John Lydgate,

Azul el turbante y toca — por unos celos que trata.²¹

Aliatar, with his all-black costume, adds just one touch of blue that his jealousy may be all the more prominent.

Solo el velo de la adarga — quiero que no vaya negro,
sino azul, porque declare — los negros celos que tengo.²²

In the second ballad of Maniloro a bouquet of blue and white flowers represents jealousy and chastity to Celinda. She addresses the flowers as follows:

De celos y castidad — os vistieron, no sin causa
para avisarme con vos — que sea celosa y casta.
No faltaron de mí celos — mientras vuestro dueño falta,
ni castidad en mi pecho — que mi amor mas que esto manda.²³

The same idea is seen in a ballad by Lucas Rodríguez, although in this case suspicions and not jealousy are specifically mentioned. The Alcaide of Ronda is pictured thus:

Un albornoz lleva azul — que en mil sospechas vivía.²⁴

Blue is removed to show the absence of jealousy or the removal of its cause. In one of the romances of Celin Audalla the hero removes his blue shoulder belt because there is no longer any reason for his wearing it.

Y ese tahalí azul — ya no es cosa que me cuadra,
pues me falta la ocasión — de celos, no de mudanzas.²⁵

Even the blue of the sky may suggest jealousy to the ardent lover.

Si alza los ojos, encienden — su pecho en celosa rabia
los resplandores azules — que el cielo y la tierra abrasan.^{26 27}

ll. 257; *The Assembly of Ladies*, ll. 83, in Skeat's Chaucerian Pieces. Also cf. R. Tofte, *Fruits of Jealousy* (1615), p. 68 and Nathaniel Field, *Woman is a Weathercock*, i:

Abraham. "Well, since I am disdained, off garters blue!
which signify Sir Abram's love was true."

²¹ No. 163.

²² No. 170.

²³ No. 191.

²⁴ No. 1136.

²⁵ No. 124.

²⁶ No. 1543.

²⁷ For other cases of the use of blue to represent jealousy see Durán, Nos. 49, 93, 146, 148, 153, 154, 163, 170, 178, 237, 645, 1136, 1827.

Yellow represents sadness, despair, loss of hope, or trouble of any kind. It does not imply that the object of the wearer's affection has given him any cause for jealousy, as in the case of blue, but simply indicates the lack of hope for success or the dying out of the flames of love. In the fourth ballad of the Celin Audalla series, Celin in his despair rejects all colors but the yellow with which his *marlota* is lined.

se quita — la marlota que llevaba
de verde, morado y blanco — en amarillo aforrada
y dice: Sirve el aforra — por ser color que me cuadra;
las verdes plumas no quiero — pues se perdió mi esperanza.²⁸

To bring out more strongly the idea of yellow it is contrasted with green.

Y así se viste de verde — color alegre y galana,
bien diferente de aquella — que saca el moro de Baza
porque salió de amarillo — que es color desesperada.²⁹

Arbolan curses women for their fickleness and unfaithfulness, especially his lady Guhala, and concludes his upbraiding

Malhayan mis esperanzas — pues estaban ayer verdes,
y hoy se han tornado amarillas — con un cierzo de desdenes.³⁰

In an allegorical romance by Juan de Encina the house is built of yellow wood.

De una madera amarilla — que llaman desesperar.³¹

Sometimes black is combined with yellow to emphasize the idea of trouble.³² At other times green is used with it to indicate that the wearer is torn between hope and doubt of his lady's attitude toward him.^{33 34}

A variant of the idea of yellow is seen in the use of *pajizo*, 'straw color,' to denote much the same thing but usually to a less degree.³⁵

Leonado, or *tawny*, is another variant of the idea expressed

²⁸ No. 124.

²⁹ No. 146.

³⁰ No. 162.

³¹ No. 297.

³² No. 32, 71.

³³ No. 146, 94.

³⁴ For other cases of the wearing of yellow for despair see Nos. 95, 97, 154, 163, 210, 415, 558, 569, 584, 1136, 1510, 1520, 1559, 1777.

³⁵ Nos. 249, 1484, 1827, 1838.

by yellow. It represents sorrow or trouble in some guise. *Leonado*, however, more frequently represents anguish of mind or grief for death rather than the mere loss of hope in the outcome of a love affair. It seems to stand midway between yellow and black and has many of the meanings of both. This color is used chiefly in the Morisco ballads and appears to be a sort of "let-me-alone" symbol. The hero of a romance is very apt to wear *leonado* in his dress, when absent from the lady of his heart. In Durán 207 the Bencerraje who is parted from his mistress

En sus colores publica — que de su luz vive ausente,
and a few lines further on it is stated

De leonado viste el moro — porque su fe no consiente
que alma ni cuerpo en ausencia — vista colores alegres.⁸⁶

Orange, where it is possible to give it a definite meaning, usually signifies *constancy*. Zulema wears an orange mantle.

La marlota es naranjada — en señal de su firmeza.⁸⁷

However, his constancy does not seem to have been rewarded by the love of his mistress. If it had been, he would have worn green. That his audience might make no mistake the author explains this circumstance in the following lines:

y no de verde color — que ya no se precia della.

In some cases orange has much the same meaning as yellow, but does not seem to suggest such utter despair in the mind of the lover. Muley wears

Un bonete aceitunado — una toca anaranjada
que no es bien desesperado — ni con perfecta esperanza.⁸⁸

After a tiff with his lady Celinda, Gazul changes his colors, which had been green and white, to orange and black, the combination showing discouragement but not absolute despair.⁸⁹

Gold or *gilt* do not appear to have been much used in any special symbolic sense. They are frequently used on turbans and clothing

⁸⁶ For other cases of the use of *leonado* see Durán, Nos. 37, 40, 39, 43, 49, 71, 90, 118, 171, 207, 210, 297, 1109.

⁸⁷ No. 152.

⁸⁸ No. 173.

⁸⁹ No. 39.

in a decorative way, but with little, if any, significance. I have found only one reference where gold is given any symbolism, and here it means joy.

El que quisiere hablaros — traiga de azul la librea,
ó vístase de oro fino — color contra la tristeza.⁴⁰

Strange as it may appear *red* is very little used in the ballads, and where it is mentioned it seems to have little or no symbolic meaning attached to it. Although many shades or tints of red are found, there are but few references for any one of them. These various shades of red are *colorado*,⁴¹ *carmesí*,⁴² *columbino*,⁴³ *escarlata*,⁴⁴ *grana*,⁴⁵ *encarnada*,⁴⁶ *barcino*,⁴⁷ *rojo*,⁴⁸ and *bermejo*.⁴⁹ In two cases red is mentioned as representing joy.⁵⁰ However, in a sonnet by Cetina,⁵¹ which will be given in full later, three reds are mentioned. Here *encarnado* = "crüeza ó sujeción," *rojo claro* = "vergüenza," *colorado* = "alegría."

Gray represents grief but not such a serious grief as would require black. Azarque el Granadino reminds his lady that when he went to the wars she promised to wear gray until his return.

Y con almazaes pardos — estarías hasta verme.⁵²

In the allegorical romance already quoted by Juan de Encina in which sadness is the key-note, the mystic house has a floor of lead because of the gray color of this metal.

El suelo hizo de plomo — porque es pardillo metal.⁵³

Gray is therefore used as an equivalent of *leonado* and also for black to symbolize a slight grief.⁵⁴

⁴⁰ No. 1716.

⁴¹ Nos. 731, 739, 741, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1096, 1631.

⁴² Nos. 153, 154, 1094, 1132.

⁴³ No. 741.

⁴⁴ No. 1090.

⁴⁵ Nos. 1499, 1769.

⁴⁶ Nos. 419, 1092, 1121, 1125.

⁴⁷ No. 39.

⁴⁸ Nos. 95, 492, 692, 902.

⁴⁹ No. 1130.

⁵⁰ Nos. 153, 154; possibly 741.

⁵¹ Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Bib. Esp. de Libros Raros y Curiosos*, vol. II,

419.

⁵² No. 26.

⁵³ No. 297.

⁵⁴ Other references to gray, Durán, Nos. 171, 173, 1500, 1859.

As might be supposed, *white* symbolizes innocence and chastity. It is scarcely necessary to give cases of this significance as it is quite familiar in all literatures. In one case, however, when contrasted with black, white signifies joy as contrasted with sorrow.⁵⁵

Black, naturally, is a symbol of mourning. However, in the ballads, this may be for death,⁵⁶ imprisonment of friends or relatives,⁵⁷ or loss of affection.⁵⁸ In the latter event it is used instead of yellow but apparently only in very serious cases.

It will readily be seen that there were possibilities of an almost infinite number of combinations in the use of this code. Muley can hardly be blamed for objecting to being called "Antón Pintado." Of the many examples to be found in the ballads, one will suffice to illustrate the kaleidoscopic effect a lover must have presented when the code was used in all its glory. In the following we have a whole index to the emotions of Zaida's lover.

El Bencerraje que á Zaida —entregada el alma tiene,
 en sus colores publica — que de su luz vive ausente.
 De leonada viste el moro — porque su fe no consiente
 que alma ni cuerpo en ausencia — vista colores alegres.
 Con blanca y leonada toca — aprieta un rojo bonete,
 y en él con tres plumas negras — cubre moradas y verdes.
 En las moradas publica — su fe, que no desfallece,
 por más que la ausencia triste — su fiero rigor aumente.
 Por las verdes vive el moro — cuando más su pasión crece,
 porque se las dió su Zaida — para que en ausencia espere;
 mas quien gozó alegre estado — cual él le gozó presente,
 es bien que con luto cubra — memorias de ausentes bienes.⁵⁹

In the classical drama examples of the use of the code are rather frequent. In the majority of cases the symbolism is referred to rather than used as an actual system of dress to express emotions as is the case in the ballads. The mere use, however, only emphasizes the fact that the symbolism must have been widely known.

⁵⁵ No. 486.

⁵⁶ Nos. 21, 126, 297, 363, 632, 644, 660, 662, 671, 734, 760, 1020, 1109, 1206, 1208, 1209, 1217.

⁵⁷ Durán, Nos. 1005, 1006, 1010, 1013, 1298.

⁵⁸ Durán, Nos. 32, 39, 71, 95, 153, 154, 170, 171, 239.

⁵⁹ No. 207.

In Tirso's *Don Gil de las Calzas Verdes*, Doña Clara, the false Don Gil, announces herself as follows:

Don Gil de las calzas soy
Verdes, como mi esperanza.⁶⁰

and she also refers to the Don Gil with whom she is in love in a similar manner.

Mas quien en mi gusto alcanza
El premio por más gentil,
Es verde cual mi esperanza,
Y es en el nombre Don Gil.⁶¹

Elena in Lope's *La Esclava de su Galan* embroiders a green sleeve as an emblem of her future happiness.⁶² Castro's *Las Mocedades del Cid* furnishes a good case of the use of yellow in the drama. After the Cid has killed Jimena's father he goes to fight the Moors and appears with

Banda y plumas amarillas⁶³

and Doña Urraca recognizes his state of mind with the words

Bien me lo dice por señas
La sobrevista amarilla.⁶⁴

and the Cid defends his wearing of the color by

Quien con esperanzas vive,
Desesperado camina.⁶⁵

Alarcón in his *El Examen de Maridos* makes the Conde Carlos urge his suit to Doña Blanca thus—

No os han dicho mis ojos,
Mis colores, divisas, y libreas
Mis ardientes enojos?
En lo blanco y lo verde, ¿quién no alcanza
Que dí á entender que es Blanca mi esperanza?⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Act III, sc. xvi, ll. 21-22.

⁶¹ Act III, sc. v, ll. 32-35.

⁶² Act I, sc. xii, ll. 806.

⁶³ Jor. II, sc. iv, ll. 1335.

⁶⁴ Jor. II, sc. iv, ll. 1360-1361.

⁶⁵ Jor. II, sc. iv, ll. 1362-1363.

⁶⁶ Act III, sc. x, ll. 55-59.

and later in the same speech he says

En las cañas, ¿mi adarga en campo verde
No llevaba una blanca,
Cuya letra en el círculo decía:
"Trueco á una blanca la esperanza mía?"⁶⁷

In the early novel, as well as in the drama, references to this color code are sufficiently common to be worthy of note. The *Carcel de Amor* furnishes several examples. On the top of the prison tower are three images "cubiertas cada una de su color, de leonado y negro y pardillo, la una es Tristeza, y la otra Congoxa, y la otra Trabaio."⁶⁸ The prisoner is attacked by a negro dressed in yellow, and this character and his dress are explained as follows:

"El negro de vestiduras amarillas que se trabaia por quitarme la vida se llama Desesperar."⁶⁹

When the *Author* delivers the prisoner he takes with him as assistants "*Contentamiento, y Esperança, y Descanso, y Plazer, y Alegría, y Holgança.*"⁷⁰ His banner is "*verde y colorada,*" the mere sight of which puts to flight the guardians of Leriano.⁷¹

The continuation of the *Carcel de Amor* by Nicholas Nuñez contains an elaborate series of uses of color symbolism when Leriano appears to the Author dressed in many colors with mottoes referring to the symbolic value of each color. Later in the same work the heroine Laureola does the same thing.⁷²

In the *Questión de Amor* there are many examples of code dress usually accompanied by mottoes. There are slight variations here, but these variations have to do more particularly with shades than with actual colors.⁷³

In poetry outside of the ballads and pastorals references to the code are rather rare. In a few *canciones* green is mentioned but almost no other color. Artieda has a sonnet in which he refers to

⁶⁷ Act III, sc. x, ll. 68-71.

⁶⁸ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, vol. II, p. 3, col. b; also p. 2, col. b, is a reference to the same images.

⁶⁹ Id., p. 4, col. a.

⁷⁰ Id., p. 10, col. a.

⁷¹ Id., p. 10, col. a.

⁷² Id., pp. 31-33.

⁷³ Id., pp. 45-48, 53-57, and 66; also 86-89.

the symbolism,⁷⁴ but by far the best and, in fact, most complete statement of the code to be found in a single poem or ballad is in the sonnet by Cetina already mentioned.⁷⁵ This is so complete that it is well worth quoting in full.

Es lo blanco castísima pureza ;
 Amores significa lo morado :
 Crüeza ó sujeción es lo encarnado :
 Negro obscuro es dolor, claro tristeza.
 Naranjado, se entiende que es firmeza,
 Rojo claro es vergüenza, y colorado
 Alegría: y si obscuro es lo leonado,
 Congoja: claro es señoril alteza.
 Es lo pardo trabajo: azul es celo :
 Turquesado es soberbia, y lo amarillo
 Es desesperación: verde, esperanza.
 Y desta suerte, aquel que niega el cielo
 Licencia en su dolor para decillo,
 Lo muestra sin hablar por semejanza.

According to a poem by Gaspar Aguilar on the *fiestas* at Valencia attendant on the marriage of Felipe III and Marguerita de Austria in May 1599, two gentlemen in her train, Don Gaspar Mercader and Don Luis Ferrer y Cardona, dressed their pages in colors with a purpose. They are described as follows:

Don Gaspar Mercader que honra los trajes
 Y es de la honra incontrastable moro,
 Mostrando en los colores y plumajes
 Que no hay estado en el amor seguro.
 Vistió de rapa azul todos sus pajes,
 Con tantos pasamanos de oro puro,
 Que según la librea hizo ventaja
 De pasamanos fué, no fué de raja.⁷⁶

and also

De Don Luis Ferrer y de Cardona
 El claro ingenio en esto se remata,
 Pues ilustró su talle y su persona

⁷⁴ *Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos de Valencia*, vol. III, p. 91.

⁷⁵ See note ⁵¹.

⁷⁶ *Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos de Valencia*, vol. II, p. 173.

Con un vestido que bordó de plata;
De galán mereció lauro y corona,
Pues de los cortesanos fué la nata,
Sacando en prueba de su amor sencillo
Librea de leonado y amarillo.⁷⁷

Pérez de Hita's *Guerras Civiles de Granada* contains many allusions to the code. In this work the most complete use of the symbolism is found in an account of the love affairs of Zaide and Zaida. The hero wears different colors at different times to express his emotions. The passage is as follows:

"Zayde muchas vezes mudava trages y vestidos conforme la pasión que sentía. Unas vezes vestía negro solo; otras vezes, negro y pardo; otras, de morado y blanco, por mostrar su fe; lo pardo y negro por mostrar su trabajo. Otras vezes vestía azul, mostrando divisa de rabiosos celos; otras, de verde, por significar su esperanza; otras vezes, de amarillo, por mostrar desconfianza, y el día que hablava con su Zayda se ponía de encarnado y blanco, señal de alegría y contento. De suerte que muy claro se echava de ver en Granada los efectos de su causa y de sus amores."⁷⁸

Apparently the earliest reference in poetry to this code is in the allegorical poem by Juan de Encina already quoted.⁷⁹ The date of this composition is probably about the first decade of the sixteenth century. The *Carcel de Amor* was somewhat earlier than this, so the code must have been in use at the time of the writing of this latter prose work which, according to Menéndez y Pelayo, could not have been prior to 1465.⁸⁰ In poems of the early part of the fifteenth century colors are mentioned, but not with the significance we find in our code.⁸¹ It was, however, in the latter part of the sixteenth century that this symbolism had its greatest development and evident popularity. By 1650 it had practically disappeared.

⁷⁷ *Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos de Valencia*, vol. II, pp. 173; 174.

⁷⁸ Pérez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada*, ed. by P. Blanchard-Demouge, Madrid, 1913, Ch. V. p. 45, ll. 35-43.

⁷⁹ Durán, No. 297.

⁸⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, vol. I, p. cccxxi.

⁸¹ Cf. *Cancionero de Baena*, Desires de Micer Francisco Imperial (cerca 1405), p. 231; pp. 240-249; Ruy Paez de Ribera, p. 292; Pero Gonçalves de Useda, vol. II, p. 59.

After that date examples of its use are extremely rare. In modern Spanish poetry, so far as I have been able to find, only green as a symbol of hope has survived.

It is hoped that this brief sketch of an unusual symbolism will be of interest to students of Spanish literature and that it will throw new light on some otherwise doubtful passages, especially in the drama. The question of the sources of the code and parallel symbolic uses of color in poetry will be treated in a subsequent paper.

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MISCELLANEOUS

JODELLE AND OVID

ALTHOUGH Jodelle's tragedy, *Didon*, has been supposed to have the *Æneid* as its only source,¹ it owes to the *Heroides* of Ovid the passage in which Anna seeks to soften Æneas by the following appeal:²

Hé que sçais-tu (cruel!) qui donnes telle atteinte
A ceux qui te font bien, si de ton fait enceinte
Elle ne cache point maintenant dedans soy
(O fardeau malheureux!) vne moitié de Roy?
Veux-tu qu'auant que voir du monde la lumiere,
Ton propre enfant se face vn cercueil de sa mere?
Veux-tu pour rendre Ascaigne, & les siens triomphans,
Faire estouffer ainsi l'autre de tes enfans?

With this passage compare:

Forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquo,
Parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo.
Accedet fati matris miserabilis infans,
Et nondum nati funeris auctor eris:
Cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli,
Poenaque conexos auferet una duos.³

The similarity of detail is striking. On the other hand, Jodelle is not here inspired by Vergil, for the latter not only does not put this suggestion into Anna's mouth, but he makes Dido lament the fact that she is not pregnant by Æneas:

Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
Ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula

¹ Cf. Jakob Friedrich, *Die Didodramen des Dolce, Jodelle und Marlowe*, Kempten, 1888, p. 45.

² Act III; cf. Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres d'Estienne Jodelle*, Paris, 1868, I, p. 198.

³ *Heroides*, VII, 133-138.

Luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.⁴

Now curiously enough, Jodelle translates these lines also :

Aumoins si i'auois eu quelque race de toy,
Auant que de te voir arracher d'auec moy :
Et si dedans ma court, du pere abandonnee
Ie pouuois voir iouër quelque petit Enee,
Qui seulement les traits de ta face gardast,
Et m'amusant à luy mes soucis retardast :
Ie ne penserois point ny du tout estre prise,
Ny du tout delaissee.⁵

The presence of the two passages in the same work is obviously inartistic. If we accept the belief of either sister, the remarks of the other lose their force. Neither Vergil nor Ovid makes this blunder. Its presence in *Didon* must be explained by the fact that Jodelle has not made the subject thoroughly his own and is carelessly following his classical sources. He is known to have worked rapidly.⁶ It is probable that, when he had finished utilizing Vergil, he remembered the letter which Ovid attributes to Dido and from it copied what seemed to him a pathetic passage, forgetting that he had already translated one that contradicted it.

Jodelle was not the first Frenchman to use this passage from Ovid, for it had already inspired the *Ovide moralisé*,⁷ the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* by Guillaume de Machaut, and the *Livre de Leesce* by Jehan Le Fevre.⁸ These authors state Dido's pregnancy as a fact, while, as we have seen, Ovid and Jodelle merely suggest that such a condition is possible. In other respects, too, Jodelle is evidently nearer Ovid than he is to his French forerunners. There-

⁴ *Æneid*, IV, 327-330.

⁵ Act II; Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 174.

⁶ Cf. the preface to the edition of Jodelle's works published by Charles de la Mothe in 1574, and Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, I, p. 7.

⁷ Cf. C. de Boer, *Guillaume de Machaut et l'Ovide moralisé*, in *Romania* for July, 1914, p. 344.

⁸ Cf. E. Hæpffner, *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, Paris, 1908, I, pp. LXXIV, LXXV, where the relation between these two works and the *Heroides* is pointed out.

fore, as there is no evidence of an intermediate version, I conclude that Jodelle drew his material directly from Ovid.

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ETIMOLOGIC NOTES

Arbitriu

Jenoees *abrétio* iz derived from *ad arbitriu*. In the *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XVI, 115, Parodi calls this werd bookish, evidently on account ov the sound *t*. Agenst the retencion ov *t* stands the chanje ov stress *i* to *e*, showing that *abrétio* iz not bookish. The Ligurian dialects shared with Provencial the development *maire* < *matre*, so that we miht expect a derivativ ov *arbitriu* to rime with *pei* < *piru*. But we can get around this difficulty in a very simpl way: *arbitriu* became **arbérteo* (with stressless *e* < *i* az explaind in *Modern Philology*, XII, 188), *r* being displaced befoar the *t* ov *matre* became *d*, but too late for a development like that ov *fòrsa* < *fortia*. The displacement ov *r* iz common in Jenoees: *abrétio* < **arbérteo*, *arvì* < *aperire*, *crava* < *capra*, *cròvo* < *coruu*, *frêve* < *febre*, *pria* < **prieda* < *petra*. Thus thær iz no good reazon for calling *abrétio* bookish.¹

Bestia

Thær seems to be much dout about the length ov *e* in *bestia*. We may asume erly *ē* and later *ĕ*, az in *terra* < **tĕrsā*, *uentus* < **wĕntos*. Latin chect vouels wer mōstly short, and thær woz a tendency to shorten the feu that wer long in or befoar the period ov classic Latin. An open *e* in **besta* iz needed for Woloon *biĕsse*, corresponding to *fiĕsse* < *feſta*, *finiĕsse* < *fenestra*, *tiĕsse* < *testa*. A derivativ ov *bestia*, with *i* az in *silla* < *siella* < *sella*, iz perhaps to be seen in the Spanish fish-name *biza*. After a consonant, hiatus-*ti* made Spanish *ç*, az in *caçar*, *collaço*,² *fuerça*, *moço*, *uço*: *angoxa* iz (like *faxa*) a Catalan or Provencial loanwerd, *quexar* came from *coaxare*, and *cinchar* iz ecwivalent to **cĭntulare*,³ not **cinctiare* az

¹ Ordinery spelling has *abbrettio* or *abrettio* for *abrétio*, but the dubld *t* has no historic vau; it shows meerly that the *e* iz short. The vouels *é* and *ê* ar clōs; the circumflex marks length.

² *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 494.

³ *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV, 382.

asumed by Baist in Gröber's *Grundriss* (*Span. Sprache*, §44), nor **cingulare*⁴ az asumed by Meyer-Lübke in his etimolojic diccionery.

Italian *biscia* seems to hav gotn its strest vouel and its meaning from *uīpera*. But môst ov the Romanic werds rezembling *bestia* ar plainly bookish, tho thay wer adopted at an erly time. Emilian has *bistia*, with harmonic vouel-chanje az in *fir* = *ferri* beside *fēr* = *ferro*. Likewise Portugees *bêsta*, corresponding to *questão* = Spanish *cuestión*, indicates harmonic influense befoar the *i* woz lost. We must asume harmonic chanje in Spanish *bestia*, if the werd woz adopted befoar *terra* became *tierra*.

In Mistral's spelling ov his own dialect, *j* dus not mean *dž* as it dus in sum ov the nehboring dialects, nor *ž* az Meyer-Lübke asumes;⁵ it reprezents *dz*.⁶ Similarly *ch* means *ts* in Mistral's dialect. But uther dialects pozess *dž* or *ž*, *tš* or *š*, and thees ar ritn *j* and *ch* (also *x* for *š*) in Mistral's diccionery, the reader being left to gess hwot sounds ar ment. Ov corse in meny cases thaer can be no cwestion about the valeu ov *ch* and *j*: Latin *ssi* can make *š*, but not *tš*, so that the *ch* ov eastern *baichà* and western *bachà* (with the variant *barà*), corresponding to *beissà* < **bassiare*, can safely be taken for *š*. We may thaerfoar asume that in *bicho* = *bisso* (= Italian *biscia*) Mistral's spelling with *ch* means the sound *š*. But it iz not eazy to say hwether thees werds ar cognate with the Italian form, or meerly borrod from it. The lac ov an erly Provencial ecwivalent seems to make borroing moar probabl. French *bisse* can reprezent *běstia*, paralel with *sis* < *sex*; or the *i* may hav cum from *uīpera*.

Bestula

Meyer-Lübke givs under *bestia*, in his etimolojic diccionery, Spanish *bicha*, modern Portugees *bicha* and an ôlder form *bescha*. Thees werds came from *bestula*, in acord with *macho* = *macho* < *masculu*, for Portugees shared with Spanish the development ov *ç* (= *ts*) from *ti* after a consonant. Meyer-Lübke ses that *e* > *i* iz hard to explain in Portugees and imposibl for Spanish. This statement iz rong, *ě* > *i* being common in Castilian. Evidently *bicha* cood be a normal derivativ ov **biecha* < *bestula*. We miht perhaps

⁴ *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 485.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*, 1 § 152, 2 § 162.

⁶ Koschwitz, *Gram. hist. de la langue des fêlibres*, Greifswald, 1894, p. 42.

asume that Portugees *bicha* woz borrod from Spanish, but it seems moar likely that in bôth langwejes the *i* came from *uīpera*.

Italian *Io* < *Uo*

In Venecian we ofn find *io* ritn hwær we shood expect *uo* az the derivativ ov open *o*: *liogo*, *niovo*, *rioda*, *riosa*. Gartner has tried to explain this chanje by asuming analogic extension ov the variacion between *iè* and *è* (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xvi, 182). But such a theory dus not account for the development ov *id* from eether *ð* or *uð*. If *è*-dialects and *iè*-dialects wer mixt, we miht admit that by analogy *id* cood hav bin uzed for *ð*. In this case, houeever, we shood find paralel chanjes ov strest *a* and *u* to *ia*, *iu*; and thær wood be no reason for a formacion ov *id* from *uð*.

The chanje ov *uð* to *id* woz conected with the jeneral treatment ov *u*. In the dialect ov Venis, the ecwivalent ov Latin *ū* iz not like Tuscan *u*: it iz a sound like Norse *u*, between Jerman *ü* and Tuscan *u*.¹ The same alteracion ov *u* iz found in the nehborthood ov Padua² and Verona,³ so that Gartner iz rong in saying that such an intermediet sound iz un-nown in north-eastern Italy. Az the ferst element ov *uo* woz a strest clôs *u*, it woz treated like the derivativ ov *ū*; the orijinal stress iz parcialy prezervd in modern *ancúo* (Boerio) beside *ancuò* < *hanc hodie*. The further chanje to *i* woz evidently cauzd by the displacement ov stress. So too in modern Provencial, hwær the regular derivativ ov *ū* iz a sound like Jerman *ü*, the corresponding hiatus-vouel has becum *i*: *liù* < *locus*, *siau* < *suaue*. The Venecian alteracion ov *u* explains also the chanje ov *fiume* to *fime* (*Romania*, xliii, 563).

A Venecian-like treatment ov *u* seems to hav ocurd in céntral Italy: the dialect ov Velletri has *bióno*, *nióvo*, *nióstro* (and *ñóstro*) az variants ov *buóno*, *nuóvo*, *nuóstro* (*Studj romanzi*, v, 34). According to Finamore's *Vocabolario dell'uso abruzzese*, *eu* and *iu* ar found az derivativs ov *ū* on the Adriatic coast. It iz not clear, houeever, hwether we shood assume *eu* < *iu*, conected with a frunting ov *u*; or *iu* < *eu* representing *au* < *ū*, paralel with (but erlier than) *au* < *ō*, hwich iz a common development in the same rejon.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

E. H. TUTTLE

¹ Battisti, *Testi dialettali italiani*, i, Halle, 1914, p. 42.

² Battisti, *l. c.*, p. 45.

³ Battisti, *l. c.*, p. 46.

REVIEWS

Poesia di Popolo e Poesia di Corte nel Trecento. Ezio Levi. Livorno, Giusti, 1915.

In this volume Dr. Levi has supplemented his more elaborate studies of Francesco di Vannozzo and Antonio da Ferrara by ten articles reprinted from various sources, and collected under a title which may seem rather sweeping. In fact, the six papers of Part I are concerned chiefly with matters of detail, sometimes adorned with general statements neither closely related to the ostensible topic nor to be accepted without further scrutiny. The author is, in short, more successful as an indefatigable archivist than as a literary critic. His method is seen at its best in the first paper of Part II, *Un Rimatore Senese alla Corte dei Visconti*, which demonstrates that the name Domenico da Monticchiello covers at least two widely distinct persons—one the ascetic follower of the Beato Colombini, the other an official under the Visconti, and the presumable author of the poems which go under the name. More in the nature of a case of special pleading is the next paper, *L'Autore della "Canzone di Roma,"* which raises questions too wide to be here discussed. The concluding papers, tho interesting, have little to do with poetry, whether courtly or popular.

Part I also gives us sundry texts—two curious capitoli by Niccolò Povero, and five frottole, two by Zaffarino and three by Antonio da Ferrara. Levi's remark (p. 118), "Di tutti i lavori della critica, l'edizione dei testi mi pare il più meritorio e il più utile," might be more generally taken to heart by Italian scholars, in view of the incomplete and scattering fashion in which much Trecento poetry has been printed; meanwhile, we may well be grateful for the texts and other data which the present volume affords.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Obras Completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. La Galatea, Edición publicada por RODOLFO SCHEVILL y ADOLFO BONILLA. 2 vols. Imprenta de Bernardo Rodríguez, Madrid, 1914.

Obras Completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Persiles y Sigismunda, Edición publicada por RODOLFO SCHEVILL y ADOLFO BONILLA. 2 vols. Imprenta de Bernardo Rodríguez, Madrid, 1914.

Students of Spanish literature will welcome the proposed publication of the complete works of Cervantes under the direction of Professor Rudolph Schevill and Professor Adolfo Bonilla. The four volumes which have already appeared allow us to judge of the general plan of the work. They are convenient in size, well printed and the textual work has been carefully done. The notes and introductions are as illuminating as might be expected from the collaboration of such competent scholars.

The introduction to *La Galatea* treats of the circumstances under which Cervantes composed his pastoral novel, and attempts to determine its relations

to other compositions of the same type. Incidentally, the editors call attention to the inaccuracy of Scherillo's statement that the *Canción de Lisandro* is a literal translation of the *Canzone di Ergasto* in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. After calling attention to the strange vogue of books of this kind "en uno de los periodos de mayor agitación intelectual y política que ofrece la historia," the editors make an important distinction between the aims of the pastoral novel and the romance of chivalry.

There is no doubt that Cervantes enlarged the scope of the pastoral novel, although unity of action suffered thereby. Some of the stories introduced into this tale of *discretos pastores* and *discretas pastoras* are more interesting than the account of Elicio's *puro y sincero amor* for Galatea. The oft-interrupted story of the enduring friendship of Timbrio and Silerio is especially deserving of further study. The generous sacrifice made by Silerio in behalf of his friend Timbrio reminds us of the theme of Sforza degli Oddi's play, *Erofilomachia* (1572), a good example of those Italian plays of the latter half of the sixteenth century in which noble and heroic sentiments and the conflict of passions were represented. Goldoni's *Il vero amico* and Diderot's *Le fils naturel* are also analogues.

The notes have been chosen with good judgment to illustrate and explain the text. The commentary to the *Canto de Calíope* is the result of conscientious labors in Spanish libraries and archives, and we are grateful for the publication in complete form of Figueroa's *canción*, "Sale la Aurora, de su fertil mano."

Even more new material is presented to us in the introduction and notes to the edition of *Persiles y Sigismunda*. In 1906, Professor Schevill studied this novel in a scholarly article and proved how inaccurate were the generalizations which had been made concerning Cervantes's indebtedness to Heliodorus. The information now added in the introduction and notes represents the result of patient investigations conducted in the fields of cosmography and cartography, rarely essayed by literary critics.

After pointing out the chronological inconsistencies in the novel, the editors collect all the evidence at hand in regard to the date of composition and conclude that at least the greater part was written after 1609. Although it may be admitted that the Byzantine novel was his formal model, the perusal of the account of the fictitious voyage of the brothers Niccolò and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the end of the fourteenth century and published at Venice in 1558, probably led Cervantes to select Northern lands as the scene of the *trabajos* of his chief characters in the first half of the novel. The editors point out that the author sought his inspiration in romantic and fantastic narrations, rather than in histories and authentic maps, and that he depended chiefly for his information upon the works of Olaus Magnus, Antonio de Torquemada, Francisco Thamara, Solinus, Pero Mexia's *Silva de varia lección* and Garcilasso de la Vega's *Comentarios*. The book also gives evidence of reminiscences of the romances of chivalry, of the *Aeneid* and of a re-reading of the ever-beloved *Galatea*. Emphasis is also laid upon the autobiographical details contained in the book which make it "un encantador mosaico de recuerdos de sus lecturas y de su vida."

The editors are to be congratulated on the auspicious beginning of their

task and we may feel a pardonable pride that an American scholar is associated in so important an undertaking.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Criticism. By W. C. BROWNELL. New York, Scribner's, 1914. Pp. 85.

It was eleven years ago, after reading *French Traits*, *Victorian Prose Masters*, and *French Art*, that I first felt that W. C. Brownell stood not only at the head of American critics, but was the equal of Macaulay, Brunetière and Taine. In these years Mr. Brownell's production has pursued its slow and cautious pace: there has been, that I have seen, only *American Prose Masters*, to extend the modest, the too modest, bulk of his work. If now it is with me a question of revising my earlier feeling it is rather in the direction of saying that Mr. Brownell is the only American critic we have at all, that he is more essentially a critic than either Macaulay, Brunetière or Taine, that he is more consistently a critic than Sainte-Beuve and even than De Sanctis—De Sanctis, who apparently has had no influence on Mr. Brownell's thought, but who, nevertheless, is his nearest prototype in criticism. By this I mean that he has viewed art primarily as expression, and has held constantly in mind as his single problem the discovery, the interpretation, of what is expressed. He has thus avoided the technical system prevailing in the universities which has made the method of criticism subservient to the methods of history and has led often to the misunderstanding of both. He has avoided the methods of journalistic criticism, which have thrown interpretation aside and used the reviewing essay as a pretext for expressing prejudices inspired by circulation reports or by memories of school and college training. And what is more remarkable in view of the strength of his own personality, he has avoided another type of criticism, the more insidious from the brilliancy with which it is often used, especially by great creative artists, where a work of art furnishes to the critic simply the occasion for expressing his own idiosyncrasies or temperament.

In this short essay, entitled *Criticism*, Mr. Brownell, speaking rather as the practitioner than as the theorist, gives some of the guiding principles of his own method. I think it is fair thus narrowly to describe the scope of this book. For these principles are not carried to the philosophical premises on which they rest, and which are hardly apprehended by the author at all; so true is it that he arrives at them by what may be called common sense, and by the intensive study of a fairly limited number of critics (especially the Frenchmen of the last century). I think it is fair also to say that the essay contains—after the Italians of the past century and of the present—nothing that has not been already and perhaps more simply and certainly more exhaustively said. Nevertheless that portion of the public which is suspicious of philosophy can find here some admirable assistance to a sane view of criticism. The notion, for instance, that it takes an artist to criticize art can be found definitively demolished in chapter I, though that discussion has neither the solidity nor the consistent inference of corollaries that characterizes the similar argument of Croce. The same may be said of the chapter on the critic's equipment (though what is here described as useful, others might consider more emphatically as essential), and of the paragraphs on the necessity and character of the critical judgment. Mr. Brownell's

method "involves the initial establishment of some central conception of the subject, gained from specific study illuminated by a general culture, followed by an analysis of detail confirming or modifying this, and concluding with a synthetic presentation of a physiognomy whose features are as distinct as the whole they compose—the whole process interpenetrated by an estimate of value based on the standard of reason, judging the subject freely after the laws of the latter's own projection, and not by its responsiveness to either individual whim or formulated prescription" (p. 82). He has earlier said that "every important piece of literature, as every important piece of plastic art, is the expression of a personality, and it is not the material of it, but the mind behind it, that invites critical interpretation" (p. 16). These are admirable characterizations of the method used in the powerful critical output of Mr. Brownell himself. It may seem absurd to assail, on the ground of theory, principles which in practice have generated in Mr. Brownell's work such splendid monuments of American culture. Yet it may be observed that, in theory, criticism is not concerned with whether a work of art is important or not; that a work of art need not necessarily express the personality of the artist at all; that at any rate the personality behind the artistic expression is interesting to criticism only so far as it is expressed, and consequently can never be larger than the expression; finally, that just as it is impossible to organize two distinct artists under one central conception, so two distinct expressions of the same artist remain distinct and *eccentric*, with the result that while a central conception may be of utility in the orientation of the artist, it can have only a pragmatic value in criticism itself; and any synthesis based on it must necessarily collapse before the fact that all art is the expression of the particular, that particulars remain forever particular, and thus forever recalcitrant to synthesis. Is not the central conception pushed a little too far even in *French Traits*?

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

OBITUARY

MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER

(1871-1915)

Murray Anthony Potter, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages in Harvard University, died at his country home at Lancaster, Mass., on May 17th.

Professor Potter was born at Clifton Springs, Ill., on March 15th, 1871, son of Edward Edmunds and Susan (Anthony) Potter. He prepared for college in San Francisco, studied at the University of California, and went later to Harvard, where he received his A.B. degree in 1895. In 1895-96 he was engaged in business in California. In the fall of 1896 he returned to Cambridge and entered the Harvard Graduate School, whence he received his degree of A.M. in 1897, and his Ph.D. degree in 1899. In the same year he was appointed Assistant Professor at Dartmouth. In 1900 he married Miss Bessie Lincoln of Boston. In 1901 he was called back to Harvard as Instructor, and in 1907 was promoted to an Assistant Professorship. The present year was his sabbatical, in which Dr. Potter had originally intended to take a much needed rest abroad, but owing to the war he decided to spend the year in Boston. Dr. Potter, who was always in frail health and was often tried by very severe suffering, which he endured with cheerful fortitude, became worse and worse during the winter until he succumbed on May 17th.

All who knew Dr. Potter, whether as colleagues or pupils, now mourn the loss of a friend whom they admired and loved both as a man and as a scholar. In a delicate body he had a strong character, a generous, straightforward, most kindly spirit; always eager to be helpful, he was an enthusiastic teacher, extremely conscientious in the performance of his duty in all its details, inspiring to his classes, broad in his learning. The courses he gave show his versatility, for with equal success he taught Spanish, French and Italian, and gave graduate courses on Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the literature of the Renaissance.

Dr. Potter's chief work in Romance scholarship was a book based on his doctoral dissertation and entitled: *Sohrab and Rustem*, "the Epic theme of a combat between father and son; a study of its genesis and use in literature and popular tradition" (London, D. Nutt, 1902). Other studies are *The Legendary Story of Christ's Childhood*, published in *The New World* (Boston, December, 1899), and *The Horse in the Popular Epic*, a paper read at the meeting of The Modern Language Association of America held at Brown University in 1904. Through D. C. Heath & Co. of Boston Dr. Potter published in 1907 an excellent Spanish Reader: *Cuentos Alegres por Luis Taboada*. *Ami et Amile* appeared in the *Mod. Lang. Ass'n of America Publications* for 1908, New Series, vol. XVI. His essay on *The Renaissance* is included in Professor W. A. Neilson's *Lectures*

on *Dr. Eliot's Five-foot Shelf of Books*, vol. I (Collier's Lecture Service Bureau, New York, 1913). His last published article was, it is believed, *An Epic Tensone and a Parallel*, in the *Anniversary Papers in honor of George Lyman Kittredge* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1913). In connection with one of his graduate courses Professor Potter was preparing a book of essays on Petrarch, a work that now unfortunately remains unfinished. In memory of his mother Professor Potter established in Harvard College the Susan Anthony Potter Prizes for undergraduate essays on comparative literature.

R. A.



NOTES AND NEWS

At Chicago University, Assistant Professor E. Preston Dargan has been made Associat Professor of French Literature, and Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi, recently of Harvard, has been elected Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.

Assistant Professor Earle B. Babcock of Chicago University, has been made chairman of the department of Romance languages at New York University.

Dr. Joseph Seronde of Yale University has been elected to an assistant professorship in Romance languages at the University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Murray P. Brush has been made Dean of the Collegiat Department of Johns Hopkins.

A series of volumes "vendus au profit des mutilés de la guerre" is appearing in attractiv form from the press of Edouard Champion, Paris. Three volumes have apapeared: Anatole France, *Sur la Voie Glorieuse*, with admirable portrait of the author, 3.50 francs; Rémy de Gourmont, *Pendant l'Orage*, 5 francs; Charles Maurras, *l'Etang de Berre*, 5 francs. There will be two more volumes in the series, one by Annunzio and one by Barrès. *Pendant l'Orage* is the last book by Rémy de Gourmont, who died September 28, 1915.

Students of French letters and those interested in the war will be glad to no that M. Paul Fort commenst in Dec., 1914 to publish at regular intervals *Poèmes de France, Bulletin lyrique de la Guerre*. The *Bulletin* appears twice a month, at the author's adress: 125 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris. The price is 6 francs per year.

At the University of Illinois, the following changes are announst: Dr. Kenneth McKenzie has been calld from Yale to assume a professorship in Romance languages and the chairmanship of the department. Dr. John D. Fitz-Gerald has been advanst from an assistant professorship in Romance languages to a professorship in Spanish. The following have been appointed Assistants in Romance languages: E. A. Dawson, A.M.; H. K. Stone, A.B.; J. R. Schalter, A.M.; C. Laguardia, A.B. Professor T. E. Oliver has been granted leave of absence for the first semester of 1915-16, and is serving in Belgium with the American Commission for Relief in Belgium

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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AN OLD ITALIAN VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS

THE version of the Legend of Saint Alexius, which is here published for the first time, is found in a volume of legends in the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence. This volume, which bears number 1661, was carefully examined and described by the late Arturo Graf,¹ several years ago, and then officially described by

¹ Arturo Graf, *Di un Codice Riccardiano di Leggende Volgari*, in *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. III, pp. 401–414:

“Il codice riccardiano 1661 è un in-quarto membranaceo, di mm. 290 × 207 circa e di buona conservazione generale. Legato novamente or sono certo pochi anni, nella quale occasione fu munito di guardie in pergamena, esso contiene 59 fogli scritti e numerati, più due fogli bianchi in principio e uno nel mezzo, dopo il f. 35. Un foglio scritto nel retto e non numerato precede il f. 1. Il f. 12, specie nel tergo, è fortemente macchiato e corroso; i ff. 13, 14, 15 hanno gravemente sofferto e presentano una lacuna che penetra più o meno profondamente nello scritto, rammendata con pergamena. Nei primi 9 fogli un poemetto è scritto in due colonne, nei rimanenti la prosa corre distesa per tutta la facciata; e ciascuna facciata piena conta regolarmente 45 righe. Le intestazioni e le iniziali sono in rosso. Il volume contiene un poemetto in terza rima e 22 leggende in prosa; ma gli manca qualche cosa in fine, come vedremo or ora. Il codice, e per l'età sua, e per ciò che contiene, non è senza importanza, e non fu mai, che io sappia, descritto da nessuno, benchè più d'uno l'abbia citato.

Innanzi al f. 1 è l'indice di quanto il volume contiene o conteneva. In testa di esso si legge: *In Christi nomine amen. Inditione nona de m^o iij^o septuagesimo primo. Rubricae presentis libri certarum legendarum in septem quaternis de 78 ca(r)tis. Est mei philippi vari notari nati quondam de domino jacobino de humellatibus de contrata sancti quirci verone.* Quest'ultima parte, in cui il proprietario si fa conoscere, è ripetuta in capo del f. 1. Segue l'indice, che risponde esattamente al contenuto del codice, salvo che nell'ultima rubrica, la quale dice così: *Legenda passionis siue passio domini yesu-christi nostri secundum nicodemum et alia plura miracula* (il *miracula* è incerto, essendo pressochè del tutto svaniti i caratteri). Questo evangelo di Nicodemo e le altre cose, mancano al codice, ed erano probabilmente in latino, perchè, mentre tutte le altre rubriche dell'indice sono scritte in volgare, questa sola è in latino, come s'è veduto. Dovevano tenere 18 ff., giacchè l'ultima f. del cod., quale si ha presentemente, reca, secondo la numerazione antica che ancor si può leggere accanto alla nuova, il n° 60, e tutto il cod. contava, a tenore della notizia riportata qui di sopra, ff. 78.

Salomone Morpurgo in his catalogue of the Riccardiana Library.² The exact date of the volume is unknown, but judging from the fact that it bears a date, 1371, and from the nature of the manuscript itself, it is probable that it was written about the latter half of the XIVth Century, and more probably between 1350 and 1371.

In presenting this transcription I must at the outset acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and teacher, Professor Pio Rajna, who kindly suggested this work to me, and to Dr. Mario Casella of Florence, who took the trouble to revise my transcription. To both I wish here to express my hearty gratitude. Also I wish to thank Professors E. S. Sheldon and J. D. M. Ford of Harvard, whose valuable advice frequently helped me. As, in the matter of transcriptions, the transcriber must elaborate a method appropriate to the manuscript in question, I must now enumerate the rules which it seemed most advisable to adopt for this particular text.

I may first note that the objects of this transcription are: (1) to get clearly at the exact contents of the legend; (2) to preserve the dialectal or archaic qualities of the language, so that this transcription may permit both a literary and a linguistic study. This is, therefore, not exactly a diplomatic transcription. I have changed or introduced punctuation wherever it seemed necessary, in order to make the phraseology of the text conform as much as possible to modern usage. This includes the insertion of apostrophes and quotation marks, which are, of course, never used in the MS. Capitals, which in such texts are scattered abundantly, I have made to conform

L'indice non è della stessa mano che scrisse il codice, il quale potrebbe essere di parecchi anni più antico della data indicata. Tutte le scritture contenute in esso sono in dialetto veneto, ma in quel veneto letterario particolare che s'accosta più o meno al toscano, e forse le più sono trascrizioni di testi toscani."

² Salomone Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, Roma, 1900. Vol. I, fasc. 8-9, pp. 612:

"Membr., Sec. XIV, mm. 295 X 210. Carte 63: bianca la c. 39; scritte regolarmente le cc. 4-63, a doppia colonna fino a c. 12^a, quindi a riga intera: 46 r. per faccia o colonna. Tutte un po' macchiate e gualcite, ma senza danno del testo, salvo che nelle c. 15-19, dove le macchie hanno forato e distrutto, più o meno profondamente, anche parte dello scritto. Le cc. 1-3, che servivano di guardia, sono palimpseste; nelle prime due sono tracce visibili di appunti notarili; nella c. 3^a, l'antico possessore del volume scrisse l'indice con questa intitolazione: *'In Christi nomine amen. Inditione nona de M^o iij^o septuagesimo primo. Rubrice presentis libri certarum legendarum in septem quaternis de 78 cartis est mei Philippii Varii notarii nati quondam de domino Iacobio Humeltatibus de contrata Santi Quirici Verone,*' e allato a queste parole il segno del tabellionato. Il nome del possessore è ripetuto ancora in cima alla c. 4^a. Manca in fine l'ultimo quaderno, ossia, come risulta da codesto notamento, 18 carte.—Leg. mod."

with the punctuation and with modern custom. I have resolved all abbreviations, printing in italics all letters that do not actually occur in the text, even if represented by special signs of abbreviation, and calling attention in the footnotes to all letters which are in the least uncertain, as well as to all scribal peculiarities of the manuscript.

The system of resolving abbreviations often brings up little problems of spelling. For instance, as my friend Dr. Casella notes, in the "cũ" notation the tilde may stand for *m*, *n* or even *z*. Perhaps it is *m* only before palatals. I have here adopted the method of resolving this abbreviation always as *n*, thus relegating such problems as this one to a subsequent linguistic study of the text. I may note now that even there I shall be hampered from giving my study full scope, because I shall have under observation only a small part of the work of this one scribe, the whole MS. volume Riccardiano 1661 being now inaccessible to me. Likewise for the usual ligature for *e* or *et*. Normally *e* should stand before consonants and *et* before vowels. This rule is not heeded in manuscripts in general, and certainly not in this one, but I thought it best to follow it in this case. *U* and *v* are in all manuscripts used interchangeably. Indeed the transcriber is usually expected to resolve them according to modern usage, a method that I have here adopted. Although the use of *i* and *j* and *y* presents a somewhat similar case I have decided to leave in all such cases the letter written in the MS. I have separated words united in the manuscript, or joined words separated in the manuscript, only in cases that were absolutely apparent, and where the change would not affect the linguistic aspect of the text. All cases not perfectly obvious are mentioned in the footnotes. In such things too, I may repeat, this manuscript, as usual, is quite inconsistent.

In the text I have given the exact pagination of the manuscript by making a double vertical line where the page of the volume ends, and indicating the page on the margin. I have not thought it necessary, however, to number the lines. In a text as good and as clear as this one, all such signs would be superfluous, and indeed injurious to its appearance. In certain sentences it will be noted that the syntax is rather loose. I could not improve it without changing the text. My one object was to get a thoroughly clear text, while remaining carefully faithful to the peculiarities and mannerisms of

the manuscript. Owing to the double revision the text has undergone (by myself and by Dr. Casella), I believe there are certainly no serious inaccuracies, if any at all, in this transcription.

In a subsequent study I intend to treat this version from the linguistic point of view (showing the archaic and dialectal peculiarities of the text), and also from the literary point of view, giving the origin and development of the Legend of Saint Alexius, and showing approximately the position of this version in the history of the legend.

LEGENDA BEATI ALEXII ROMANI

A Roma foe uno grande huomo e molto gentile vocato Heufamiano, molto richo e primo nel palagio delo Imperadore seguente luy; et havea sotto di se tre millia huomeni, i quali portavan sempro centure d'oro³ et erano vestiti di vestimente di seta. Anchora questo huomo era iusto e misericordioso, e dava molte elimosine ai povri. Tre mense istavano aparechiate zaschun di ne la sua casa a gli orphani e ale vedove et a pellegrini che andavano per via. Et ello ongni di a hora di nona magniava con religiosi, e con la sua donna che havea nomme Angnola, et era ella simigientemente religiosa, e benedivano Idio e ringraziavalo. E non haveano figluol niuno, imprecio che la donna era sterile, unde egli erano molto dolenti, e specialmente per che erano signor di cotanta ricchezza e di cossi grande zente, et per cio faceano ongni di molte limosine, pregando el Creatore i Dio con molte oracioni che dengnasse di dar a lor⁴ figluolo, lo quale rimanesse in cossi grande hereditade. Unde lo nostro Signor Dio per la sua gran pietade, guardando la intencione di quostoro; e ricordandosse de li loro buone opere, si gli ebbe exauditi, e conciedete loro⁵ uno fiolo. Renderono molte grazie a Deo; da inde inanco tuto il tempo de la vita loro mantenero castitade; e a cio⁶ che Dio haveasse alegrezza di loro e di lor figliolo, da questo tempo innaçi non si conoscerono may carnalmente. Ma possia ch'el fantino venno ad etade che potea inpre(n)dere⁷ sciencia, puoselo a leggere cum gli maestri de le ecclesiastiche scritture e dele arte liberali, e con lo aiutorio di Dio in pocho tempo aprese assay, si che in tute le scritture mondane e spirtuale, s'intese maravigliosamente. Ma venuto nel etade ne la quale ancora potea imprendere meglio, si gli fue trovata

³ doro.

⁴ alor.

⁵ Corrected from *lororo*, obviously a scribal error.

⁶ Eacio.

⁷ I correct the MS., which has merely *inpredere*, the omission of the tilde being an obvious scribal error. Cf. same word four lines below.

una donçella di schiata imperiale *per* moglie, e fue fato il leto acoreato *con* molti e gientili ornamenti, e fue posto a çiaschuno una corona in capo nel tempio di Sancto Bonifacio martire, per mano de molti sacerdoti. E cossi *cun* gaudio e com leticia li menarono tuto quello di. Quando venne il vespro disse Eufamiano al suo figliuolo: "Intra figiol mio nel leto, e visita la sposa tua." Poscia che fu intrato nel leto comincio questo sapientissimo huomo giovane diletto di Cristo amaistrare⁸ la sua sposa, et aprirli molte *conse* de la sua scrittura. Dopo queste *conse* tolse uno suo anello d'oro e diediglilo, e una sua cintura *cun* la quale si cingea, involta in uno palio d'oro e in uno cendalo et in uno sudario di porpore, e dissegli: "*Serva* tute queste *conse* tanto *quanto* piaxera a Idio e Dominideo sia con *ambino*." Fatto questo tolse del avere⁹ suo *quanto* gli parve, e intro in mare, e come piague a Dio *pervenne* a una terra che ha nome Landochia. E ancora si se levo inde, e ando a una citade de Syria che havea nome *Persya* dove era una ymagine del nostro Signore Cristo, che non fo fata *per* mano du homo terreno. E stando luy in questo loco, cio ch'avea¹⁰ portato diede ai poveri *per* l'amor¹¹ de Dio, vestendossi ello di molte vile *vestimente*. E comincio a sedere *con* gli altri povri soto el portico dy la Chiesa di madona Santa Anna, e ogni di di domenega ricevea el corpo di Cristo. E dele elymosine che gli eran date tenea la sua necessitate, e tuto l'altro donava ay poveri. Ma poscia che fo partito da Roma il padre e la madre il fecero cerchar assay, e non potendolo trovare, tolso el padre molti di suoi famegliari e mandonne *per* tute le parti del mondo cerchando *per* luy. E vegendo alquanto di questi famegliari che l'andavano cerchando a una citade ch'avea¹² nome Edissa, la dov'ei¹³ era il beato Alessio, e vidolo sedere in fra gli altri povri, e fecionli elimosina, ma non lo chonobero. Ma quel huomo de Dio beato Alessio bene chonobbe loro, e gloriffico Idio, e disse: "Gracie rendo a ti Singnore Idio che mi chiamasti a te, e facestilo *per* lo tuo santo nome, e amme dato gracia de ricevere elimosina da i *servi* di casa mia. Pregote fidelmente che tu debie compire *in* me quella operatione che tu hay *commiciata*."¹⁴ Questi famegliari messi tornarono a casa || e disseno come haveano *per* molti parte *cerchato*, e non l'aveano¹⁵ potuto trovare. La madre, dal di ch'el figliuolo si diparti,

⁸ Might be a *maistrare*, but it is written in one word.

⁹ *Delauere*.

¹⁰ *Chauea*.

¹¹ *La mor*, "*per l'amor de Dio*" is surely the regular idiom. I do not think *mor* could stand for *morte*.

¹² Cf: note 10.

¹³ *Douei*.

¹⁴ Probably the tilde was inadvertently put on the *o* instead of on the first *i*. As it is it might even be an *m*, but cf. p. 358, ll. 23, 30.

¹⁵ *Laueano*—such cases being frequent they need not further be noted.

puose uno sacho su le leto suo e quivi sedea, lamentandosse *sempre* dicendo: "Eo dico *in* testimonio di Dio di stare sempre cossi enfino a tanto¹⁶ ch'io sapro che e del mio diletto figliuolo." E la ysposa disse ala suo socera: "Eo *non* usciro di casa tua, anzi mi voglio *con-*simigliare ala tortora, la quala se *perde* il suo marito, *non* si *con-*iunge may ad algun altro, anzi stasi e vola sempre may sola, e sta *in* molto dolore. Et io simigliantemente *non* voglio may leticia ne alegreça, anzi voglio vivere in afflicione *et in* astinencia, pregando il nostro Signore che io habia tali novelle, ch'io mi possa ancora rialegrare col mio dolce marito." Ma quello santo huomo beato Alessio *in* quello medesimo luogo che ditto e, cio e nel portico di Santa Maria, istete in santa *conversacion* e *in* aspreça di penitencia *per* tempo di XVII anni e *non* fo conosciuto. Dopo *queste* conse che ditte sono volle el Signor Dio manifestare la sua sanctitade *in* questo modo, che la ymagine laquala era in quella chiesa *in* honore de Vergene Maria, la quale ymagine *non* era fata *per* mane du homo, questa ymagine si favelo al santose, e si gli disse: "Vae e cercha soto quel porticho d'uno santo huomo che ha nome Alexio, et e tra gli altri povri, et evi stato *per* XVII anni,} e fallo intrar¹⁷ dentro dala chiesa, *per* ho che e santo huomo e dengno del regno del cielo, e lo spirito de Dio si posa in luy, e la sua oratione saglie nel conspetto de Dio. Ando *questo* santose e cercho de luy, e nol conobbe e nol poteo trovare. Unde ello ritorno dentro e comincio a pregare l'omnipotente Dio ch'el gli dignasse mostrare *questo* santo, lo quale la ymagine li havea ditto. Anchora a¹⁸ la oratione di quostui la ymagine favello e disse gli: "Quello che siede di fuori denançi da le reççi, quello e desso." Allora lo santose tostamente ando et hebelo trovato e conosciuto, et *incontinent* si gli¹⁹ çito ai piedi e pregollo humelmente ch'el dovesse intrare nella chiesa. Onde ello intro dentro, e fue sapiuta e conosciuta²⁰ la sua sanctitade, e comincio a esse honorato da tutti, e tuta giente l'aveano *per* iusto²¹ e santo. Onde ello, si come santo huomo, vogliendo fuçire la vanagloria si come crudel serpente nascosamente uscio di quella citade e venne a Laudocia e qui intro in nave *per* andare *in* una citade *in* Çicilia la quale havea nome Tarsso, *per* istare nascoso *in* uno Tempio di San Paulo, lo quale era *in* quella citade. Ma secundo che piaque a Dio del cielo uno vento forte *percosse* questa nave dove era Santo Alexio, e subitamente s'il menoe al porto di Roma. Quando Santo Alexio vide

¹⁶ *Atanto*.

¹⁷ Tilde might mean *re*, but in such cases I resolve consistently as *r* only.

¹⁸ Written small and high, as if added later.

¹⁹ *Sigli*.

²⁰ Under the *t* there is a slight mark, probably a spot.

²¹ Initial letter may be a *j*. Apparently there is no distinction between *i* and *j* in this MS.

dove era arivato, fecesi grande maraviglia, ma reconsolossi vegendo che era volonta de Dio. E disse cossi nel suo chuore: "Idio me ne sia testimonia²² che non voglio fare *increscimento* a nexuno homo, e non voglio che alcuno habia briga de mi, senno la chasa del mio padre. Eo so bene che ive non sero conosciuto io. Unde Santo Alexio si intro ne la casa sua, e vide il padre suo tornare a casa intornoiato di molto grande giente e di suo *serventi*. E il beato Alexio comincio a favelare e a dire al padre suo: "O tu *servo* de Dio guarda verso me ch'io sono uno povro pellegrino. Priegoti *per* Dio che tu debi comandare ch'io sia ricevuto ne la casa tua, e ch'io possa havere del pane che chade de la tua mensa, acio che Dio benediga i di²³ e li anni e habia l'anima del tuo figliuolo, lo qualo e in pellegrinaggio. Udendo il suo padre queste parole rimembrossi del suo fiolo, e compunto nel suo core comando che Santo Alexio andasse a luy, e disse cossi ai suoi *serventi*: "Quale di voy vuole esser *servigiale* di questo sancto huomo et haver ranchura di luy a testimonio de Dio si gl'imprometto ch'io il faro libero, e ne la mia casa s'il faro herede, e terollo *per* mio figliuolo." Allora uno di loro disse di farlo, e questo lo ricolse, et assignoli questo fante *per* so *serviciale*, e comando che fosse bene *servito*, e non gli fosse fato *noglia*²⁴ in nexuna guisa. E comando che gli fosse aconcio uno leto nel portico de la casa sua *per* poterlo tuta via²⁵ vedere quando andasse o venisse a casa. Anchora comando che dovesse esser pasciuto di la sua mensa, e che non dovesse esser abandonato di nexuna *consa* che volesse. Cossi ordinato e posto il fatto di questo santo *perseverava* nela astinencia dela sua vita, come era || usato, in oracioni et in digiunii et in molte vigilie et in altre buone opere, e unche non si lasciava. Vezendo i fanti di la casa questo fante cossi disposto e che non si adirava di *consa* alcuna, cominciolo a tenere *per* ischernie e gitarli in dosso et in capo l'aqua con que si lavavano le mani e la lavatura de le scutelle, e si gli faceano molte altre conse ingiurievole, le quali ello soforia²⁶ tute pacientemente *per* l'amor²⁷ de Dio. E sapea bene che l'antiquo nemicho de l'uomo si gli facea fare queste iniurie, e percio s'armava cossi di paciencia. E cossi istete in questa vita beata in casa del suo padre e non fo conosciuto XVII anni. Ma vegiando e cognoscendo Santo Alexio ch'el tempo di la sua vita venia meno, e che de la fatica andava a riposo, domando al suo *servigiale* una carta e penna e challamaro, e *per* ordine iscrisse tuta la sua vita, e cum²⁸ ello havea desprigiate le noçe *per* non istare nelle

²² Last letter might be an *o*.

²³ *Idi*.

²⁴ *Noglia* = noia.

²⁵ In modern Italian *tuttavia* is one word, but probably was not at this time.

²⁶ The second *o* is uncertain, might be *e*, *soferia*, which is more natural.

²⁷ *La mor*, cf. n. 11.

²⁸ The tilde probably stands for *m* here, the word being *come*, not *con*.

dilicationi e nelle riccheçe del mondo, e com²⁸ ello era stato in pellegrinaggio e per quanto tempo, e come contra la sua voluntade era ritornato a chasa, e chome havea suferti molti vituperii e molti desinori nella chasa del suo padre per XVII anni. Compiuta questa scritta volle manifestare lo nostro Signore Idio la bataglia e la victoria di questo Santo, unde una domenega, compiute le messe, una vocie sonoe da cielo e disse nela chiesa: "Venite a me tuti voi che havete portato per me faticha, che havete sostenuti li inchargi di molte afflicioni, e Io vi consolero e saciero di tuto bene." Laquale vocie audirono tuti et hebeno²⁹ grande timore, e del grandio ispavento caderono in terra e disseno: "Kirieleyson." Ancora venne quella medesima vocie e disse: "Cerchiate de l'uhomo³⁰ di Dio beato Alexio, che ello ori e preghi per tuta Roma." Ma venuto el venerdì³¹ sancto, si chome piaque a Dio, Santo Alexio rende lo spirito a Yesu Cristo. Quelli che erano nella chiesa uscirono fuori e cercharono per luy, e nolo poteano trovare. Allora si ragunarono tuti a la cesia in quello medesimo di, e pregavano l'alto Idio che dengnasse di manifestare lo luogo dove fosse questo sancto huomo. Allora si venne una vocie e disse: "Andate e cerchiate in casa de Eufamiano." Onde igli andarono tuti ala casa de Eufamiano, e disseno: "Che e cio che non ci hai manifestata cossi grande gracia e cossi precioso tesoro come tu hai habuto e tenuto per cotanto tempo in casa tua?" E quello respondea e dicea: "Idio me ne sia testimonio che eo non l'o³² saputo ne inteso." Et incontinente chiamo a se lo sinischalcho suo, lo quale ello havea posto sopra la sua famiglia, e disse: "Hay tu unque sapiuto o conosciuto alcuno in nostra casa di cotanta sanctitade?" E quello rispose che non l'avea unque sapiuto. Allora lo Imperadore ch'avea nome Archadio con uno Re che havea nome Honorio, i quali in quegli temporali regniavano e regiano Roma insieme col Papa che havea nome Inocencio, andarono a casa de Heufamiano per cercare di questo santo huomo dilligentemente. Heufamiano veçendo queste conse ando inançi cun i suoi fanti ad aconciare il luogo medesimo in casa la dove sedessono quisti singnori. Vegnando quisti singnori Heufamiano uscì loro incontro cun lampade acese e con teriboli cun incenso. Quando furono a la casa feciono uno grande scilencio. In questo scilencio il ministro di Santo Alexio ando chiusamente al so signore e disse: "Guarda Meser che forsi per ventura e ello quello lo quale tu me assignasti, a cui dovesse servire. In verita te dico che eo gli ho veduto fare miravigliose opere, ongni domenega si comunichava, e cun molti di-

²⁸ The *b* is crossed as if by a tilde, which I do not understand. Perhaps it is merely a careless mark.

²⁹ *Luhomo*, cf. p. 359, l. 33.

³¹ *Vener di*.

³² *Lo*.

giunii e oracione e vigilie, e *cun* molta astinencia e penitencia, e *cun* molta paciencia il faceva, e molte *inzurie* e molestie che fate gli furono tute le sostenea in paciencia." Udendo queste *conse* Heufamiano freçosamente corse a luy,³³ e trovollo che era gia morto. Aproximandosse a luy,³³ Heufamiano iscoperse gli il volto, e vide la faccia sua respiandente come volto de angielo, et havea in mano una carta iscrita. Allora Heufamiano volse tore la carta, ma non poteo, de la qual consa si spavento molto, et hebbe gran timore. E tostante ritorno al Papa e a l'Imperadore e disse a loro:³⁴ "Noy havemo trovato la persona cuy || noy andiavamo cerchando," e manifestò a loro³⁴ tute le conse che dito gli havea il ministro di Sancto Alexio, e chome l'avea trovato morto, e de la carta che havea in mano, la *quala non* gli havea potuto tore. Allora il Papa e lo Imperadore e *cun* Heufamiano andarono al luogho dove jacea questo corpo biato, e stando dinançi³⁵ da luy dissono: "Avegna Idio che noi siamo peccatori, e *non* siamo dingni di te tohare, ma siammo posti *per* reçere lo mundo, onde noy te *pregiamo* che ci debbie dare cotesta carta." E ando Meser lo Papa *cun* grande riverencia, e tolse la carta di mano al Santo, e diedela al cartolagio di la chiesa di Roma che la dovesse lezere, e fue fato scilencio, e poi legioo questa carta dinnançi³⁶ a tuta gente. Ma poi che Heufamiano hebbe udite le parole de la carta, cade in terra *per* morto, e cominciossi a trare i capegli e straciarsi i panni del dosso, e a pelarsi la barba; e pareo che si volesse tuto ispeciare. E zitossi sopra il corpo dil beato Alexio che era suo figliuolo, e chomincio a criolare: "O Signor mio *per* che m'ai³⁷ fato questa consa, *per* che hay cossi contristata l'anima mia. O figlol mio, o Singnor mio, eo ho aspetato cotanto tempo *cun* sospiri e *cun* pianto la tua *presencia*, e sempre io sperava de audire la tua vocie, e d'essere³⁸ riconsolato di la tua *persona*. Et io t'o³⁹ figliuolo mio audito e veduto in casa mia, e *non* t'o³⁹ conosciuto, la qual consa e a mi⁴⁰ molto magior dolore. Io t'o³⁹ tenuto XVII anni in casa mia credendo che tu fossi uno *pelegrino* di strania terra, e tu eri il mio diletto figliuolo. Tu dovevi esser ogi mai guardatore (e guardatore)⁴¹ dele mie richeççe, e sostenitore e portatore di la mia famiglia, e ora dolente mi ti vegio morto. Ora qual chuoire potrebe pensare cossi grande dolore, quale *consolamento* potro io

³³ *Aluy.*

³⁴ *Aloro.*

³⁵ Here again might be *dinnaci*.

³⁶ Tilde is right over the first i. Cf. n. 35.

³⁷ *Mai.*

³⁸ *Dessere.*

³⁹ *To.*

⁴⁰ *Ami.*

⁴¹ This repetition seems due to scribal error, hence my parenthesis.

ponere nel mio cuore! Solo Idio mi puote consolare et io a luy⁴² domando *consolamento*." Dopo queste *conse* la madre sua, apoi che hebbe questo inteso, si chome leonessa che rompesse la rete, si chorsse *cun* i panni isquarciati discapigliata levando i suoi ochi al cielo. E non possendo andare al corpo sancto *per* la giente che era intorno *fortemente* cridava, e diceva: "Datemi luogho ch'io⁴³ possa andare al mio figliuolo e possa vederete la consolacione di l'anima⁴⁴ mia, il quale latto il mio pecto." E quando foe venuta al corpo si gito⁴⁵ sopra luy, e cridava: "O figliuol mio, lume di gli ochi⁴⁶ miey, *per* che se stato inverso di me cossi crudele, che tu vedeai a molte stagioni il tuo padre e me *fortemete*⁴⁷ lagrimare,⁴⁸ e non ti manifestasti, e li⁴⁹ *servitoi* t'andavano⁵⁰ adosso, e facevanti molta *ingiuria*, e tuto el sostenivi, e questo diceano spesse volte." E si distendea tuta in sul corpo dil sancto, e tochavagli le mani, el volto angelico, e basciavalo, e sil chiamava e dicea: "O voy che sciete qui presente piangiete mecho, che hebbi questo mio figliuolo XVII anni in casa mia e nol chonobbi, e gli *servi* suoi gli faceano molte ingiurie e *dannagi*, le *guançate* e sputanvagli nel volto, e tuto il sofferia *allegramente*. Oy me chi dara a i ochi⁵¹ mey una fontana di lagrime che pianga el di e la nocte il dolore di l'anima⁵² mia?" Ancora la sposa sua vestita di vechie vestimente corse piangiendo e dicendo: "Oy me oggi sono disolata! Omay *non* ho io cui aspette, omay *non* ho io in cui tenir fidança, ne a cuy poter levare i ochi⁵¹ miey! Ora e rotto lo specchio di l'animo⁵³ mio, ora e *perduta* la speranza mia, ora si chomincia el dolor mio, il quale non de may haver fine!" Lo popolo veçendo queste *conse* *fortemente* piangiea.⁵⁴ Allora il Papa e lo Imperadore poseno il beato corpo in uno chadiletto hornato, e fecionlo portare nel meço di la citade; e fu annunciato da tuto il puovolo che quello huomo di Dio era trovato che si andiava cerchando; e tuti coreano a questo corpo santo *per* la cui virtute gli infermi guariano, i ciechi reluminavano, i demonii ischacciavano, e

⁴² *Aluy*.⁴³ *Chio*.⁴⁴ *Di lanima*.⁴⁵ *Sigito*.⁴⁶ *Gliochi*.⁴⁷ Probably the tilde is thoughtlessly omitted from the second *e*.⁴⁸ I correct from *lagrimaare*.⁴⁹ *Eli*.⁵⁰ *Tandauano*.⁵¹ *Iochi*.⁵² *Lanima*.⁵³ *Lanimo*.⁵⁴ Here there is a small hole in the parchment, but I do not think there is any doubt about the word.

tuti quegli ch'erano⁵⁵ tenuti d'alcuna consa in adversitate quando tochavano il sancto corpo sença niuna dimora erano liberati. Veçendo il Papa e lo 'mperadore⁵⁶ tante maraviglie che Idio faceva per questo corpo, e igli medesmi tolseno il chadeletto e portavano, || per che medesmi fosseno sanctificadi. Allora lo Imperadore comando che molte monete d'oro⁵⁷ e d'arçento⁵⁸ fosseno zitate per le piaççe, acio che la giente per volonta de le monete si dispartissero dal cadeletto, e per piu agiatamente portare il corpo sancto. Ma il popolo disprigiando la moneta, magiormente si chorea a tochar il corpo sancto, e cossi cun grande solepnitate si portarono il corpo sancto al Tempio di Meser Santo Bonifacio Martire. E quivi sil tenero VII di cun molto grande laudo e cun molto honore e grande riverencia. Infra quisti VII di feceno fare uno monimento molto ornato d'oro⁵⁹ e di pietre preciose, nel quale cun grande riverença e devocione si cholocharono il so corpo, il septimo decimo di del mese di lugluo. Del qual monimento uscio suavissimo odore come fosse ripieno di tutte le specie del mundo. Allora cun grande allegreça tuto il povolo rende grande allegreça⁶⁰ e grande lodo a Dio,⁶¹ per che cossi grande conforto havea dato loro di questo sancto Allexio, per li cui meriti ogni omo⁶² cui pregara il nostro Singnore Idio di buon cuore e di buona mente havera quello che iustamente domanderà per lo nostro Signore Yesu Cristo, il quale vive e regna⁶³ per omnia secula seculorum,⁶⁴ Amen.

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⁵⁵ *Cherano*.

⁵⁶ *Lomperadore*.

⁵⁷ *Doro*, cf. n. 3.

⁵⁸ *Darçento*.

⁵⁹ *Doro*, cf. n. 57.

⁶⁰ The cedilla is barely visible or rather guessable through a small blot.

⁶¹ *Adio*.

⁶² *Ogniomo*.

⁶³ There is a small hole in the midst of this word, but there is no doubt about the spelling.

⁶⁴ *Seculor* and a flourish, as usual.

THE POETRY OF SKELTON: A RENAISSANCE
SURVIVAL OF MEDIEVAL LATIN
INFLUENCE

EVER since the appearance of Brunetière's preface to the English translation of his *Manual*, the proposition that the literature of an age evolves from that of its predecessors has, with limitations and reservations, been generally accepted. The older conception, regarding the work of a writer as an isolated phenomenon without relation to that of the literary currents of his age, both domestic and foreign, has been largely superceded. Thus on the assumption that an author is conditioned by his inheritance, modern criticism is concerned with the questions exactly what was that inheritance and what modifications did that particular author originate. This point of view has given scholarly interest to the work of men in itself devoid of interest; it is this that renders the study of the literature of the early sixteenth century, particularly that of England, so fascinating. Then and there, owing to the change in the form of the language and to the conditions in the court, the problems before the various writers are peculiarly easy of analysis. It can be clearly explained why Hawes, for example, wrote as he did, or why Wyatt, as he did. There is nothing abnormal in such a poem as Skelton's *Bouge of Court*. Here the originality consists in the treatment by which the conventional abstractions have become individualized to the point of satire. It is merely a new form of an old type.

Unhappily poetry of this type, thus explainable, is not that associated with the name of Skelton. "Skeltonical" verse, or Skeltoniads as Drayton calls his imitations, is quite another matter. As an illustration, let me quote the opening paragraph from Skelton's most famous poem, *Colin Cloute*.

What can it auayle
To dryue forth a snayle,
Or to make a sayle
Of an herynges tayle;
To ryme or to rayle,

To wryte or to indyte,
Eyther for delyte
Or elles for despyte;
Or bokes to compyle
Of dyuers maner style,
Vyce to reuyle
And synne to exyle;
To teche or to preche,
As reason wyll reche?
Say this, and say that,
His hed is so fat,
He wotteth neuer what
Nor whereof he speketh;
He cryeth and he creaketh,
He pryeth and he peketh,
He chydes and he chatters,
He prates and he patters,
He clytters and he clatters,
He medles and he smatters,
He gloses and he flatters;
Or yf he speake playne,
Than he lacketh brayne,
He is but a fole;
Let hym go to scole,
On a thre foted stole
That he may downe syt,
For he lacketh wyt;
And yf that he hyt
The nayle on the hede,
It standeth in no stede;
The deuyll, they say, is dede,
The deuell is dede.

It is at once apparent that this type, whether written by Skelton or another, belongs neither to the stately Chaucerian tradition nor to the popular ballad. From each it differs both in form and in content. Its form consists in the use of short irregular lines, tied together by rhyme. The rhyme is usually in couplets, although, as in the passage cited, it may continue into triplets or more, a feature that gives a breathless undignified effect. Nor is it coherent. The

thought halts in repetitions and then jumps with no apparent relevancy. And the language is very colloquial, with a tendency toward proverbial expression. The content is either rambling disconnected thoughts put in the mouth of the author or of a character through whom the author speaks, or uncoordinated description. The first case is usually satiric and the second so realistic that it approaches satire. Apparently the author wrote whatever came into his head, and as rapidly as it came into his head. Thus the total effect is that of a series of haphazard reflections or observations tied together by jingling rhymes. There is a boisterous, rough-and-tumble quality about it that, however vital, is certainly not academic.

It is this lack of restraint, more characteristic of the tavern than of the college, that is hard to reconcile with the known facts of Skelton's life. Laureated at three universities, he was early praised by Caxton for his ability in writing English. He was chosen to be tutor to the Duke of York, who afterwards ascended the throne as Henry VIII. Certainly a large part of his life he was connected, more or less closely, with the English Court. Also he was held in honor by the great house of Howard, and he may thus have aided in the youthful education of Surrey. From a man of such antecedents you would expect, (and you find), frigid Latin exercises or ponderous elegies of Lydgatian density, but one wonders how he came to write the curious kind of verse associated with his name. In his education there was nothing "popular"; in his associations there was nothing "popular." Where did he find his literary precedents?

The easy explanation of this contradiction is that Skelton had no precedents,—he originated the style out from his own inner consciousness. The assumption is that, Athené-like, it sprang full panoplied into being. The objection to this assumption is, however, that contemporaneously in France there is analogous poetry. Early in French literature appeared the *fatras* or *fatrasies*. In the 13th century Bartsch (*Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français*) under the title *Resveries* gives one:

Nus ne doit estre jolis
s'il n'a amie.
j'aim autant crouste que mie

quant que j'ai fain.
 tien cel cheval par le frain,
 malëureus.
 autant en un somme en deus
 ouï a hasart.
 j'aim autant a lever tart
 qu'au point du jor . . . etc.

This is characterized by Emile Picot¹ as follows: "c'est une séries de traits et de mots disparates qui n'ont d'autre liaison entre eux que la rime. L'extrême diversité des vers qui se suivent, le brusque passage d'une idée à une autre, l'amoncellement des proverbes et des allusions satiriques sont les principaux mérites du genre . . . La fatrasie, détrônée par la sottie, fut à peu près abandonnée au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle, mais elle reparut au XVI^e sous le nom de *coq-à-l'âne*." For the purpose of comparison a few lines of Marot's *coq-à-l'âne* may be interesting.

Je t'envoye un grand million
 De saluts, mon amy Lyon:
 S'ils estoient d'or, ils vaudroyent mieux,
 Car les François ont parmi eux
 Toujours des nations estranges.
 Mais quoy nous ne pouvons estre Angés
 C'est pour venir à l'équivoque:
 Pource qu'une femme se mocque,
 Quand son Amy son cas luy compte,
 Or pour mieux te faire le compte,
 A Romme sont les grans pardons, etc.

In the edition of 1731, from which I am quoting, a note is here appended. "Cette Lettre & la suivante sont originales. Marot n'a pas eu de modele à imiter; & ceux qui l'ont voulu copier dans ce genre d'écrire n'ont fait que blanchir, & sont à peine connus. Il n'y a gueres de piece extraordinaire, ni plus spirituelle pour les choses qu'elle contient, quoique sans suite & sans ordre; & c'est ce qui en fait le merite." In still shorter lines, which still have the merit of incoherence, is an epistle to Alexis Jure de Quiers.

Amy Jure,
 Je te jure

¹ *La Sottie en France, Romania*, VII, 236.

Que desir,
 Non loisir,
 J'ai d'escire.
 Or de ire
 Que tes vers
 Me sont vers,
 Durs, ou aigres,
 Ou trop maigres,
 Qui l'a dit,
 A mesdit:
 Toutesfois
 Je m'en vois
 Dire en sens
 Que j'en sens, etc.

In other words, not only in Marot but also in Eustorg de Beaulieu (as Picot notes), poems that in all respects save the continued rhyming, are analogous to the type produced by Skelton.

Does this evident similarity argue that Skelton, consciously or unconsciously, learned his art in France? Sir Sidney Lee affirms this, and points out that in all probability Skelton had studied in the University of Louvain.² The plausibility of this hypothesis is affected by two different factors. First we do not know that other writers that used this form before Skelton studied in France. Secondly, we find analogous forms also in the Italian. In the works of Girolamo Benivieni, published in Florence in 1519, appear certain *frottole*.^{3a}

Se pur dal ciel per sorte
 E che chi nasce muoia
 Non ti sia carta anioia
 Perire sotto' l mio inchiostro
 Ch' in questo secol nostro
 Carta infelice inuano
 Unaltro Mantuano
 Per honor arti aspecti,
 C'hor parimente inetti
 Sian tutti & se si truoua
 Alcun che tal'hor coua

² *The French Renaissance in England*, 104. Unhappily the passage from Martial d'Auvergne that he cites as a parallel is in the metre that Fabri calls "rythme croisée," not the fatrasie.

^{3a} There are two editions of Benevieni with slightly different readings.

Sotto l'alie di Apollo
 Et nascane alcun pollo,
 E piu fien senza piuma.
 El ceruel si consuma
 Chi tutto el di borbotta
 Anchor io in una grotta
 De l'alpe di Parnaso
 Madormentai gia accaso,
 Et destami Poeta.
 Se natura mi uieta
 El tristo ingegno e'l uerso,
 Nostro uiuer peruerso
 Et dell' ouil di Pietro
 Bastere afarmi ir dietro
 Sei passi 'l cieco Homero.
 Io ho fatto un pensiero
 Ch' ogn'huom di me si rida
 Ma lorecchie di Mida
 Ch' hor non in cappuccia? etc.

Clearly this Italian belongs to the same general type of work as does the French and the English. So true is this that Florio (1611) for English readers defines the word in terms of Skelton. "Frot-tola, a countrie song or roundelay, a wanton tale, or skeltonicall riming."⁸

Here then is the situation that confronts us. In three languages at approximately the same time writers were employing a type of verse markedly dissimilar to the normal in those languages and similar one to another. There are but three possible explanations. Either the writers in each language independently chanced upon the same medium, or they copied one from another, or they had a common original. The first seems merely fanciful, and the second seems improbable. And if by elimination we are driven to the third hypothesis, that there was one common original, that original must have been in a language common to them all, namely Latin. But equally clearly it is not the Latin we know from our classical studies; it is the rhymed accentual Latin of the middle ages. Brie, therefore,

⁸ Here I omit any discussion of the Spanish *disparates* because of the only two known to exist there is no general agreement among scholars. For this Spanish reference I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Henry R. Lang.

in his *Skelton-studien*,⁴ derives the Skeltonical peculiarities from the hymns of the Church. "Die lateinische hymnenpoesie weist schon alle eigentümlichkeiten des Skelton'schen metrum und stils auf, die kurzzeil in strophischen und nichtstrophischen gebilden, die häufungen von reimen, die Wiederholung der anfangsworte in mehreren aufeinander folgenden versen und die alliteration. Ich will hier einige beispiele einfügen :

Flos pudicitiae,
Aula mundiciae,
Mater misericordiae,
Salve, virgo serena,
Vitae vena,
Lux amoena,
Rore plena,
Septiformis spiritus
Virtutibus
Ornantibus
Ac moribus
Vernantibus.⁵

Obviously, so far as mere form is concerned, we here have a verse structure analogous to the type, and, in the hymns of the Church, poetry equally accessible to the writers of all nations.

Convincing as this is for the origin of the form, it is convincing only for the form alone. There is something monstrous in the thought that hymns to the Virgin should give rise to ribald poems in the vernacular. There is a link missing. This link is to be found in the "certi curiosi riscontri in taluni componimenti medievali e neo-latini" of Cian.⁶ The immediate problem is, then, to express concretely these "taluni componimenti." During the middle ages, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century at least in England, education was in the hands of the Church. Learning and religion, while by no means identical, yet greatly overlapped. It is therefore not surprising to find that the meters and poetic forms used in ecclesiastic services should have been adopted for secular pur-

⁴ *Englische Studien*, Band 37, 81.

⁵ Brie's note reads: Kehrein, *Lateinische sequenzen des mittelalters* 1873, p. 225. Naturally he cites other examples, which I have not the space to include.

⁶ The phrase is to be found in the first of the *Note Finali* in Cian's edition of the *Motti di Bembo*, wherein the essential similarity between *fatrasie* and *frottola* is pointed out.

poses. The best known collection of such transferences is to be found in the *Carmina Burana*. But while the form may suggest the hymnology, the tone of the pieces is anything but holy, since the writers sing of wine and of love with more enthusiasm than restraint. They reflect the atmosphere, not of the church, but of the tavern.

Vis amoris
Intus, foris,
me furoris
sui vexat stimulus.
O Venus aurea,
inmitis es dea,
nam face flammea
me peruris.
Quidnam furis,
cur me duris
saucisti iaculis?
Igne demolior,
mors mihi melior
quam vita longior.

Here in the short line, with many rhymes, in the personal tone, and in the incoherence are to be found prototypes of the later literature. If such work as this represents one side, the satiric element may be found also. A priori, if the Church furnished models for the service of Bacchus and Venus, it would also furnish models for attacks upon itself.⁸

Tales regunt Petri navem,
tales habent Petri clavem,
ligandi potentiam;
hi nos docent, sed indocti,
hi nos docent, et nox nocti,
indicat scientiam.
Cardinales, ut praedixi,
novo jure crucifixi
vendunt patrimonium;
foris Petrus, intus Nero,
intus lupi, foris vero
sicut agni ovium, etc.

⁷ *Carmina Burana*, ed. J. A. Schmeller, p. 219.

⁸ *De Ruina Romae*, Walter Mapes, ed. Wright, p. 220.

Although the form here consists in the use of stanzas, the satiric content is sufficiently obvious. It must be granted, then, I think, that during the middle ages in this Latin could be found models for the various types that afterward developed in the different languages.

Although these illustrations are drawn from works long previous to the sixteenth century, the continuity of the ecclesiastical tradition preserved also the continuity of its by-products. Thus in fifteen hundred similar poems were being produced. But, as by this time a correct understanding of the principles of Latin prosody had been gained, such work enraged the humanists. To them it was a mark of sheer ignorance. Consequently we find in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1515?) that poetry written according to these models is held up to ridicule. M. Petrus Negelinus writes pathetically.

Quamvis valde timeo esse ita audax, quod debeo vobis ostendere unum dictamen a me compositum, quia vos estis valde artificialis in compositione metrorum et dictaminorum; . . . Namque ego nondum habeo bonum fundamentum, et non sum perfecte instructus in arte poetria et Rhetorica . . . Quapropter mitto vobis hic unum poema per me compilatum in laudem sancti Petri, et unus componista qui est bonus musicus in cantu choralis et figurali, composuit mihi quatuor voces super illud. Et ego feci magnam diligentiam quod potui ita rigmizare, sicut est rigmizatum . . .

Sancte Petre domine
nobis miserere,
Quia tibi dominus
dedit cum istis clavibus
Potestatem maximam,
necnon specialem gratiam
Super omnes sanctos:
quia tu es privilegiatus,
Quod solvis est solutum,
in terris et per caelum,
Et quicquid hic ligaveris,
ligatum est in caelis . . . etc.

Here this form of writing is obviously bound up together with poor latinity. Again and again the authors return to the attack. The "Obscure Men" write verse letters, satires, lyrics,—and usually in

this rhymed form. The conclusion is unavoidable that the ecclesiastical party normally wrote in this way, since otherwise the satire would have lacked point.

Fortunately the whole development of this type, the original Latin, the translation into English of the fourteenth century, the modification of the translation into the English of the fifteenth century, may be all illustrated by a single poem. In the middle of the fourteenth century in his *Polychronicon* Higden inserted a rhymed description of Wales. A few of the opening verses will show the type.⁹

Libri finis nunc Cambriam
Prius tangit quam Angliam;
Sic propero ad Walliam,
Ad Priami prosapiam;
Ad magni Jovis sanguinem,
Ad Dardani progeniem.
Sub titulis his quatuor
Terrae statum exordior:
Primo de causa nominis;
Secundo de praeconiis;
Tandem de gentis ritibus;
Quarto de mirabilibus.
Haec terra, quae nunc Wallia,
Quondam est dicta Cambria,
A Cambro Bruti filio,
Qui rexit hanc dominio: etc.

But in 1387 John Trevesa, at the request of Thomas Lord Berkeley, translated the whole into English, priding himself upon the exactness of the translation.

"In somme place I shall sette word for worde, and actyf for actyf, and passyf for passif arowe right as it stondeth withoute chaungynge of the ordre of wordes; but in somme place I must chaunge the ordre of wordes and sette actyf for passyf and ayenward; and in somme place I muste ette a reson for a worde, and tell what it meneth; but for al such chaungyng the menyng shal stande and not be chaunged. . . ."

⁹ The text is taken from the *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. by Churchill Babington, and published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, 1865.

With the duty of a translator so plainly stated, the relation between the Latin and the English is no longer in doubt.

Now þe book take in bonde
 Wales to fore Engelande;
 So I take my tales
 And wende for in to Wales,
 To that noble brood
 Of Priamus his blood,
 Knoweleche for to wynne
 Of greet Iubiter his kynne,
 For to haue in mynde
 Dardanus his kynde.
 In þis foure titles I fonde
 To telle þe state of þat londe.
 Cause of þe name I schal telle,
 And þan preise þe lond I welle.
 Than I schal write wiþ my pen
 Alle þe maneres of þe men.
 To telle mervailles of þe londe.
 Wales hatte now Wallia,
 And somtyme hizte Cambria,
 For Camber, Brutes sone,
 Was kyng, and þere dede wone; etc.

But in 1482, nearly a hundred years later, Caxton brought out the *Polychronicon* itself with Treveva's translation. In respect to this last, in his Preface he says:

"I, William Caxton, a symple person, haue endeuerred me to wryte fyrst ouer all the sayd book of proloconycon, and somewhat haue chaunged the rude and old Englyssh, that is to wete certayn wordes which in these days be neither usyd ne understanden, and furthermore haue put it in empynte to thende that it maye be had and the maters therin comprised to be knowen."¹⁰

In other words, Caxton has modernized the book so that it accords with the standards of his time.¹¹

Now this book taketh on honde
 Wales after Englund,

¹⁰ Quoted in Babington's ed. of Higden.

¹¹ *Poems of Walter Mapes*, ed. Th. Wright, Camden Society, p. 349.

So take I my tales,
And wende into Wales,
To that noble brood
Or Priamus blood,
Knoleche for to wynne
Of grete Jupiters kynne,
For to have in mynde
Dardanus kynde.
In thise foure titles I fonde
To alle the state of that londe;
Cause of the nam I shall telle;
And then preyse the lond and welle;
Then I shall write with my penne
All the maners of the menne;
Thenne I shall fonde
To telle mervailles of the londe.

Of the name, how it is named Walis.

Wales now is called Wallia,
And somtyme it heet Cambria,
For Camber Brutes sone
Was prince, and there dyde wone, etc.

But this English of the end of the fifteenth century is very like the "doggeral" of Skelton, the French of the *fatrasie*, or the Italian of the *frottola*.

If the reasoning be right, it goes far to explain the contemptuous attitude toward Skelton on the part of his contemporaries. In the vulgar tongue Skelton was reproducing forms and points of view that were associated in the mind of his age with lack of dignity and restraint. Thus Barclay writing the full-sailed rhyme-royal,—a measure sustained by the great literary tradition, goes out of his way to sneer at Skelton's performance:

It longeth nat to my scyence nor cunnyng
For Phylp the Sparowe the (Dirige) to synge.

This might easily enough be interpreted as a personal fling at the author by Barclay, yet Skelton himself witnesses that this was a sufficiently ordinary attitude.

Of Phillip Sparow the lamentable fate,
 The dolefull desteny, the carefull chaunce,
 Dyuysey by Skelton after the funerall rate;
 Yet sum there be therewith that take greuance,
 And grudge therat with frownyng countenaunce;
 But what of that? hard it is to please all men;
 Who list amende it, let hym set to his penne. . . .
Garland of Laurell.

Yet *Phillip Sparrow* is a perfectly inoffensive poem, and written before the great satires. This disdain must have been due, then, not to the poem itself, but to the type to which it belonged, a type associated with the unruly side of university life. It is noticeable that the *Garland of Laurell*, Skelton's *apologia pro vita sua*, is itself composed in the rhyme royal. But as if in defiance of his critics, immediately after the passage quoted follow one hundred and fifteen lines in defense of *Phillip Sparrow* in the Skeltonical measure! And that passage is itself broken by a conscious parade of four Latin hexameters. Here Skelton shows that he appreciates the force of the criticism, that he has the necessary learning to write normally, and that he does not care to do so.

Under these circumstances there is no love lost between Skelton and his contemporary humanists. It is curious, perhaps, that in all his work there is no mention of the brilliant group of Erasmus, More, Grocyn, Linacre, Lily and their friends. Yet it is impossible that he should not have known them, or at least of them and of their work. Linacre, for example, was a tutor to Prince Arthur part of the time that Skelton held the like position with Prince Henry. And in the various academic degrees that Skelton took it is scarcely probable that at no time was he not brought into definite relation with some member of the group. Actually his feeling was the reverse of cordial. In *Speke, Parrot* he opposes violently the introduction of Greek, apparently for the very reason that Colet and Erasmus favored it. And apparently they reciprocated this dislike. To them he represented the old order that they desired to replace. Therefore Lily's epigram against him closes

Et doctus fieri studes poeta,
 Doctrinam nec habes, nec es poeta.

And from their point of view, Lily was undoubtedly right. So, in proportion as humanistic Latin superceded the Latin of the schoolmen, Skelton's reputation declined. To Puttenham he is but a "rude rayling rimer" and Meres completely misses the type of work by affirming that he "applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters, such among the Greeks were called Pantomimi, with us Buffons." After this, Pope's "beastly" is the logical step. By this forgetfulness of his Latin models has Skelton suffered; he has purchased the renown for originality at the expense of his reputation. Actually he wrote perfectly normally,—his only fault being that he wrote so well that his work cannot be forgotten. Into a dying form he poured the fiery charge of his strong personality, so that he remains the last great medieval poet.

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NOTES ON THE VERSIFICATION OF *EL MISTERIO DE LOS REYES MAGOS*

I

THE following notes are an attempt to give an account of the metrical structure of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos*. A complete version of the *Misterio* is given, based on the edition of Menéndez Pidal (*Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Madrid, 1900, with the facsimile of the original manuscript). The full and complete notes of Menéndez Pidal supply all the information necessary to one who has not before him the original manuscript. I do not differ from Menéndez Pidal in any of the interpretations of the manuscript readings, but I differ in questions of textual transcription and verse arrangement in a few cases. The text of the *Misterio* is so short that I have ventured to print it with my new emendations as a new edition, even though it differs very little from the edition of Menéndez Pidal.

Manuscript abbreviations interpreted by Menéndez Pidal are printed in italics. Poor manuscript readings and words omitted in the manuscript and supplied by Menéndez Pidal and accepted as correct¹ are printed in brackets. My own emendations and corrections to the manuscript reading² and to the text of Menéndez Pidal are printed as follows: italics in brackets indicate addition; parentheses indicate suppression.

Some of my corrections and emendations have been made by others before me, and I have tried in all cases to indicate this in my notes. If I have failed in some case to give due credit to the first one who happened to suggest a certain emendation now adopted, I hope I may be forgiven. In all cases the emendation is the result of my own study and reflection.

I am in no way concerned with the various linguistic problems

¹ This includes practically all the words or parts of words supplied by Menéndez Pidal. The cases where I differ are treated apart and not included in the text.

² Facsimile and the notes of the editor.

of the *Misterio*, although these have not all been treated to my satisfaction by recent editors, unless the matter is directly involved in the question of the meter. I am concerned only with the metrical structure of the *Misterio*, and even the interesting question of the assonances and rimes is not treated in detail.

The metrical structure of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos* has never been carefully studied. A few general and often incorrect observations have been made by Lidforss,³ Amador de los Ríos,⁴ Milá,⁵ and others. No one has even attempted to study the important questions of principal accents of the verse, hiatus and synalefa. The author of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* counted the syllables and counted correctly. The text of the author as copied by the XIIth century scribe and preserved in the manuscript, now Biblioteca Nacional, Hh-115, has so few metrical errors that one cannot opine otherwise. Even the inner structure of the verse shows a definite and clear knowledge of the art of verse writing.

The question of the origin of the meters used by the author of this most interesting Old Spanish liturgical drama fragment is treated only incidentally.

The text of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos* with the new emendations, follows. Verse 17 of the edition of Menéndez Pidal I have divided into two, while verses 136-137 of his edition I have counted as a single verse of two hemistiches. Furthermore, I have not printed verse 54, supplied by Menéndez Pidal.⁶ The new edition has, therefore, one hundred and forty-six verses instead of the one hundred and forty-seven of the edition of Menéndez Pidal.

The metrical structure of each verse is given together with the text. The figures represent the principal accents, which probably determined the rhythmic character of each verse. The minor accents and the unaccented syllables are all indicated with the same sign. I could not venture to distinguish between these last two categories of syllabic stress for reasons that are evident. In the shorter meters I may have even fallen into error in some cases involving the ques-

³ Eduardo Lidforss, *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Litt.*, XII, 44-56.

⁴ *Hist. crit. de la lit. esp.*, III, 655 fol.

⁵ Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana*, Barcelona, 1896, pages 450-453.

⁶ [*Vedes tal marauila?*] Menéndez Pidal should have printed an initial *U*. The letter *v* is not used in the MS.

tion of the principal accent other than the final. I am aware of the fact that the final accent of a verse or hemistich is in all cases much stronger than the other one indicated also as a principal accent, but the other accent is in most cases so well determined and fixed,⁷ that I have indicated it also as a principal accent.

All cases of synalefa and syneresis are indicated by the conventional sign, in the text itself. In the case of hiatus the juxtaposed vowels have no special mark.

II

The irregular and apparently irregular verses are studied in III. Unless otherwise stated, the Spanish method of counting the syllables is employed throughout, i. e., considering the *verso llano* as the type.

	Dios criador, qual marauila	...4...8.
	no se qual es achesta strela!	...4...8.
	Agora primas la e ueida,	...4...8.
	poco timpo a que es nacida. ⁸	...4...8.
5	Nacido es el Criador	...4...8
	que es de la[s] gentes senior? ⁹	....5..8
	Non es uerdad non se que digo,	...4...8.
	tudo esto non uale uno figo;	....5..8
	otra nocte me l(o) ¹⁰ catare,	..3....8
10	si es uertad, bine lo sabre ::	..3....8
	Bine es uertad lo que io digo?	...4...8.
	en todo, en todo lo prohio.	...4...8.
	Non pudet seer otra sennal?	...4...8
	Achesto es i non es al;	...4...8
15	nacido es Dios, por uer, de fembra	...4...8
	in achest[e] ¹¹ mes de december.	....5..8.

⁷ Rigorously so in the types ...4...8, ..3....8.

⁸ If we allow synalefa between the like vowels the verse would be5..8.. For reasons of rythm and verbal stress I prefer the accent on the fourth.

⁹ With synalefa and -ior dissyllabic, the verse would be ...4...8. See III, 6, and verse 57.

¹⁰ With enclisis we should have *mel* here, but I merely indicate the silent vowel to avoid unnecessary corrections. The verse could also be corrected by the omission of the unnecessary *me*, see III.

¹¹ Cf. also Lidfors, *op. cit.*, and Ford, *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1911, page 104.

'Ala ire;	.2.4
o que fure, aoralo e,	...3...8
por Dios de todos lo terne.	...4...8



20	Esta strela <i>non</i> se dond uinet,	...3...8.
	quin la trae o <i>quin</i> la tine.	...3...8.
	Porque es achesta <i>sennal</i> ?	...3...8
	en mos ¹² dias [<i>n</i>]on ui atal.	...3...8
	Certas nacido es en <i>tirra</i>	...4...8.
25	aquel <i>qui</i> en pace i en guera	...4...8.
	senior a a <i>seer</i> da oriente	...5...8.
	de todos hata <i>in</i> occidente.	...2...8.
	Por tres noches me lo uere	...3...8
	i mas de uero lo sabre .:	...4...8
30	En todo, en todo es nacido?	...4...8.
	<i>non</i> se si algo e ueido.	...4...8.
	ire, lo aorare,	...2...7
	i pregare i rogare.	...4...8



	Ual, Criador, atal faci ^{nda}	...4...8.
35	fu nunquas alguandre falada	...5...8.
	o en escriptura trubada?	...5...8.
	Tal estrela <i>non</i> es in celo,	...3...8.
	desto so io bono strelero;	...4...8.
	bine lo ueo sines escarno ¹³	...4...9.
40	que <i>uno</i> <i>omme</i> es nacido de carne,	...5...8.
	que es senior de todo el mundo,	...4...8.
	asi cumo el cilo es redondo;	...5...8.
	de todas gentes senior sera ¹⁴	...4...9
	i todo siglo iugara.	...4...8
45	Es? <i>non</i> es?	...3
	cudo que uerdad es.	...6
	Ueer lo e otra uegada,	...4...8.
	si es uertad o si es nada. +	...4...8.
	Nacido es el Criador	...4...8

¹² *Mios*, monosyllabic; see V.

¹³ May also be regular enneasyllabic verse, see III.

¹⁴ May also be regular enneasyllabic verse, see III.

- 50 de todas las gentes maior;5..8
 bine lo [u]eo que es uerdad, ...4...8
 ire ala, par caridad. ...4...8
- ⦿
- Dios uos salue, senior; sodes uos [e]strelero? ..3..6—..3..6.
 dezidme la uertad, de uos sabelo quiro .2...6—....6.
 55 [nacida] es una strela. .2...6.
 Nacido es el Criador, ...4...8
 que de las gentes es senior. ...4...8
 Ire, lo aorare.¹⁵ .2....7
 Io otrosi rogar lo e. ...4...8
 60 Seniores, a qual *tirra*, o que[redes] andar? .2...6—..3..6
 queredes ir *commigo* al Criador rogar? .2...6—....6
 Auedes lo ueido? io lo uo [aor]ar. .2...6—....6
 Nos imos otrosi, sil podremos falar. .2...6—....6
 Andemos tras [*la*]¹⁶ strela, ueremos el logar. .2...6—..2...6
 65 Cumo podremos prouar si es *homne* mortal¹⁷ ...4..7—..2...6
 o si es rei de *terra* o si celestial¹⁸ ...4.6—....6
 Queredes bine saber cumo lo sabremos? .2....7—....5.
 oro, mira i acenso a el ofrecremos: ..3..6—....5.
 si fure rei de *terra*, el oro quera; .2...6—....5
 70 si fure *omne* mortal, la mira tomara; .2...6—..2...6
 si rei celestial, estos dos dexara, .2...6—....6
 tomara el encenso quel *pertenecera*. ..3..6—....6
- ∴
- Andemos i asi lo fagamos.¹⁹ .2....8.
 Salue te el Criador, Dios te curie de mal 1....6—..3..6
 75 un poco te diz(e)remos, *non* te queremos al, .2...6—....6
 Dios te de *longa* uita i te curie de mal; ..3..6—..3..6
 imos in romeria aquel rei adorar6—..3..6
 que es nacido in *tirra*, nol podemos fallar. ..3..6—..3..6
- ∴

¹⁵ The same as verse 32. With synalefa the verses could be heptasyllabic. See III.

¹⁶ Manuscript and Pidal, *el*.

¹⁷ Ford's emendation is attractive; see III, 65. The hemistich can be also corrected by reading *cum*.

¹⁸ If *-ial* is monosyllabic this hemistich would be ...5 like the 3 following. Cf. also 71a.

¹⁹ This verse may also be an incomplete Alexandrine, .2.[.6]—..3..6..

	Que decides, o ides? a quin ides buscar?	..3..6.-..3..6
80	de qual terra uenides, o queredes andar?	..3..6.-..3..6
	Decid me uostros nombres, nom ²⁰ los querades	
	celar.	..2...6.-.....7
	'A mi dizen Caspar,	..2...6
	est otro Melchior, ad achest Baltasar.	..2...6-..3..6
	Rei, un rei es nacido que es senior de tirra,	..4..6.-...4..6.
85	que mandara el seclo en grant pace sines	
	gera. ²¹	...4..6.-..3...7.
	∴	
	Es asi por uertad?	..3..6
	Si, ²² rei, por caridad.	..2...6
	I cumo lo sabedes?	..2...6
	ia prouado lo <u>auedes</u> ?	..3..6.
90	Rei, uertad te dizremos,	..3..6.
	que prouado lo <u>auemos</u> .	..3..6.
	+	
	Esto es grand ma [ra]ila, ²³	..2...6.
	un[<u>a</u>] ²⁴ strela <u>es</u> nacida.	..3..6.
	+	
	Sennal face que es nacido ²⁵	..3....8.
95	i in carne humana uenido. ²⁵	..2....8.
	Quanto i <u>a</u> que la uistes	..3..6.
	i que la <u>percibistis</u>?	....6.
	∴	
	Tredze ²⁶ dias [i] ²⁷ a,	.....6
	i mais non auera,	..2...6
100	que la auemos ueida	..3..6.

²⁰ Sic in MS. With enclisis *non me* regularly develops into *nom*, as Ford points out (op. cit., 106). I do not see why Menéndez Pidal writes *no m'*.

²¹ If we omit *grant* the hemistich is regular. See however, III, verse 39.

²² If we read *Si es*, as the scribe had first written (cf Menéndez Pidal, page 13, note, and facsimile 34), we should have synalefa and the verse would remain the same, metrically.

²³ The MS. reads *mauila*. Menéndez Pidal's emendation is correct.

²⁴ Cf. verse 64.

²⁵ May also be octosyllabic, as well as verses 92, 93, see III, 81.

²⁶ Menéndez Pidal's interpretation of the XIII of the MS.

²⁷ Cf. verse 96.

	i bine percebida.	.2...6.
	Pus andad i buscad	..3..6
	i a el adorado	..3..6
	i por aqui tornad.	...4.6
105	Io ala ire ²⁸	....5
	i adoralo e.	...4.6



	¿Quin uio numquas tal mal,	.2...6
	sobre rei otro tal!	..3..6
	Aun non so io morto	...4.6.
110	ni so la terra pusto!	...4.6.
	rei otro sobre mi?	.2...6
	numquas atal non ui!	...4.6
	El seglo ua a caga,	.2...6.
	ia non se que me faga;	..3..6.
115	por uertad no lo creo	..3..6.
	ata que io lo ueo.	...4.6.
	Uenga mio maiordo[ma]	1...6.
	qui mios aueres toma.	...4.6.
	Idme por mios abades	1...6.
120	i por mis podestades	....6.
	i por mios [e] scriuanos ²⁹	....6.
	i por meos gramatgos	....5. (or ....5..?)
	i por mios [e] streleros ²⁹	....6.
	i por mios retóricos;	....5..
125	dezir man ³⁰ la uertad, si iace in	
	escripto	..3..6-.2...6.
	o si lo saben elos o si lo an sabido	...4.6.-...4.6.

∴

Rei, (q)ue te plaze? he nos uenidos.	...4...8.
I traedes uostros escriptos?	..3...8.
Rei, si traemos, ³¹	...4.

²⁸ In verse 17 the subject pronoun is absent: *Ala ire*.

²⁹ Cf. verses 36, 37. Baist (*ZRPh*, IV, 450) believes that these last four heptasyllabic verses form two Alexandrines and that the scribe erroneously rimed *gramatgos* (*gramaticos*?) with *retóricos*. Cf. also Ford. This arrangement seems attractive. Such rimes occur in the Latin mysteries.

³⁰ Sic. in MS. In ed. of Menéndez Pidal, *m' an*.

³¹ Could we read this verse, *Rei, si, [los escriptos] traemos?* It would then be a regular .2.....8..

note) : "El copista había puesto primero *por uer*, como en el v. 15, y no sé por qué razón corrigió en *por ueras*." The last is necessary for metrical reasons. The scribe may have used himself the construction *por uer* and thus made the error, if copying. The presence of the two constructions in the language of the *Misterio* need cause no alarm. Various doublets are used. Cf. also verse 47 and Menéndez Pidal's note, page 11.

The following verses, some of which seem to present metrical irregularities, require further attention :

6. If the ending *-ior* were dissyllabic we would have synalefa and the verse would be . . . 4 . . . 8, like the first five, etc. I am inclined to consider *-ior* as monosyllabic. The enneasyllabic verses of the type 5 . . . 8 are quite common in our text. It may also be a wrong order. In verse 57 we have *que de las gentes es senior*, . . . 4 . . . 8.

9. Enclisis seems attractive here for the correction of the meter. Cf. verses 63, 72, 81. The verse can also be corrected by omission of the unnecessary *me*, cf. *Cantar de mio Cid*, 2, 121, etc. Lidforss also favors enclisis.

10. *Bine* is certainly of two syllables here. Cf. also verses 51, 101. See, however, 39.

13. *Seer* is monosyllabic here, and also in v. 26. Cf. *ueer* dissyllabic in v. 47, where the scribe had first written *uer* by mistake (Menéndez Pidal, page 11, note).

17. *Ala ire* is certainly a separate verse. These short verses are common in the Old French and Medieval Latin Liturgical Drama, mixed with the longer meters, and express very well the emotions of the moment, as Milá (*op cit.*, page 453), and Ford (105) indicate.

23. *Mos* is certainly a scribal error for *mios*, which is always monosyllabic in the *Misterio*, and probably pronounced *miós*.

32. This verse is repeated in 58. With synalefa the meter could be heptasyllabic, . 2 . . . 6. The heptasyllabic verses being so common and the octosyllabics so rare, we might be tempted to consider these as heptasyllabic. Cf. also 46 and 132, heptasyllabic verses mingled with the enneasyllabic. Verses 32, 58 are probably octosyllabic.

39. This verse seems to present the first real metrical irregularity of the *Misterio*. This verse as well as 43 have scribal errors. There are various emendations possible and the problem is to decide on the best. In verse 39 one is inclined to consider *bine* as *bin*,

since a similar emendation corrects a hemistich of verse 67. The use of the doublets *bine*, *bin* is not impossible, but seems somewhat improbable. Cf., however, *dond* 20, *grant* 85, etc. I believe that a more probable emendation would be to consider *sines* a scribal error for *sin*. The copyist seemed uncertain about the use of the similar forms with or without the *-as*, *-es* endings. The error which the scribe made and corrected in verse 136, already mentioned, is sufficient proof of this. Cf. also verse 29. In our present case it is even possible that the scribe wrote *sines* for *sin* by mistake, anticipating the *es* of *escarno*. Cf. also verse 85.

40. There is no necessity whatever of resorting to the various emendations proposed by Ford to correct this verse. The verse needs no corrections. It is a perfectly regular5..8. For synalefa, see V.

43. Ford suggests that we read *toda gent* (*op. cit.* 105). This would not be a parallel to *todo seglo*, 44, which is regularly used in the singular when meaning 'world.' I am inclined to substitute *las* for *todas*, to correct this verse. Cf. verse 57, *que de las gentes es senior*, and 6.

53. It seems that the author regularly used *e + s* impura after a consonant (cf. *escriptura*, 36, *estrela*, 37, *escripto*, 125, *escriptos*, 128), and *s* impura alone after a vowel (cf. *strela*, 2, 20, *strelero*, 38). In 53 we should read, therefore, *estrelero*, and the meter is corrected. Cf. also Baist (*ZRPh*, IV, 450) and Ford, 105.

64. The MS. and Menéndez Pidal, *el*, evidently an error for *la*. Cf. Baist and Ford.

65. Ford suggests that we read *Cumo prouar podremos*. This would make the hemistich regular. We might also correct the meter by reading *cum*.

67. See the remarks on verse 39.

67-69. We have here three consecutive hexasyllabic (5th tonic) final hemistichs. I see no reason why we should make them heptasyllabic. The author of the *Misterio* used various meters. Here we have three hexasyllabic hemistichs following the regular Alexandrine hemistichs but this is not different from the various hexasyllabic verses mingled freely with the heptasyllabic in other parts of the *Misterio*. In verses 86-124, a series of regular heptasyllabic verses, we have three that are hexasyllabic, verses 105, 122, 124.

These three as well as the three of 67-69 need not be changed. I believe that we have them in the original meter of the author. A similar mingling of meters takes place in the Latin-French Mystery mentioned in IV. The future forms in verses 67-69 are perfectly regular Old Spanish forms; and since there are no metrical reasons to warrant the change here or in 105, 122, 124, I see no ground for accepting the proposed emendations of Lidforss (*op. cit.*) and Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, IX, 469). There is evidence from the *Misterio* itself that such forms as *saberé*, *dizeremos*, are out of the question, cf. verses 10, 29, 75, 90. The form *auera*, 99, could very well be *aura*; and if we read 98 with synalefa (and we can certainly read it either with hiatus or synalefa) verses 98 and 99 could both be hexasyllabic.

75. We must read *dizremos* as in 90.

81b. I see no way of correcting this hemistich. Verse 85 can be made a regular Alexandrine by reading *sin*, cf. 39. Octosyllabic verses are very rare in the *Misterio*, a surprising fact if we consider the frequency of this meter in Old Spanish, both in popular and learned poetry. The octosyllabic meter, aside from the fact that it is the meter of the Old Ballads, and aside from the fact that it is frequently mingled with the enneasyllabic in numerous poems of French origin or imitation, for example *Razón de Amor*,³⁷ *Santa María Egipciaca*,³⁸ *Elena y María*,³⁹ seems to have been in Old Spanish a constant rival of the Alexandrine hemistich, even in the works of the learned poets. It is very surprising, therefore, to find such little trace of the octosyllabic meter in the *Misterio*. This meter is also very common in the Medieval Latin Drama. There are only four clear cases of octosyllabic meter in the *Misterio*, which the M.S. without correction presents (65^a, 67^a, 81^b, 85^b). Three of these (65, 67, 85) can be corrected into heptasyllabic verse. Besides these, we have various cases which could be either heptasyllabic or octosyllabic or enneasyllabic, according to the way we read the verses, i. e. with or without synalefa: 92, 93, 94, 95, 133, 134. Guided by couplet arrangement and sequence of metrical changes, 92, 93 are no doubt heptasyllabic and 94, 95, 133, 134 are enneasyllabic. Verses 32, 58 could be hexasyllabic.

³⁷ Ed. Menéndez Pidal in *Revue Hispanique*, XIII.

³⁸ Ed. cod. del Escorial, Barcelona, 1907.

³⁹ Ed. Menéndez Pidal in *Revista de Filología Española*, I, 1.

Menéndez Pidal in his study of the metrical structure of *Elena y María* finds that the fundamental meter is octosyllabic (7th tonic), whereas in the *Egipcíaca* the fundamental meter is the enneasyllabic. Both are of French imitation, but Menéndez Pidal is of the opinion that in *Elena y María* we have a greater tendency for the octosyllabic on account of the fact that it is probably derived from another Spanish version, of French imitation. He concludes that the octosyllabic may have been more frequent in the West and the enneasyllabic more frequent in the East. If the octosyllabic meter were common only in Spanish these observations would have much weight; but the octosyllabic is common in Old French itself⁴⁰ and also in the Medieval Latin Drama⁴¹ which both the Old French and Old Spanish imitated in form and content. The absence of the octosyllabic in the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* is, therefore, not clear.

121, 123. See 53 above.

127. We have here the only doubtful case of synalefa in our text. Verses of ten syllables (9th tonic), however, seem to me to be out of the question. We might also accept Ford's suggestion and read *plaz*.

In verses 120-134 we have the best example of the varied metrical form of the *Misterio*. In a series of fourteen verses we have all the meters used in the whole, and it is even possible to indicate the varied emotions which demand the different meters. We have verses of very short length followed immediately by verses twice as long, etc., for example, 124-125, 129-130, 131-132, 134-136.⁴² For verses 121-124 see also note to 121 and VI, 6, note.

136. If we follow the rule established in 53 above, and it seems well founded, we could not have a word ending in a vowel before *escripto*. If we are to supply a word here, it must be a monosyllable ending in a consonant.

⁴⁰ In a XIVth century Anglo-Norman poem we have octosyllabic and enneasyllabic verses alternating, see IV. In Old French and Provençal the octosyllabic is common. See Francesco D'Ovidio, *Versificazione Italiana e Arte Poetica Medioevale* (Milano, 1910), 242 fol.

⁴¹ See IV.

⁴² Compare the opening scene in the *Mystère de l'Adoration des Mages* (11th century), Du Méril, *Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, (Leipzig, 1897), 156 fol., and the Anglo-Norman poem mentioned in IV.

IV

Metrically the *Misterio* may be divided into five parts, representing as many important changes in meter:

I. Verses 1-52, meter enneasyllabic (exceptions, 17, .2.4; 32, .2...6 or .2...7; 45, .3, 46, .6), principal types, ...4...8,⁴³ ...3...8,⁴³ rimed couplets (exceptions 17, which rimes with 18, 19; 34, single verse).

II. Verses 53-85, meter Alexandrine (exceptions, 55, 82, Alex. hemistichs or regular heptasyllabic; 56, 57, 59, 73, enneasyllabic; 58 as 32 in I; 65a, 67a, possibly octosyllabic, and 81b almost certain; 67b, 68b, 69b hexasyllabic final hemistichs, and possibly 65b, 71a), strong caesura, principal types of hemistich, .2...6 or .3...6,⁴⁴ second principal accent more uncertain in the second hemistich; rimed couplets (exceptions), interior rimes and assonances, e. g., 61-62, 70-71, 76-80.

III. Verses 86-124, meter heptasyllabic (exceptions, 94, 95, enneasyllabic; 105, 122, 124, hexasyllabic, 5th tonic, cf. 67b, 68b, 69b, in II), principal types, .2...6, .3...6;⁴⁴ rimed couplets (exceptions).

IV. Verses 125-137, various meters, principally Alexandrine and enneasyllabic. Verses 125-126 and 135-137 are Alexandrines; 127, 128, 130, 133, 134 enneasyllabic. Verse 129 is ...4., 131 is ...3, 132 is .2...6.

V. Verses 138-146, meter enneasyllabic, of same types as in I; rimed couplets.⁴⁵

Since the text itself of the *Misterio* has been subjected to various interpretations, there is no need of even resuming the various general accounts of the versification. The general statements of such scholars as Lidforss, Milá y Fontanals and Mussafia (*Jahrbuch für*

⁴³ For the sake of clearness I use here and in other places the types ...4...8 and ...3...8 for either these types or those with the same accents and a ninth unaccented syllable, ...4...8., ...3...8.. In the text, of course, I give each verse exactly as it is, counting every syllable.

⁴⁴ These types include also the types .2...6., ...3...6.; see above note.

⁴⁵ The fact that a couplet of verses of different meter appears in our text does not seem to me a necessary proof that the text is at fault. As a rule the meter is the same within the couplet, but a change of meter could by exception come anywhere. Examples of this can be found also in the Old French and Latin mysteries. See Du Ménil, *Les Origines Latines* (op. cit), pages 99-100, etc.

rom. und engl. Litt., VI, 220) are in the main correct, however superficial they may seem. Some scholars, however, have spoken of the versification of the *Misterio* with very little knowledge of the facts.⁴⁶

The author of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos* used three principal meters, the enneasyllabic (French octosyllabic), the heptasyllabic (French hexasyllabic), and the Alexandrine (Spanish verse of 12, 13, 14 syllables). Besides we have examples of octosyllabic, hexasyllabic, pentasyllabic and tetrasyllabic meters, and in such a way as to leave no doubt about their use.

The following résumé gives an account of all the meters and the verses which belong to each:

I. Enneasyllabic:

Verses, 1-16, 18-31, 33-44, 47-52, 56, 57, 59, 73, 94, 95, 127, 128, 130, 133, 134, 138-146. Total, 68 verses (46% of total no. of verses).

The 68 enneasyllabic verses are of the following types:

1. Type ...4...8, 38 or 56%.⁴⁷
2. Type ..3....8, 15 or 22+%.
3. Type5..8, 12 or 17%.
4. Type .2.....8, 3 or 4+%.

Exact agreement in rhythm as determined by the two principal accents, besides the meter, is frequent enough in the two verses of the enneasyllabic couplet to conclude that it was intentional. Ten couplets are of the type ...4...8, two are ..3....8, one is5..8.

II. Heptasyllabic:

Verses, 46, 55, 82, 86-93, 96-104, 106-121, 123, 132. Total, 38 verses (26%).

⁴⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo, for example, seems to have based his observations on the faulty text and study of Amador de los Ríos (*op. cit.*); and even so, his statements are in part incorrect, for the Ballad meter is certainly not one of the "*tipos métricos*" of the work. His words follow (*Antología de poet. ltr. cast.*, II, xxix): "La versificación, como de poeta culto, es mucho más artificiosa y complicada que la de los cantares de *gesta*, puesto que hace uso del *leonino* y ofrece en breve espacio muestras de los tres tipos métricos hasta entonces conocidos, el de diez y seis sílabas, el de catorce y el de nueve, a la francesa. . . ."

⁴⁷ Fractions are not included.

The 38 heptasyllabic verses are of the following types:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Type ..3..6, | 12 or 31+%. ⁴⁷ |
| 2. Type .2...6, | 11 or 29%. |
| 3. Type .....6, or | |
| 1....6, | 8 or 21%. |
| 4. Type ...4.6, | 7 or 18+%. |

Rythmic agreement in each couplet is not common here.

III. Alexandrine:

Verses, 53-54, 60-72,⁴⁸ 74-81,⁴⁹ 83-85, 125-126, 135-137.

Total, 31 verses (20%).

The rythmic accents of the Alexandrine hemistichs are the same as those of the heptasyllabic verses, and the two chief types are distributed in about the same proportions. Some 21 are .2...6, 19 are ..3..6, 9 are6 or 1....6; there are no ...4.6, and the second hemistich is not always determinable.

IV. Hexasyllabic:

Verses, 105, 122, 124. Total, 3 verses.

To these should be added 3 hexasyllabic hemistichs counted as Alexandrine hemistichs, 67b, 68b, 69b, and possibly also 66b, 71a. The total number of hexasyllabic verses or hemistichs might be, therefore, as many as six, or possibly eight. The hexasyllabic verses or hemistichs are of the types,5
....5.;5...

V. Pentasyllabic:

Verses, 17, 129, ...4, ...4.. Total, 2 verses.

In both cases the pentasyllabic is followed by an enneasyllabic with which it rimes, seemingly isolated examples of the regular Old French manner in the *Mystères* of ending a couplet or strophe by a verse of half the length of the other verses.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Here are included three sure hexasyllabic hemistichs, 67b, 68b, 69b, and two possible ones, 66b, 71a. See hexasyllabic, IV.

⁴⁹ Here is included a sure octosyllabic hemistich, 81b.

⁵⁰ Also in the *Miracles*, and in the Mediaeval Latin *Mysteries*. See Du Ménil (*op. cit.*), 213 fol. A complicated but apparently regular system of such mingling of certain short and longer meters is not rare in Old French, e. g., in the *Desputeison de l'Ame et du Corps* (ed. Stengel, *ZRPh*, IV, 74 fol.):

VI. Tetrasyllabic:

Verses, 45, 131, type . . 3. Total, 2 verses.

In both cases the tetrasyllabic is followed by a heptasyllabic with which it rimes, cf. the pentasyllabic verses, and note below.

VII. Octosyllabic:

Verses, 32, 58 (same as 32), . 2 7. Total, 2 verses.

These verses could also be counted as heptasyllabic, see III, 32.

In addition we have four octosyllabic hemistichs in the Alexandrines, one of which can not be corrected (81b), and a few other verses that we might read as octosyllabic, see III, 81.

Baist has already called attention to the fact that the metrical structure of the *Misterio* is in general similar to that of the Old French and Latin pieces of like character.⁵¹ Lidforss also observes that it shows a metrical freedom similar to that of such pieces, and compares it especially to the metrical structure of the Latin-Provençal *Mysterium fatuarum Virginum* (XIth cent.).⁵² In spite of the fact that the Spanish composition may be of direct French origin, its basis in all respects may be Latin (cf. Baist, cited below). The Latin compositions must have been numerous and much older, and from them are derived the similar Old French and Old Spanish

First six strophes

..4..8	.....8	..3....8	...4..7	.....7	.....8
..4...8	.....7	...5..8	...4..7	.2....7	...4...8
...4	...4	...4	..3	...4	...4
....5..8	...4..7	...4...8	...4...8	...4...9	.2....7
..3....8	..3....8	...4...8	...4...8	..3...7	1.....8
...4	...4	...4	..3	...4	..3

More finished and regular strophes, involving certain definite metrical variations and rime arrangements, have been used in all the Romance Languages since early times. In Spanish the shorter meters of such compositions, called *pies quebrados*, are very common, e. g., in the poetry of Alfonso el Sabio, Juan Ruiz (cf. Hanssen, *Los Metros de los Cantares de Juan Ruiz* in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, CX, 161-220), Gómez Manrique, Juan Del Encina, etc. Examples from Old Portuguese poetry may be seen in *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (ed. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Halle, 1904), I, nos. 32, 63, 65, 281, 324, 361.

⁵¹ *Grundriss* II, ii, 400: "Seine vier Scenen . . . zeigen einen reichen metrischen Bau in 8, 12, 6 Silbern, wie ihn ähnlich französische und lateinische Stücke bieten; die Vorlage dürfte indessen lateinisch gewesen sein."

⁵² *Op. cit.*, 55-56. See also, Du Ménil, *Les Origines Latines*, *op. cit.*, 235-237.

pieces. The Latin-Provençal piece mentioned by Lidforss does not show the metrical variety of the Old Spanish *Misterio*, nor does any Old French *Mystère* known to me. In a Latin-French mystery of the XIIth century (probably not older than the Spanish piece), *Suscitatio Lazari*,⁵³ however, I find almost an exact parallel to the Spanish *Misterio* from the point of view of the metrical structure. In this piece are used all the meters of the *Misterio* without a single exception, enneasyllabic, heptasyllabic, Alexandrine, hexasyllabic, pentasyllabic, tetrasyllabic, octosyllabic. The shorter meters are not frequent, as in the *Misterio*, and precede or follow longer meters, although with more finished strophe and rime sequence. The only essential difference to be noted is a more frequent use of the octosyllabic verse (French seven syllable verse) than that which we find in the *Misterio*. The almost complete absence of the octosyllabic verse in the Spanish⁵⁴ piece is not clear.

The following outline gives parallel examples of all the meters of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* and of the *Suscitatio Lazari*:

Alexandrine:

S. ⁵⁵	121 Nunc comprimas has lacrymas et luctum qui te urget:	..3..6. —.2...6.
	122 Frater tuus est mortuus: sed facile resurget.	..3..6. —.3..6
M. ⁵⁶	79 Que decides, o ides? a quin ides buscar?	..3..6.—.2...6.
	125 dezir man la uertad, si iace in escripto	..3..6.—.2...6.

Enneasyllabic:

S.	79 Ecce quae sunt Dei magnalia;	...4...8..
	80 vos vidistis et haec et alia:	..3...8..
	81 ipse coelum fecit et maria;	...5..8..
M.	139 Par mi lei, non somos erados!	..3...8.
	143 por que non dezimos uertad?	...5..8
	144 Io non la se, par caridad.	...4...8

⁵³ Du Méril, *op. cit.*, 225-232.

⁵⁴ The *Suscitatio Lazari* uses also a (French) 10 syllable meter (5th tonic and Latin proparoxytone caesura),5..5.., which does not occur as such in the *Misterio*. Verses 67, 68, 69, 71 and 122, 124 (considered as hemistichs), however, approach such a structure.

⁵⁵ *Suscitatio Lazari*.

⁵⁶ *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*.

Octosyllabic:

S.	1 O sors tristis! O sors dura,	..3...7.
M.	32 ire, lo aorare,	..3...7

Heptasyllabic:

S.	29 hor est mis frere morz;	.2...6
M.	87 Si, rei, por caridad.	.2...6

Hexasyllabic:

S.	49 Cesset talis gemitus	....5..
M.	124 i por mios retóricos;	....5..

Pentasyllabic:

S.	27 mortales fieri:	.2.4.
	28 Hor ai dolor,	.2.4
M.	17 Ala ire;	.2.4
	129 Rei, si traemos,	...4.

Tetrasyllabic:

S.	110 dol en ai,	..3
M.	131 Pus catad,	..3

V

There are 99 cases of contiguous vowels in the *Misterio*.⁵⁷ In the following table are given all the cases of hiatus and synalepha:

Hiatus.

Synalepha.

1. Tonic + Tonic: é-é, 22, 138;
 é-ó, 47; éi-é, 84a; éi-ó, 108,
 111; ó-í, 79a.
 Total, 7 cases, or 7% (of total
 number of contiguous vowels).

⁵⁷ This count does not include hiatus at the caesura or between verses.

2. Tonic + Atonic: á-a, 26, 113;
 á-e, 72a, 85a; á-i, 17, 105;
 é-a, 52; é-i, 33; éi-a, 77b;
 éi-u, 84a; í-a, 23; ó-a, 62b,
 105; ó-o, 59.
 Total, 14 cases, or 14%.
3. Atonic + Tonic: a-é, 68b, a-é, 3, 55, 93; e-é, 11, 40, 51, 78,
 103; e-é, 4, 6, 41, 84b, 94, 127; e-ó, 70; e-ú, 8, 40; i-á, 96;
 134; i-á, 31, 98; i-é, 48, 48, i-é, 10; o-á, 4; o-é, 8, 15, 42, 92,
 65b, 66a, 133; o-á, 126b, 137b; o-ó, 40.
 135b; o-é, 5, 14, 18, 24, 30, Total, 20 cases, or 20%.
 31, 47, 49, 56, 59, 106; o-ía,
 96.
 Total, 29 cases, or 29 + %.
4. Atonic + Atonic: a-ia, 68a; a-a, 100, 145; a-i, 27; e-a, 18;
 a-o, 26; e-i, 25, 125b; e-o, e-e, 74; i-a, 68, 73; i-e, 25, 146;
 21; e-hu, 95; i-a, 103, 106; i-i, 95; o-a, 89, 91; o-e, 12, 30,
 i-e, 25; o-a, 32, 58; o-e, 36; 41, 42.⁵⁸
 o-i, 78a.
 Total, 13 cases, or 13%. Total, 16 cases, or 16 + %.
 Total Hiatus 63 cases, or Total Synalepha, 36 cases, or
 63 + %.⁵⁹ 36 + %.⁵⁹

Of all the cases of hiatus, 30, or nearly half, are voc. + e (23 tonic e), and of all cases of synalepha, 21, or more than half, are voc. + e (14 tonic e). In the case of like vowels we have 11 hiatus, 10 synalepha. There is no case of synalepha involving more than two contiguous vowels.

The following table gives a complete list of the verses and hemistichs where synalepha occurs. It will be noticed that in many cases synalepha is not only necessary for the correct metrical reading but it even determines the regularity of the rythm, which in some cases is well fixed.⁶⁰ For the sake of convenience, the italics, brackets, etc. of the text are not indicated below.

⁵⁸ I do not count the synalepha of v. 136 because Menéndez Pidal's emendation is wrong. See III, 136.

⁵⁹ Fractions not included.

⁶⁰ See IV.

1. Atonic + Tonic.		2. Atonic + Atonic.	
a)			
3	Agora primas la <u>e</u> ueida	...4...8. en todo, <u>en</u> todo lo prohio	12
4	poco timpo <u>a</u> que | es nacida	...4...8. aquel qui <u>en</u> pace | i | en guera	25
11	Bine <u>es</u> uertad lo que io digo	...4...8. En todo <u>en</u> todo | | es nacido	30
15	nacido <u>es</u> Dios, por uer de fembra	...4...8. que | es senior de todo <u>el</u> mundo	41
127	Rei, que te plaze? <u>he</u> nos uenidos ⁸¹	...4...8. ni <u>en</u> nostras uocas es falada	146
b)			
8	todo <u>esto</u> non uale <u>uno</u> figo	....5...8. asi cumo <u>el</u> cilo es redondo	42
40	que <u>uno</u> omne <u>es</u> nacido de carne	....5...8. porque no la <u>auemos</u> usada	145
42	asi cumo <u>el</u> cilo <u>es</u> redondo	....5...8.	
51	bine lo ueo que <u>es</u> uerdad	....5...8.	
c)			
		.2....8. de todos <u>hata</u> in occidente	27
		.2....8. Andemos <u>i</u> asi lo fagamos	73
		.2....8. <u>i</u> in carne humana uenidos	95
d)			
10	si <u>es</u> uertad, bine lo sabre	..3....8 o que fure, <u>aorlo</u> | e	18
e)			
78a	que <u>es</u> nacido | in tirra	..3...6. oro, mira | <u>i</u> acenso	68a
93	una strela <u>es</u> nacida	..3...6. ia prouado lo <u>auedes</u>	89
96	Quanto | <u>i</u> a que la uistes	..3...6. que prouado lo <u>auemos</u>	91
		..3...6. que la <u>auemos</u> ueida	100
f)			
55	nacida <u>es</u> una strela	.2...6.	
70a	si fure omne mortal	.2...6.	
92	Esto <u>es</u> grand marauila	.2...6.	
137b	cumo <u>eres</u> enartado	.2...6	
		1....6 Salue te <u>el</u> Criador	74a

Both hiatus and synalepha are freely allowed in the *Misterio*. Hiatus is more common. There are 99 cases of contiguous vowels, of which 63 (63 + %) are cases of hiatus and 36 (36 + %) are cases of synalepha. Both hiatus and synalepha are more favored before a tonic vowel and after an atonic vowel. Of all the cases of hiatus, 29 or 46% are of this kind, and of all the cases of synalepha, 18 or 50% are such. Hiatus, however, seems to be under no restric-

⁸¹ If Pietsch is correct in his belief that *he* is derived from *haber* (see Bello-Cuervo, Gram.¹⁰, N. 134), there can be no objection to this case of synalepha.

tions since it occurs also in the case of tonic + tonic (7 cases), tonic + atonic (14 cases) and atonic + atonic (13 cases), while synalepha does not seem to be allowed after a tonic vowel. It occurs only in cases of atonic + tonic or atonic + atonic, but there is not a single case after a tonic vowel. It would be interesting to know whether this is the only general restriction to synalepha in Old Spanish.⁶²

There are only two verses (39, 43) and four hemistichs (65a, 67a, 81b, 85b) in the *Misterio* which seem to be irregular or non-metrical. All of these can be easily corrected, as we have seen in III, with a single exception, 81b. The metrical structure of the *Misterio*, therefore, as it actually is, and allowing freely both hiatus and synalepha, is practically perfect. Even by leaving the apparently irregular verses without correction the metrical irregularities are less than 5% of the total number of verses. By applying to the *Misterio* the rigid law which some noteworthy scholars have followed in their editions of Old Spanish texts, i. e., the theory of Hanssen that synalepha does not exist in Old Spanish, 25% of the verses of the *Misterio* would result metrically incorrect. I admit that in Berceo hiatus is by far more common than synalepha, but I am absolutely certain that synalepha is frequent enough to warrant my rejecting the theory that it does not exist at all and that the first examples date from the XIVth century. The *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* dates from the end of the XIIth century, at the latest,⁶³ and although the Spanish poet was imitating Latin and French meters even in matters of metrical variations and inner accents of the verse,⁶⁴ synalepha is freely allowed: with such few restrictions (not favored

⁶² Among the examples of synalepha which I have from Berceo, *Alexandre*, etc., there are very few cases after a tonic vowel. Later when hiatus was very rare, Juan del Encina, Lope de Vega and classicists, synalepha was freely allowed in all cases. The number of Spanish paroxytone words is much greater than that of oxytones, hence synalepha of atonic + atonic has been since the 15th century much more common. In Encina, out of 536 cases of contiguous vowels, I find 483 synalepha, 53 hiatus; synalepha at. + at. 392, at. + ton. 68, ton. + at. 22, ton. + ton. 1; hiatus at. + at. 2, at. + ton. 37, ton. + at. 4, ton. + ton. 10. In Lope, out of 307 cases, there are 300 synalepha, 7 hiatus; synalepha at. + at. 214, at. + ton. 62, ton. + at. 18, ton. + ton. 6. For Calderón my figures are not different from Lope. It is only in Old Spanish that synalepha was not favored after a tonic vowel.

⁶³ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*, I, 144.

⁶⁴ The enneasyllabic of the type ...4...8, for example, is the well known Old French type used in the *Passion Christi* and *St. Léger*. See Tobler, *Le Vers Français* (Paris, 1885), 124-125.

after a tonic vowel) that one is obliged to conclude that it was a well known phenomenon in Old Spanish poetry. Nebrija does not speak of it as an innovation, and historical Spanish grammar shows that it has always existed in Spanish. Whether some poets such as Berceo made a conscious attempt to favor hiatus and limit the use of synalepha is another matter entirely. In any case synalepha is frequent enough in Old Spanish and even Berceo makes use of it.⁶⁵

Additional prosodic notes:

1. Caesural hiatus: 60, 61, 66, 68, 69, 76, 77, 85.
2. Syneresis: *vio*,⁶⁶ 107; *seer*,⁶⁷ 13, 26; *mio*, *mios*,⁶⁸ 23, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124.
3. Dieresis: *criador*, 1, 5, 34, 48, 56, etc; *Melchior*, 83a; *aün*, 109; *celestial* (?), 66b, 71a.⁶⁹
4. Elision: *man*, 125, 134.
5. Contraction:
 - a) Indicated: *desto*,⁷⁰ 38.
 - b) Not indicated: synalepha of like vowels, 11, 40, 40, 51, 74, 78, 95, 100, 127, 145 (u-u does not occur); vocal embebida, [a] *aquel rei adorar*, 77b.
6. Enclisis: *mel*, 9; *sil*, 63b; *quel*, 72b; *nol*, 78b; *nom*, 81b.

⁶⁵ Hanssen first announced his theory in 1896, *Sobre el Hiato en la antigua Versificación castellana*. He confirmed his theory later in *Miscelánea de Versificación castellana*, 1897, and *Notas a la Prosodia castellana*, 1900. His theory is again upheld in his recent *Gramática histórica de la Lengua castellana* (Halle, 1913), § 102. Unfortunately, Hanssen's theory has been generally accepted; cf., Stengel in *Krit. Jahresbericht*, IV, 1, 380, Fitz-Gerald *Versification of the Cuaderna Via* (New York, 1905). Recently, Lang has announced his belief in Hanssen's theory, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, V, 1, page 13, note. Menéndez Pidal admits the use of synalepha in the recently discovered Old Spanish poem *Elena y María*, published in *Revista de Filología Española*, I, 1, 94: "Creo que nuestro juglar recitaba sus versos con sinalefa y no con hiato." Is hiatus excluded? Pietsch (*Preliminary Notes on two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, Chicago, 1902, p. 25, note) does not accept Hanssen's theory. For the *Misterio* synalepha is freely allowed also by Milá y Fontanals, *op. cit.*, 452: "Consideraremos como regulares todos los versos que resultan tales, ya cometiendo, ya dejando de cometer sinalefa y pondremos variantes para regularizar algunos que no constan."

⁶⁶ *Cantar (de Mio Cid, Texto, Gramática y Vocabulario)*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1908-1911, I, 2, § 95.

⁶⁷ See, however, *veer*, disyllabic, 47.

⁶⁸ *Cantar*, § 30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, § 27.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, § 44.

7. Doublets: *achest*, 83, *acheste*, 16; *tal*, 107, *atal*, 23, 34, 112;⁷¹ *por uer*, 15, *por ueras*, 136; *bin* (?), *bine*, *sin* (?), *sine*(s), see III, 10, 39.
8. *Rei*, *lei* are always monosyllabic, 69a, 71a, 84a, etc., 141. *Rees*, 134, is disyllabic.

VI

We conclude the study of the versification of the *Misterio* with an outline of the rimes and assonances. Italics indicate orthographic emendations made on the text in order to indicate the probable pronunciation of the author. A detailed discussion of some of the changes involved here would take me beyond the limits of the present study. I must state, however, that my spellings *uo* and *ie* do not necessarily mean *uó*, *ié*. The text of the *Misterio* does not show clearly whether the author pronounced *úo*, *íe* or *uó*, *ié*, and it is not impossible that both pronunciations were known to him. The reasons why the scribe did not write the diphthongs are satisfactorily explained by Menéndez Pidal.⁷²

1. Rime:

-a: 43-44, 69-70-71-72, 98-99.	-eo: 115-116.
-ad: 51-52, 86-87, 102-103-104, 131-132, 143-144.	-ero, -iero: 53-54.
-ada: 35-36, 47-48, 145-146.	-ierra, -erra: 24-25, 84-85.
-ades: 119-120.	-es: 45-46.
-ado: 137-138.	-í: 111-112.
-ados: 141-142.	-ías: 139-140.
-aga: 113-114.	-ida: 3-4, 100-101.
-al: 13-14, 22-23, 65-66, 74-75-76, 107-108.	-ido: 30-31, 94-95.
-ar: 60-61-62-63-64, 77-78-79-80-81-82-83.	-igo: 7-8.
-aré: 32-33.	-iene: 20-21.
-é: 9-10, 17-18-19, 28-29, 58-59, 105-106.	-istes: 96-97.
-edes: 88-89.	-oma: 117-118.
-iella, -ella: 1-2.	-ondo: 41-42.
-emos: 67-68, 90-91, 129-130.	-or: 5-6, 49-50, 56-57.
-ente: 26-27.	

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, § 42.

⁷² *Cantar*, *op. cit.*, § 5. The word *marauila* appears in rime with *strela*, 1, hence *marauela* or *marauitla*; and in assonance with *nacida*, 92, hence, also *marauila* or *marauiela*. See also Ford, *op. cit.*, 102-103. There is also some evidence in favor of a pronunciation *tierra*, cf. interior assonances, 76-78, but from verses 24, 84, it seems that *tierra* was the ordinary form.

2. Imperfect rime:

-embra, -embre: 15-16.

-carno, -carne: 39-40.

4. Assonance:

á-o: 121-122.

é-o: 37-38.

í-a: 92-93, (see note 72).

í-o: 11-12, 125-126-127-128, 133-134-135-136.

uo-o: 109-110.

5. Interior rimes and assonances:

a) Rime:

-al: 70-71.

-ides: 79-80.

b) Assonance:

í-a: 76-77-78.

í-o: 61-62.

c) Imperfect assonance?

-er, -enso, -erra, 67-68-69.

6. Leonine assonance: 65, 136; (imperfect?), 67, 68.

7. Single verses: 34, 55, 73, 123, 124.⁷⁸

There are some 54 rimed couplets and 9 in assonance. There are five cases of three verses united by rime, which also seem to be intentional. The longest series of verses united by the same rime is 77-83, six Alexandrines and one heptasyllabic verse, rime -ar.

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⁷⁸ In the case of 34, 55, 73, it may be that the accompanying verses were omitted by the scribe. In the last two we may have an Alexandrine which the author intended to rime with another one composed of 121, 122, see III, verse 121, note. The assonance á-o of 121-122, and the series of short verses following *idme* are the only objections.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IDEA OF THE RESPONSIBLE STATE

Ac per hoc, si respublica res populi est, et populus non est qui consensu non sociatus est juris, non est autem jus, ubi nulla justitia est: procul dubio colligitur, ubi justitia non est, non esse rempublicam. Justitia porro ea virtus est, quae sua cuique distribuit.

Ut ergo in his duobus hominibus, ita in duabus familiis, ita in duobus populis, ita in duobus regnis regula sequitur aequitatis. . . . Remota itaque justitia, quid sunt regna, nisi magna latrocinia?—*De Civit. Dei*, XIX, xxi, and IV, iii and iv.

Res ardua est, Domine, Justitia.—Gerson, *De Theologia Mystica*.

I N his incisive little volume on Bossuet, M. Alfred Rébelliau quotes from Nicole, “qu’on a souvent oui dire à M. Pascal que nul emploi au monde ne lui eut plus agréé que celui d’instituteur de l’héritier présomptif de la couronne de France.”¹ This aspiration, equally frustrated by the Jansenist situation towards the Court and by his own illness, may shed its light, lesser or greater, on the ultimate, perhaps but half conscious, mission of the *Pensées*, which offer certainly in places a kind of philosophic didacticism really closely akin to that of Pascal’s predecessors deriving from St. Augustine. Theirs is, in their *Confessions* quite as much as in their formal apologetics, a psychology of publicists, looking outwards and onwards even more than within and behind. And in summarizing to attack or to fortify, the opinions of other critical moralists, Pascal, as in the *Provincial Letters*, reveals what I take to be his real historical position, pivotal between the mystical *philosophes* of the last phase of the Middle Ages, and the lay critics of the age ahead. He speaks in his serried fashion really from the one to the other, from the “holy Doctors” to Vauvenargues and Turgot, to the Pascalisants of to-day. Certainly no one is so illuminating, unless it be these students of him, when one has to do with the earlier thinkers of the fifteenth century national revival, who first swung into vernacular realization the burden of the same “holy Doctors’” transcendental Statecraft and Christian-Stoic morality. Constantly in groping one’s way through their maze of symbolic architectonics the *Entretien avec M. de Saci* furnishes the vital clue. Their in-

¹ *Les grands écrivains français*, p. 72.

genuities of symmetrical construction and interpretation may be, after all, more than gymnastic exercises *in vacuo*! The actual theme of the mystic may prove not only that of some chiselled page of the *Pensées* but also that of the *Republic*. Or we see out of what high forerunners M. Hanotaux, at our crucial moment, finds his guaranty and his logic for the constatation that is not "mere assertion," that civilization, namely "s'achemine vers une transformation du monde, où les forces physiques seront de plus en plus subordonnées aux forces morales, où les despotismes, comme les anarchies, s'inclineront devant un équilibre social qui assurera la sécurité et le développement des collectivités supérieures par le sacrifice volontaire des individualismes et des groupements particuliers, inférieurs à la plus ancienne et la mieux réglée des organisations humaines, la patrie."

The student of these matters, indeed, who can find no natural limits before or since the Middle Age to its preoccupations, has also to confess that within it the limitations of ignorance are chiefly active as to the beginning of general currents defining the Idea of the State in France. One sees it well developed with Alcuin and cannot think its naturalization his own work altogether; the municipal architecture of Provence is there to raise its suggestions as to what was the civic order contemplated by the feudal lord at a somewhat later day when the Epics were forming. But with Hugo of St. Victor's dedication to Louis the Fat of his *Eruditionis Didascalicae* (vol. iii, p. 40ff., Rouen, 1648), we have to recognize an explicit awareness of the relation of transcendental philosophy to statecraft, —a mutual obligation—where, in St. Augustine's declaration, "immutable Justice is Truth." And we may see how from the preoccupation of Hugo and the Victorine scholastics after him with the pseudo-Dionysius—one of those cases of overwhelming intellectual attraction across centuries and racial borders which commonly constitute and explain at once the most amazing originality—a special intensity of consideration went into pondering St. Paul's transcendental pronouncement. *Invisibilia enim ejus, a constitutione mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur sempiterna quoque virtus ejus et divinitas*, is developed at length in the *City of God*, and interpreted, as to its psychological terms, by the Neo-Platonic Stoics of imperial Rome. With Gregory as a kind of primer no scholastic could miss the import, after Hugo's critical intelligence

had once brought together as the special *fonds* for French political and practical philosophers the "false St. Denis," Boëthius, Macrobius, and the *City of God*.

It is indeed the *memoria* of their Triune psychology, which is at once the Platonic reminiscence and our cultivation, or the "realizing sense" of Calvinist theology, which, through the Victorines, becomes the source and sanction of a new fashion of actual vision, in which the real world of multifarious fact, not lost sight of, is seen and chiefly considered in a kind of moral mirage. It seems that, as one may have suspected, Hugo and his successors had actually to prime their system, not the *Timaeus* of Chalcidius only, but actually a Latin version of the *Phaedo* too. (Cf. Fr. Picavet, *Essais*, Paris, 1913, "Vingt-quatre ans aux Hautes Etudes," p. 25.) One may then, perhaps, for present convenience, translate into their terms a little,—the terms of the pseudo-Senecan *Formula de Honesta Vita* serving as an indication, with Hugo's own plain humanism in announcing that there is "no virtue outside of truth"—the great ethico-social principle sent down antiquity as that of Socrates at his very end:

"There is one coin of demonstrated value only, for which everyday realities ought to be exchanged, and that is the understanding of the truly philosophic mind. All that is exchanged for this is real, whether Fortitude or Temperance or Justice: in a word true virtue cannot be without this Wisdom, or Prudence (*sapientia* > *sagesse*) and it matters nothing whether pleasure and fear and all other such (purely mundane, transitory, sensory) things are present or are absent. . . . True goodness *in reality* is a deliverance from them all, and Temperance, and Justice and Fortitude are the deliverance. For it seems when I consider attentively (or, enter into real contemplation) that our mysteries have an allegorical meaning. . . . For 'the thyrsus-bearers are many,' as they say in the mysteries, but those who receive special insight are few. And by these last, I believe, are meant only the true philosophers."

Many are called, few chosen: here was just their favorite Christian-philosophic rapprochement, the half rhetorical device of Paul's Speech at Athens, and the architectonic theme of the *De Civitate Dei*, passing into their very physical habit of sight. Brought to bear on the State as an organism, above all by the Augustinian Order, this habit begins promptly to produce a symmetrical structure which is

fundamentally that under which we actually live. To get it accepted by the material ruler, to persuade force of its necessary acceptance, inculcating above all "the heir presumptive to the crown of France" in due season: we may see what no mean desire was Pascal's, and why the task of royal tutor fell so naturally to Bossuet and Fénelon. Had not Aristotle himself been the master of Alexander, quite as significantly as of those that know; was not Seneca Nero's tutor,—Seneca, St. Paul's friend and correspondent, by whom the East and West were made one in the "true commonweal which is God."

Certainly by the end of the thirteenth century when the Augustinian General, Gilles of Rome, wrote for Philippe le Bel his *De Regimine Principum*, the ethico-political structure in Latin had taken form and found its text in Jeremiah's *Regnabit rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium*, but the influences that are to effect the passage into the vernacular of the essential Realist State doctrine are barely perceptible in the Latin tract at this time. They begin to make their appearance, however, in the French paraphrase of the treatise made, by Henri de Gauchi, for the early guidance of Charles le Sage. Here (MS. 581, Bib. Nat., Paris) is the bold and confident announcement that "Dant appert que le prophete dit bien es paroles proposées du devant dit Charles et de chascun bon roy et prince." And from this time on through the reign of the Wise King a network of influences, largely Italian, determine what is perhaps the most extraordinary state of mind in the thinking part of a nation between the Fall of Rome and the French Revolution, and in a fashion the link between. Napoleon's celebrated bracketing together of "ideologues and Jansenists" as genres equally troublesome to autocracy, might have included their common precursors, the doctrinaires of the end of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century.²

² Cf. in especial Cabanis, *Lettre sur la Perfectibilité*, first published by M. François Picavet as an appendix, p. 590, to his *Idéologues*, Paris, 1891.

"Au reste, cette doctrine de la perfectibilité du genre humain sous les rapports de la raison et sous ceux de la morale, est bien loin d'être nouvelle. Quelques philosophes modernes, tels que Bacon, Buffon, Price, Smith, Priestley, Turgot, Condorcet, ont regardé cette perfectibilité comme indéfinie, c'est-à-dire comme une de ces quantités dont le calcul se rapproche incessamment, sans jamais les atteindre, mais dans tous les temps, on l'a reconnue ou sentie; elle a servi de base ou encouragement aux travaux du génie, aux tentatives sur le meilleur mode d'éducation, aux recherches sur les meilleurs formes de gouvernement, et les efforts des investigateurs de la vérité, des moralists, des législateurs, ont toujours été fondés sur cette croyance que l'homme est perfectible; qu'il l'est,

tions since it occurs also in the case of tonic + tonic (7 cases), tonic + atonic (14 cases) and atonic + atonic (13 cases), while synalepha does not seem to be allowed after a tonic vowel. It occurs only in cases of atonic + tonic or atonic + atonic, but there is not a single case after a tonic vowel. It would be interesting to know whether this is the only general restriction to synalepha in Old Spanish.⁶²

There are only two verses (39, 43) and four hemistichs (65a, 67a, 81b, 85b) in the *Misterio* which seem to be irregular or non-metrical. All of these can be easily corrected, as we have seen in III, with a single exception, 81b. The metrical structure of the *Misterio*, therefore, as it actually is, and allowing freely both hiatus and synalepha, is practically perfect. Even by leaving the apparently irregular verses without correction the metrical irregularities are less than 5% of the total number of verses. By applying to the *Misterio* the rigid law which some noteworthy scholars have followed in their editions of Old Spanish texts, i. e., the theory of Hanssen that synalepha does not exist in Old Spanish, 25% of the verses of the *Misterio* would result metrically incorrect. I admit that in Berceo hiatus is by far more common than synalepha, but I am absolutely certain that synalepha is frequent enough to warrant my rejecting the theory that it does not exist at all and that the first examples date from the XIVth century. The *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* dates from the end of the XIIth century, at the latest,⁶³ and although the Spanish poet was imitating Latin and French meters even in matters of metrical variations and inner accents of the verse,⁶⁴ synalepha is freely allowed: with such few restrictions (not favored

⁶² Among the examples of synalepha which I have from Berceo, *Alexandre*, etc., there are very few cases after a tonic vowel. Later when hiatus was very rare, Juan del Encina, Lope de Vega and classicists, synalepha was freely allowed in all cases. The number of Spanish paroxytone words is much greater than that of oxytones, hence synalepha of atonic + atonic has been since the 15th century much more common. In Encina, out of 536 cases of contiguous vowels, I find 483 synalepha, 53 hiatus; synalepha at. + at. 392, at. + ton. 68, ton. + at. 22, ton. + ton. 1; hiatus at. + at. 2, at. + ton. 37, ton. + at. 4, ton. + ton. 10. In Lope, out of 307 cases, there are 300 synalepha, 7 hiatus; synalepha at. + at. 214, at. + ton. 62, ton. + at. 18, ton. + ton. 6. For Calderón my figures are not different from Lope. It is only in Old Spanish that synalepha was not favored after a tonic vowel.

⁶³ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*, I, 144.

⁶⁴ The enneasyllabic of the type ...4...8, for example, is the well known Old French type used in the *Passion Christi* and *St. Léger*. See Tobler, *Le Vers François* (Paris, 1885), 124-125.

after a tonic vowel) that one is obliged to conclude that it was a well known phenomenon in Old Spanish poetry. Nebrija does not speak of it as an innovation, and historical Spanish grammar shows that it has always existed in Spanish. Whether some poets such as Berceo made a conscious attempt to favor hiatus and limit the use of synalepha is another matter entirely. In any case synalepha is frequent enough in Old Spanish and even Berceo makes use of it.⁶⁵

Additional prosodic notes:

1. Caesural hiatus: 60, 61, 66, 68, 69, 76, 77, 85.
2. Syneresis: *vio*,⁶⁶ 107; *seer*,⁶⁷ 13, 26; *mio*, *mios*,⁶⁸ 23, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124.
3. Dieresis: *criador*, 1, 5, 34, 48, 56, etc; *Melchior*, 83a; *aün*, 109; *celestial* (?), 66b, 71a.⁶⁹
4. Elision: *man*, 125, 134.
5. Contraction:
 - a) Indicated: *desto*,⁷⁰ 38.
 - b) Not indicated: synalepha of like vowels, 11, 40, 40, 51, 74, 78, 95, 100, 127, 145 (u-u does not occur); vocal embebida, [*a*] *aquel rei adorar*, 77b.
6. Enclisis: *mel*, 9; *sil*, 63b; *quel*, 72b; *nol*, 78b; *nom*, 81b.

⁶⁵ Hanssen first announced his theory in 1896, *Sobre el Hiato en la antigua Versificación castellana*. He confirmed his theory later in *Miscelánea de Versificación castellana*, 1897, and *Notas a la Prosodia castellana*, 1900. His theory is again upheld in his recent *Gramática histórica de la Lengua castellana* (Halle, 1913), § 102. Unfortunately, Hanssen's theory has been generally accepted; cf., Stengel in *Krit. Jahresbericht*, IV, 1, 380, Fitz-Gerald *Versification of the Cuaderna Via* (New York, 1905). Recently, Lang has announced his belief in Hanssen's theory, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, V, 1, page 13, note. Menéndez Pidal admits the use of synalepha in the recently discovered Old Spanish poem *Elena y María*, published in *Revista de Filología Española*, I, 1, 94: "Creo que nuestro juglar recitaba sus versos con sinalefa y no con hiato." Is hiatus excluded? Pietsch (*Preliminary Notes on two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, Chicago, 1902, p. 25, note) does not accept Hanssen's theory. For the *Misterio* synalepha is freely allowed also by Milá y Fontanals, *op. cit.*, 452: "Consideraremos como regulares todos los versos que resultan tales, ya cometiendo, ya dejando de cometer sinalefa y pondremos variantes para regularizar algunos que no constan."

⁶⁶ *Cantar (de Mio Cid, Texto, Gramática y Vocabulario)*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1908-1911), I, 2, § 95.

⁶⁷ See, however, *veer*, disyllabic, 47.

⁶⁸ *Cantar*, § 30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, § 27.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, § 44.

From Italy came not only the *De Monarchia* of Dante, with Italian adepts like Thomas de Pisan to interpret what was doubtless at the time sound science with a good sprinkling of clever quackery and political *cautèle*. There came also, or there received at least fresh attention, the pious positivism of the first Italian legal renaissance. The clear-headed Albertano of Brescia is constantly teaching orderliness, precision of statement, the sense for fact, and moderation of language, with a very rational sort of submission to the Will of God, as that under which mere human understanding shows a thinking man that he really lives. The *Ars Loquendi et Tacendi*, prudential in its very conception, the *Livre dou Conseil et dou Consolement* (to give it its title in the free French version) are even more important for the stimulus they were to original French compositions than as sources for them,—and that is to say a good deal.

pris individuellement, qu'il l'est surtout, considéré collectivement ou en corps de nation. . . .

"Si l'on commence à ne plus prendre des abstractions pour des êtres réels, à bannir les vaines subtilités de toutes les discussions. . . à qui en est-on redevable? N'est-ce pas à ces mêmes hommes qu'on accuse de se nourrir d'idées creuses, de subtilités, d'abstractions?"

It is to be hoped that few earnest Americans need reminding—at this time—of the two Discourses of Turgot as Prior of the Sorbonne, and of his *Plan de deux discours sur l'Histoire universelle*,—a last, signal threshing of Scholasticism for Democracy's profit, and with the work of Cabanis, perhaps the most immediately active political philosophy for Franklin and Jefferson equally. In Turgot's Nominalism, which is that essentially of Gerson as it is of Tocqueville and still of John Morley, we have to recognize the possible, friendly meeting place of our own main sectional differences. These perhaps have their share in determining some intellectual and academic divergences which certainly rest on implicit logical habits more than quite appears on the surface. The Puritan *croyant* of "facts," the Western or Southern neophyte of ideas, may possibly be more inclined to a basis of reciprocity, rather than of reprisals, as they realize, with Turgot, how tactfully our beginnings picked a way between the principle of equity and the principle of precedent, Roman and customary law. The history of political Nominalism is of a steady alliance between the present Allies, France and England pouring now the one, now the other, to the other's advantage and ours, whenever in either country Northern force has tended to harden an order, where too literally, "classed and ranked the people sit," or where proletarian democracy has over-asserted itself. The Realistic, or categorically Platonic accent in Nominalism, as we have it with Gerson, is, however, what for us has been so important, what has made our freedom broaden down a little less slowly than English, and this very practical speed we owe above all to ideologues and doctrinaires. A fertile field for inquiry might be found in the influence of the pseudo-Classicism of the English Augustan tradition in America on American receptivity to such political ideas as those of Turgot,—how and why Franklin, nourished on Addison, was so susceptible, and Jefferson so persuasive.

Tending still more obviously to form the program of a national renaissance was the very convenient French *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini (Book VI, ch. iii-xii), whose psychology is all turned to practical ends,—“tout avant voldra il fonder son idifiement sor le livre de Aristote,” to the result of discriminating in the soul as judge of right and wrong, “ars, science, prudence, sapience, et intellect” (or in some MSS. *entendement*). It was clear that Aristotle himself, the Ethics and the Politics in especial, were needed by King and Court,—the Metaphysics might be left to the Schools to keep them safely busy. Accordingly, in the famous glossed version of Nicholas Oresme, we find (*Prologue*, MS. 41, Bib. Nat. Paris) :

Tout art et toute science (*Glose*: il entend par art science pratique, et par doctrine, science speculative) et semblablement tout fait ou operacion et election appetent et desirent aucun bien; pour ce parloient bien les anciens en disant que bien est ce toutes choses desirent. . . . Et briefment toutes tendent par raison au plus grant bien que l'en puisse avoir, et c'est dereniere et souveraine fin. (*Glose*: excepte paradis, et la grace ou le dessert, de quoy la consideration passe et est oultre ceste science.) Doncques la congnoissance de ceste fin donne grant aide et grant accroissement de bien a vie humaine, car par la congnoistre la pouvons nous mieulx acquerir, et tout ce qu'il nous convient. (*Glose*: Et entend par discipline science speculative, et par vertu, science pratique.) *Item*, se une chose est bonne a un citoien laquelle est bonne pour toute la cité, et aussi ce qui est bon a toute la cité est bon a un citoien, doncques est ce moult plus grant chose et plus parfaite procurer et sauver ce qui est bon pour toute la cité, car se le bien d'un tout seul est chose qui fait a amer il est certain que c'est meilleur chose et plus divine. (*Glose*: plus semblable a la propriété de Dieu, qui est cause generale et universelle de toutes choses.)

When the same thing was written large in St Augustine, and made accessible to all in the *Cité de Dieu* of Raoul de Presles, with an impassioned eloquence never reached by any later translator, a peculiar attentiveness was as sure to follow as that which followed the publication of Amyot's Plutarch two hundred years afterwards. And Plutarch, indeed, was already for them a name to conjure with, if not actually more. They had, among the other royal translations, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury in the version of Denis Foulechat, with the spurious Epistle of Plutarch to Trajan—one more of the earnest forgeries by which they were weld-

ing together for their own political salvation the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome. In this first sketch of Constitutionalism, set in the dilettante filigree of the English-born Bishop of Chartres, there is an invitation that for some *croyants* of "Anglo-Saxon liberty" might seem a warrant for seeing an insular contribution to the formation of the theory of the *Etats* in the *bien-commun*. But the temptation, if such it be, must be resisted. The Letter to Trajan pretty clearly belongs to the same genre, and perhaps the same section, as the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*, to Byzantium in all likelihood, certainly to an Easterly South.

It is, in its way, precisely such another manifesto of Greek intelligence as, in speculative directions, the works of the supposed "Dionysius the Areopagite,"—a lesson set the Northern and Western aggressor, adapted to his primitive comprehension on the surface, but also so weighted with ancient wisdom and aspiration as to intrigue his curiosity first and occupy progressively his developing powers both of imagination and abstract consideration. Its formulism is of the scholastic-pedagogic variety, preliminary training for the sense of ideas, to save the later mind from *idola*. And above all from the prostrate worship of the very material Fortune which is the real political Paganism of the Middle Ages,—against which St. Augustine and Boëthius had argued and persuaded largely in vain. Their philosophic refuge and consolation had proved, if perennially fascinating, too hard for many in a world so concrete and violently personal as theirs. The Epistle of Plutarch to Trajan is, then, a first-aid political manual, a concrete digest of Classical constitutionalism, made for and in an age that was feeling with dismayed helplessness the immemorial political menaces, tyranny and anarchy. Kings and Christianity had been an accomplished fact for roughly a thousand years, yet the millennium tarried; the ostensible argument of St. Augustine was no longer, even when grasped, entirely cogent or satisfactory; the resignation of Boëthius, moreover, might be deficient in the very volitional element of charity, which the Gentiles' Apostle had specially recommended—with so fine an instinct for just what glancing to holy things is possible to the Gentile soul deceived by the sensory, or not contented by the logical, world. There was actually reborn, between them,—Dionysius, Augustine, Boëthius,

St. Paul and Seneca, with the Epistle to Trajan, the early Greek aspiration, "When Kings shall be philosophers and philosophers Kings!" A fresh start might yet be made for felicity attendant on virtue, and that curious "service that is perfect freedom" which seemed to constitute for their wistful enthusiasm "*l'antique honneur des hommes à la longue robe*,"—the still potent authority, conceived of in the mood, not of our colder historical perspective, yet with a beginning of it the full French Renaissance learned from the Italian to lose. Unlike the sixteenth century, in its broader aspect, they really hope to pass antiquity, not merely to return to it; they are nearer to the first part of the seventeenth, in their Christian nationalism, in taking home to their business and bosom the fable³ of the

³ Cf. John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, Bk. V, ch. i and ii, ed. Webb, Oxford, 1909; vol. i, p. 539 ff.

MS. Fr. 24287 (Bib. Nat., Paris)—the original royal copy, made in 1372 for Charles V—*Le Polycratique*, fol. 115 vo. (I have not had a chance to verify my transcript and there are probably some inaccuracies,—minor, I hope.)

"Ci apres commence le prologue du quint livre. Le premier chapitre parle de l'epistre Plutarchus dont il enseigne et introduit Traien l'empereur.

"C'est l'epistre de Plutarchus ou il enseigne Traien l'empereur, qui declaire tres excellent le sens et l'entendement d'une institution civile. Et est telle en substance :

'Plutarchus a Traien dit salut.' . . .

"Apres s'ensuivent les chapitres de ycelle civile constitution qui sont ou livre qui est appellé l'Institution de Traien, lesquieux j'ay voulu pour pitié entrelassier en ceste presente euvre. Toutesvoies par telle maniere que j'ay plus suivi les traces des sentences que les pas & la forme des parolles. Ce premier doncques est que le prince le considere tout, & le poise et le mesure et le estudie tout, et bien entretient et avise tres diligemment tout ce qui est ou corps du bien-commun du quel il est vicairie, et dont il est prince.

"Selon la diffinicion de Plutarcus le bien-commun et le fait commun est un corps qui est animé par le benefice du don divin, et qui est demené par la volenté de souveraine justice et est gouverné par une attrempance de rayson. . . . Le prince tient ou fait du bien-commun le lieu de chief; et est songier a un seul dieu et a ceulx qui tiennent son lieu en terre, du quel les commencemens de bonnes et mauvaises si viennent.

"Et les chevaliers et officiers sont appliquez et comparez aux mains. Ce qui sont continuellement avec les princes ressemblent aux costes. Ces quetteurs et receveurs et gardes, non pas des prisons mais des choses particulieres, sont raportez a la semblance du ventre et des entrailles. Et se il avisent que il ne doivent et par ardeur et convoitise desmesurée, et le gardent en leur tresor plus estraitement que rayson, il engendrent maladies incurables de tant de manieres que c'est sans nombre et tant que par leur vice tout le corps du bien-commun se trebuche en ruines.

"Mais les laboureurs sont comparéz aux piez qui continuellement se joignent a

parts in the whole. The Augustinian Order, especially in its Victorine abbeys, had both set the pattern of constitutional rule and worked out its theory of ethics.

Under Charles le Sage we find, then, formed and ready to hand in perspicuous, freely handled translations, already revealing the psychological refinement, not to say finesse, which shows so strikingly in their miniature portraits, the theory of a constitutional monarchy of which the safeguard must be above all the moral character of the King and the right reason of the lower components of the commonwealth. This theory in the translator's form has a marked sobriety of expression, a *caractère de sérieux*, which would

la terre. Aux quelz la prudence et gouvernement est de tant plus necessaire comme il tiennent plus d'empeschemens quant il cheminent sur terre ou service du corps. Et de tant par raison il leur est miex deu aide & deport de couverture comme de chancemente que ces autres membres, comme a grant paine portent et soustiennent tout le fais & la mole du corps. Oustes au plus fort corps du monde la soustenance des piez et il ne pourra pour tout son peoir aler se ce n'est que il se traie laidement et a grant meschief de ses mains, ou qu'il soit porté ou trait par l'aide de aucunes bestes."

. . . "D'autres choses sont en somme que il s'esforce de mettre ou cuer et ou fait des princes et seigneurs du bien-commun, c'est assavoir la reverence de Dieu, et l'ordenance et gouvernement de soy-meismes, la discipline des officiers et des juges et gouverneurs, l'affection et protection des sougiez. . . . Et apres gouverner soy meismes a fin que si comme dit l'apostre (combien il ne cognist point l'apostre), a tele fin que chascun garde le vaissel de son corps & de son cuer. . . . Et en ce il use le conseil des saiges il soit comme de pierres precieuses avironné des grans seigneurs, que qui les voudroient tout singulierement raconter ce seroit un grant ennui. . . . Et en racompte que Platon dit en lettres seculiers . . . quant le chief du corps se enfle ne membres ne le puevent porter. Et certes cette passion est impossible a porter sans tres grief douleur des membres. Et se ceste passion est incurable c'est chose plus chaitive et plus maudite de vivre que de mourir. . . . Et quant le chief cognoist & recognoist que il n'est de quelconques profit se il n'est loyaument ataché et joint aux membres, adonc le gouvernement du bien-commun si va droitement a bon point. Ces paroles sont de Platon et vraiment et noblement dites. . . . Mais y celle jointure est tres ferme qui vient de la substance de foy et d'amour & se soustient ou seul fondement de vertus.

"Le Chappitre XXI. Que l'ordenance du bien-commun doit suivre la semblance de la nature. . . . On dit que Socrates institua le fait du bien-commun et sur ce donna commandemens les quieux si come l'en dit sembloient sourdre de vraie purté de sapience'aussi comme d'une fontaine de nature."

Cf. too, the *Speculum magis* of Vincent of Beauvais, lib. X, cap. xlvii and xlviii, also translated by Jacques de Vignay as the *Miroir historiale*, for Charles le Sage, MS. Fr. 50, 51, 52.

For the origins of the Epistle, see Octave Gréard, *De la morale de Plutarque*, Paris, 1875, p. 3 ff., and notes.

seem to have been that of the King himself in some measure, but which also speaks eloquently for the degree of downright civilization and cultivation in the thinking men of the time; they are not dazzled by royal prerogative, and they know why they ought not to be, even when they are royal servants. They respect themselves, and trust the Wise King to trust them in proportion, as they also trust their own trained and intelligently conscientious judgment to determine how they ought to handle their texts, to bring out the essential and the universal meaning. Denis Foulechat is a political *philosophe* and a servant of God and Reason on his own account, and the King honors himself in learning what he sets forth without Scholastic slavery. His very modesty, like that of Oresmes, Presles, Philippe de Mezières and Philippe de Vitry, is the modesty of responsible, scrupulous, but also acutely intelligent persons, who can be frank about their technical limitations, because they know what technical scholarship is. And also because they know that it is a means, not an end. They are not, for all their often touching *gentillesse*s of personal apology, charming intellectual adolescents; across their very souls, truly humbling their minds without paralyzing them, has passed, shall I say, the operation of the Grace of God. This is how Raoul de Presles puts into French,—he is more than translating, for Hugo and Adam of St. Victor and Bonaventura and Bernard are behind him, subtilizing the possible *emphase* of St. Augustine into an ethereal tenderness and bonhomie together—the mystical hope that has crossed the world:

“Et la Grace de Dieu ne pot plus gracieusement estre recommandé que par ce que le singulier filz de Dieu, demourant en soy incommuable, se vetust homme et donnast aux hommes esperance en sa dillection par homme, moyen par lequel l'en venist des hommes a luy qui estoit si loing d'eulx, comme immortel des mortelz, incommuable des muables, juste des felons, beneuré des maleureux. Et pour ce il nous donna inclinacion naturelle que nous desirions estre beneurez et immortelz, lui demourant beneuré; prenant homme mortel, il nous donnast ce que nous aimons, il nous enseigna en souffrant a despire ce que nous craignons.”

But, after the exquisite humanity of this persuasion, St. Augustine has not shrunk from its positive and critical complement, nor does the translator soften him:

had once brought together as the special *fonds* for French political and practical philosophers the "false St. Denis," Boëthius, Macrobius, and the *City of God*.

It is indeed the *memoria* of their Triune psychology, which is at once the Platonic reminiscence and our cultivation, or the "realizing sense" of Calvinist theology, which, through the Vicforines, becomes the source and sanction of a new fashion of actual vision, in which the real world of multifarious fact, not lost sight of, is seen and chiefly considered in a kind of moral mirage. It seems that, as one may have suspected, Hugo and his successors had actually to prime their system, not the *Timaeus* of Chalcidius only, but actually a Latin version of the *Phaedo* too. (Cf. Fr. Picavet, *Essais*, Paris, 1913, "Vingt-quatre ans aux Hautes Etudes," p. 25.) One may then, perhaps, for present convenience, translate into their terms a little,—the terms of the pseudo-Senecan *Formula de Honesta Vita* serving as an indication, with Hugo's own plain humanism in announcing that there is "no virtue outside of truth"—the great ethico-social principle sent down antiquity as that of Socrates at his very end:

"There is one coin of demonstrated value only, for which everyday realities ought to be exchanged, and that is the understanding of the truly philosophic mind. All that is exchanged for this is real, whether Fortitude or Temperance or Justice: in a word true virtue cannot be without this Wisdom, or Prudence (*sapientia* > *sagesse*) and it matters nothing whether pleasure and fear and all other such (purely mundane, transitory, sensory) things are present or are absent. . . . True goodness *in reality* is a deliverance from them all, and Temperance, and Justice and Fortitude are the deliverance. For it seems when I consider attentively (or, enter into real contemplation) that our mysteries have an allegorical meaning. . . . For 'the thyrsus-bearers are many,' as they say in the mysteries, but those who receive special insight are few. And by these last, I believe, are meant only the true philosophers."

Many are called, few chosen: here was just their favorite Christian-philosophic rapprochement, the half rhetorical device of Paul's Speech at Athens, and the architectonic theme of the *De Civitate Dei*, passing into their very physical habit of sight. Brought to bear on the State as an organism, above all by the Augustinian Order, this habit begins promptly to produce a symmetrical structure which is

fundamentally that under which we actually live. To get it accepted by the material ruler, to persuade force of its necessary acceptance, inculcating above all "the heir presumptive to the crown of France" in due season: we may see what no mean desire was Pascal's, and why the task of royal tutor fell so naturally to Bossuet and Fénelon. Had not Aristotle himself been the master of Alexander, quite as significantly as of those that know; was not Seneca Nero's tutor,—Seneca, St. Paul's friend and correspondent, by whom the East and West were made one in the "true commonweal which is God."

Certainly by the end of the thirteenth century when the Augustinian General, Gilles of Rome, wrote for Philippe le Bel his *De Regimine Principum*, the ethico-political structure in Latin had taken form and found its text in Jeremiah's *Regnabit rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium*, but the influences that are to effect the passage into the vernacular of the essential Realist State doctrine are barely perceptible in the Latin tract at this time. They begin to make their appearance, however, in the French paraphrase of the treatise made, by Henri de Gauchi, for the early guidance of Charles le Sage. Here (MS. 581, Bib. Nat., Paris) is the bold and confident announcement that "Dant appert que le prophete dit bien es paroles proposées du devant dit Charles et de chascun bon roy et prince." And from this time on through the reign of the Wise King a network of influences, largely Italian, determine what is perhaps the most extraordinary state of mind in the thinking part of a nation between the Fall of Rome and the French Revolution, and in a fashion the link between. Napoleon's celebrated bracketing together of "ideologues and Jansenists" as genres equally troublesome to autocracy, might have included their common precursors, the doctrinaires of the end of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century.²

² Cf. in especial Cabanis, *Lettre sur la Perfectibilité*, first published by M. François Picavet as an appendix, p. 590, to his *Idéologues*, Paris, 1891.

"Au reste, cette doctrine de la perfectibilité du genre humain sous les rapports de la raison et sous ceux de la morale, est bien loin d'être nouvelle. Quelques philosophes modernes, tels que Bacon, Buffon, Price, Smith, Priestley, Turgot, Condorcet, ont regardé cette perfectibilité comme indéfinie, c'est-à-dire comme une de ces quantités dont le calcul se rapproche incessamment, sans jamais les atteindre, mais dans tous les temps, on l'a reconnue ou sentie; elle a servi de base ou encouragement aux travaux du génie, aux tentatives sur le meilleur mode d'éducation, aux recherches sur les meilleurs formes de gouvernement, et les efforts des investigateurs de la vérité, des moralists, des législateurs, ont toujours été fondés sur cette croyance que l'homme est perfectible; qu'il l'est,

"Mais a ce que vous puissiez assentir a cestui verité vous avez mestier d'humilité, qui a peine puest estre admonnestée a vos dures testes."⁴

The materials for the peculiar French national movement in social politics and ethics of the early fifteenth century are complete in essentials at this point. I have already tried more than one tentative name for this movement, and other than tentative I could not wish any to be. It is Augustinian and Victorine, it is mystical and humanistic, it is critical and, in the French sense Classic, it centres about the Chapter House of Notre Dame, and Gerson is its standard bearer, as Joan of Arc is its martyr and symbol. But perhaps I may also say of it that it is, in its real and vital intellectual aspect, a curious Platonic revival, with a Platonism freshly developed out of concrete and immediate sources, experientially, even more than by a process of analyzing out and appropriating whatever of Platonic tradition was available in the materials I have briefly resumed.

How explicitly and consummately, not Plotinian but truly Platonic, they can be is above all apparent in the *Prologue* of Jean de Courtecuisse to his paraphrase of the *Formula de Honesta Vita*, "*Le livre de Seneque des quatres vertus cardinales*" (MS. Fr. 25548, fol. 283 vo.).

"Pourtant disoit Platon que lors seroit le monde bien curé quand les sages en auroient le gouvernement, ou ceulx qui l'auroient commenceroient a estre sages. Mais si ne treuve mie qu'il appellast sages tous ceulx qui en quelque science auroient si grandement prouffité qu'ilz atainnissent ores la perfection d'icelle. Car comme il estoit escript au portail du temple d'Apollo en l'isle Delphos, si comme Macrobe le recite au libre des Festes de Saturne, 'Que vault quanque je scay, se ne cognois qui je suis?' C'est bien briefve question, Qui je suis, mais qui bien y penseroit elle est moult profonde, est forte a desnoer. Aucuns usent grant partie de leur vie en voiajer pour congnoistre le monde et veoir choses estranges et merueilleux.

⁴ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. X, cap. xxix. Gratia Dei non potuit gratius commendari quam ut ipse unicus Dei Filius in se incommutabiliter manens indueret hominem, et spem dilectionis suae hominibus, homine medio, quo ad illum ab hominibus veniretur, qui tam longe erat immortalibus a mortalibus, incommutabilis a commutabilibus, justus ad impiis, beatus a miseris. Et quia naturaliter indidit nobis, ut beati immortalesque esse cupiamus, manens beatus, suscipiensque mortalem, ut nobis tribueret quod amamus, perpetiendo docuit contemnere quod timemus. Sed huic veritati ut possetis acquiescere, humilitate opus est, quae cervici vestrae difficillime persuadere potest.

Et aucuns disciples de Platon firent tout au contraire . . . Combien que je n'ose loer en cy que volontairement ils s'aveugloient, neantmoins selon mon opinion c'est plus droit chemin a venir a parfaicte congnoissance de soy que les autres. Qui vault veoir et esmerveiller les haultes montagnes qui vont jusques aux nues: n'est mie plus esmerveiller nostre esprit, lequel, quant il veult, mont par aspiration jusques au ciel et plus hault que les cielx? Qui vault veoir les grans flux de la mer ne le debat des ventes? N'est-ce pas plus grant merveille qu'en si petit de lieu comme si est le cuer de l'omme a tant et si diverses et de si contraires pensées et affections que souveneffoiz se debatent l'une a l'autre et font plus mal bruit et plus merveilleuse tempeste en nous que nul peril de mer? (*Glose*: pource que la mort de l'ame est plus perilleuse que celle du corps.) Qui vault esmerveiller l'estoiles du firmament ou des planetes? N'est nostre cuer plus mouvable et plus ysnel que riens qui soit?"

The reader may be somewhat startled to find the images, the cadences, and almost the syntax, of Montaigne and Pascal's, "Il faut se connaître soi-même: quand cela ne servirait pas à trouver le vrai, cela au moins sert à régler sa vie et il n'y a rien de plus juste." The same precious manuscript contains Gerson's *Bons enseignemens pour endoctriner simples gens*, his most profoundly simple statement of his general position in a paraphrase and comment on the Commandments, including, on the 6th:

"Contre ce commandement pecheurs sont qui parfont?, premier, de leur subjectz plus que le droit et neccesité de la chose publique ne requiert, qui menent injustes guerres, qui font loys ou commandemens contre Dieu et l'Eglise. . . . Et c'est larrecin prendre et retenir la chose d'aultruy injustement contre son sceu, ou s'il le scet et savoit s'il lui desplaisoit. Icy est deffendue detraction et blasme d'aultruy par quoy on lui oste la bonne renommée injustement, laquelle vault sonner mieulx que grant argent, et se doit faire restitution & dire publiquement la verité & lui rendre un bon nom, en tout que faire se puet, et plus se on a deffamé tout ung estat" (fol. 94).

In the first place the Wise King was mortal; his wasting illness and his touching death plainly sent across all the sensitive spirits about him a shiver of the Christian compassion which Augustine's authority⁵ had permitted as against the harsher sort of Stoicism;

⁵ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. XIV, cap. ix. Humanitatem totam potius amittunt, quam veram assequantur tranquillitatem. Non enim qui durum aliquid, ideo rectum; aut quia stupidum est, ideo sanum.

the *est flere quaedam voluptas* of the other Pagan tradition was converted as Ovid was moralized; Virgil and Dante, Boëthius, had taught them when and how to feel as civilized, not as barbarous, men. A melancholy not "romantic" but philosophic, not in the narrow sense Puritanic but rather artistic, sentimental (as this is the adjectival form of sentiment,)—elegiac in a word, had perhaps its true French literary beginnings in the desolated Hotel de Saint-Pol. The most unlikely persons are affected by it and half transformed; Eustache Deschamps, political and poetic opportunist, finds his regenerate sweetness of regret, his large and winning moral note:

"Comment fut-il? Humble et plain de douceur,
 Devot vers Dieu et doulz vers sa maignie,
 Saige en ses faiz, courtois et plains d'onour:
 Chascuns devoit amer sa compainie.
 Les bons amoit, haiit villenie,
 Il s'aidoit aux oppresséz.
 Et les sers Dieu furent de lui amez:
 A son pouoir ne leur fist nul contraire
 D'iceulz pour lui soit Jhesus reclaméz,
 Car chascuns d'eulx est tenuz a ce faire.

The obligation of *sagesse* upon princes and private citizens, following the late King's example, is all the more binding upon both, as events of the most discouraging character supervene. The high Italian influence making for enlightenment, piety, and political wisdom, is disgraced in the person of Valentine Visconti,⁶ Duchess of

⁶ Cf. Eustache Deschamps: *Œuvres complètes*; Société des anciens textes français, Paris, 1888.

Balade DCCLXXI

1396.

Eloge de la femme d'un fils du roi de France.

"Elle aime Dieu, elle est de tous amée
 Car plaisir fait a toute creature,
 De son pais est forment regretée,
 Et ou elle est se maintient nette et pure.
 Pitié la suit, elle het toute injure,
 Aux povres gens a le cuer amoly;
 Les orgueilleux fait tourner a mercy.
 Tout cuer felon het, mauvais, desloyal,
 Elle aime paix, loyaulté, et ainsy
 A bon droit n'est d'elle un cuer plus loyal."

Orleans. With the marriage of Charles VI to Isabeau de Bavière everything making against a refined elevation at court and in the politics of the realm seems to the now destitute *gens de lettres*, and to the public spirited clerics, to be in the ascendent; an ineffably disheartening "Teutonic broth" of bad taste, and worse manners and morals, is prevailing over sweetness and light. The Hundred Years' War revives. Finally the "well-beloved" King is mad; a sense of nemesis falls on the sympathetic Christine de Pisan, who has herself lost her all till she finds her only personal consolation and a kind of "conversion" in thinking afresh of Boëthius for his effort "*au bien-commun aidier*." If, as may well be, one has private griefs to mourn, let one's personal sorrow prime compassion for the poor exponent of the French Royal Principle:

"Nous devons bien, sur tout autre dommage
 Plaindre celui du royaume de France,
 Qui fut et est le regne et heritage
 Des crestiens de plus haulte poissance,
 Mais Dieux le fiert adès de poignant lance
 Par quoy de joye et de soulaz mendie;
 Pour noz pechiez si porte la penance,
 Notre bon Roy qui est en maladie."
 vol. i, p. 95, *Oeuvres poétiques*.

Simultaneously the *gens de bien* turn afresh to St. Augustine and to Seneca and St. Paul, and to the tradition of Socrates and Plato, to extract a certain Puritanism,—what one may venture to regard as the essential and typical, but which is certainly not the commoner English and New England variety. Chaucer, who was certainly not the man temperamentally disposed to it, by sheer force of taste and intelligence, and his artist's susceptibility to the finest Continental phases, caught the new note and illustrated it promptly in his version of *Boece*, even of *Melibée*, as in his Clerk of Oxenford; he did more, he wrote, as personally as he wrote anything, his didactic, if, lyrical, "Balade of Truth."

The eulogistic vein of this, the delicate sentiment, as well as certain phrases, count much with Christine de Pisan. We find Valentine praised by Juvenal des Ursins (cf. A. Mary F. Robinson, *The End of the Middle Ages*, London, 1889, p. 114, "The Claim of the House of Orleans to Milan") as "*assez caut, subtil et sage de son age*,"—armed against the tyranny of brute force, in behalf of virtue, as Christine regarded Italian civilization.

"Daunte thy-self, that dauntest otheres dede,
And trouthe shall delivere, it is no drede.

"Forth, pilgrim, forth! Forth, beste, out of thy stal,
Know thy contree, look up, thank God of al;
Hold the hye wey, and lat thy gost thee lede,
And trouthe shall delivere, it is no drede."

Gost here, *wit* in the *Boece*, as again will be the choice of the English Augustans, is as near as Saxon English will let him come to the *intelligentia*, with which Boëthius came as close as he could to the un-Latin conception for which Virgil's *mens* had proved inadequate. The contemporaries of Chaucer, who were perhaps less aware of the intensely real need of their Saxon countrymen for some glimmer of the conception, gave it up and simply keep the French *entendement*, which is a figure for the ears that hear. Chaucer saw that its one chance in England was in alliance with evangelical Christianity—such alliance as Scotland made subsequently in the form of Classic Calvinism. But politically the time also came when those who were indeed victors at Crecy and Agincourt, but who also burned at Rouen the very exemplification of the *intelligentia simplex*, were conquered by their captives, though until the final loss of Calais they hardly applied the lesson. Meantime in Paris, and at length at Domrémy, it proved true what Hugo of St. Victor had noticed, "*delicatus ille cui patria dulcis est.*" Less contentedly abstract than he who had known no other than the "spiritual country," the French Augustinians had both the profitable, and for themselves the perilous, kind of "*delicatesse*,"—the kind that so troubled Bossuet both in the Jansenists and in Fénelon. As Pascal put it they refused to "*se tenir tranquil dans une chambre*"; possibly, as he also noticed of his kind, they were to worldly eyes somewhat *bête* in the length they went in acting, in trying to behave, like angels; certainly they consumed themselves in a process of self-perfection,—but for the "common profit," to the gain of the *bien-commun* in the *chose-publique*.

Meantime they ponder what St. Augustine had himself dwelt upon more than once,—after both the Bible and Plato, the trials of the just in this world, and the fire that refines the gold while con-

suming the dross and the straw.⁷ Sustained by this conception, inspired by it, and seeing it in the fair form of one Virtue after an-

⁷ Christine de Pisan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, MS. Fr. 1177, fol. 117 vo.

"O orgueil, racine de tous maux, certainement je congnois que de toy viennent tous les autres vices et ce puis je connoitre en moy-meismes. Car pour cause de toy et non pour autre occasion je suis embatue en gré, et desirant vengeance, si comme je pensois nagaires."

Doubtless in this as in all things she profited by the teaching of her two chief masters, the Chancellor Gerson and Eustache Deschamps. Gerson, *Dialogue spirituel avec ses soeurs*, vol. iii, col. 814.

"Mes Suers: vous prenes bien, mais soit fait ce retour a Dieu par humilité vergoigneuse, non mie par effrontée presumption. Aucuns attendent par une seul maniere d'indignation despitueuse contre leur impuissance, malice, ou ignorance, a l'exemple de l'enfant selon, qui fiert sa teste encontre terre quant il est cheu, & ne daigne soy relever ou tendre sa main a sa mere qui luy tent la sienne pour le soulever: ceste demeure vient de l'orgueil, comme se la personne voulust par soy & de soy resistre contre temptation, sans trebuchier; trop mieulx vault incontinent recongnoistre humblement sa tres grande fragilité & retourner."

Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, Soc. des anciens textes français, vol. i, p. 283; Paris, 1889.

Balade CLV

Dieu attire a lui les humbles.

"Car se l'omme a grant domination,
Orgueil en soy, et point ne s'umilie,
Dieux het en lui son obstinacion
Et le pugnist, de ce ne doubtez mie;
Et se trop a, son createur oublie,
Qui par tourment le veult lors rappeler;
Et se bons sont, il les tempte et chastie
Pour les humbles devers lui ramener."

Thus Philosophy, like the visitant of Boëthius, comes to Christine de Pisan and reminds her (*La Vision de Christine*, MS. Fr. 1176, fol. 69).

"Si comme dit Saint Augustin sur le XXI psealme que en une meisme fournaise art, & l'or se purge, la paille tourne toute en cendre; & l'or de toute escume et ordure se nettoye. Et qu'est a entendre la fournaise, doulce amie, scez-tu? C'est le monde ou tu es; la paille, ce sont les mauprouffitans; l'or se sont les justes; le feu, c'est tribulacion, l'orfevre, c'est Dieu. Ce que l'orfevre a voulu faire de toy il te doit plaire; ou il te veult mettre, tu le dois vouloir; tu as commandement de endurer; il a l'office de purger; et combien que la paille arde en ce feu, c'est la douleur que tu sens: toutesvoye, se tu sage tu y purges comme l'or."

Christine had no doubt been reading, as she says, St. Augustine's comment, itself a fused reminiscence of more than one Biblical passage (e. g., Prov. XXV, 4, and XVII, 3; Zach., XIII, 9; Ezek., XX, 20-23), but also a commonplace figure of the Neo-Platonic schools (Migne, Patrol., vol. iv, col. 173.) See, too (*De Civit. Dei*, I, viii). "Ignis intrat in fornacem, et fornax aurifio sacramento res est. Ibi est aurum; ibi est palea; ibi ignis in angusto operatur. Ignis ille non est diversus, et diversa agit; paleam in cinerem vertit, auro sordes tollit. In quibus autem habitat Deus, utique in tribulatione meliores fiunt, tanquam aurum probati."

other,—as lay and philosophic angels, they celebrate these celestial visitants in their *Visions* and *Breviaries* with a gracious bonhomie quite their own. Gerson leads, Christine follows, Alain Chartier finds the perfect form, as in his lay Canonization of the Perseverance of St. Augustine:

“Tu es celle qui les cuers examine
Et comme l’or au croisel les affine.”
(*Breviaire des nobles.*)

The great peril for the understanding, for the soul as a soul, being overweening pride, destroying its temperance, its *mesure*, the true servant of the commonweal will keep his eyes fixed on “les plus haultes choses, les choses celestielles qui sont les Ydées,” *Raison*, *Droiture*, and Justice, “which have their home more in Heaven than on earth,”—*Res ardua est, Domine, Justitia*, for our nature is frail, prone to vitiating weakness when not base in its passions; with a certain *justesse* these critical moralists recognize even in themselves a want of due fortitude. We need not exaggerate their defects; the very contrition, a supererogatory penitence of the just, they exhibit is a kind of moral *gentillesse*, as also a literary tradition: they rather belong—though with a refinement and sobriety not contemplated by the author, to the genre discriminated by Isidore of Seville as that of the spiritual martyrs, “who had they lived in time of persecution would have been martyrs in reality.” And they did have to face calumny, and destitution at the hands of their enemies, and ignominies for their effort “to make Reason and the Will of God prevail.” Reason, natural and Divine, as revealed in concurring authorities—*credite expertis*—is Gerson’s whole sanction; this is just the sense of Burke’s appeal to experience, as it is of Hooker in the very cognate *Ecclesiastical Polity*:

Recitat Macrobius in Saturnalibus . . . quod nihil magis pertinet ad aliquem principem, quam cogitare & considerare pacem. . . . Et brevi verbo civitas Dei, de qua dicta sunt gloriosa, solum vivit ac regulatur pace & unione. Sanctus Augustinus specialiter, & sanctus Dionysius, & in primis Boetius dicunt, gaudium nostrum perenne non esse aliud, quam bonam pacem sine fine & afflictione. (Veniat Pax, Opera omnia, vol. iii, col. 629.)

The obligation actually of France, and of the University of Paris is specially binding:

Sanctus Dionysius ex Gallia, qui tunc temporis erat Athenis, nonne Paulo post a sole hoc illuminatus fuit? Revera sic: per quod quidem clarum tota Gallia fuit et est conversa a tenebris & ignorantia in verae Fidei et verae scientiae splendorem. Est igitur Sanctus Paulus specialis Patronus et Magister noster. (Sermo de S. Petro & Paulo, vol. iii, col. 1410.)

He makes his brief, cogent *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* in giving the lineage of the University for which he speaks, "Fille du Roy, premiere & principale des estudes inspirée au premier homme dès le commencement du monde en paradis terrestre, descendue par succession aux Ebrieux, par Abraham en Egypte, comme dit Josephus, puis d'Egypte en Athenes, puis d'Athenes a Rome, puis de Rome a Paris: ceste Université, dis-je, a trop plus noble congnoissance de vraye foy & de la vie perdurable: pourquoy est dicte Lumiere de la Foy, maistresse de Verité, & le beau cler luminaire de toute sainte Eglise & Chrestienté." He had raised a similar strain in his early *Carmen oblativum ut lilia crescant* (vol. iii, col. 1439) citing the work of Charlemagne and St. Louis in handing on the *imperia* of learning and piety.

"Les sages clers dient que servitude est une mort civile, voire mort plus a fuir que n'est mort corporelle. . . . Ce n'est pas petit fruit, mais grand heur, selon le dit de Seneque & de Boëce, quand on peut connoître qui est ami en nécessité & qui non. . . . En apres me vient au devant ce que dit Macrobe in *Saturno*, que la chose qui appartient mieux à un Prince, est méditation, ou consideration, c'est à dire, qu'il soit consideratif, ou pensif au bien-commun."

"Venons apres a ce que dit l'histoire & la Narracion, pour fonder toujours ce que nous avons a dire. Ce roi Nabuchodonosor, comme il estoit pensif, s'endormit, & lors vit un tel songe, ou vision." We have then the famous vision, "une statue ou image grande & merveille et haute, & étoit son regard terrible et horrible. Le chief étoit de fin or; la poitrine & les bras étoient en argent; le ventre & les cuisses d'airain; es jambes étoient de fer, & partie des pieds étoit de terre, & partie de fer." We are presented with the literal meaning as Daniel interpreted. Next Gerson gives "la signification mystique," "selon les Poetes les 4 aages, ou 4 saisons, ou 4 siècles,"—as Ovid, Virgil, and Boëthius have them. "La signification morale se fait par les Docteurs & expositeurs en maintes manieres & en especial par M. Richard de St. Victor moult subtilement. Mais prenons une morale signification, ou application qui est plus a notre propos present, & conformement a la sentence d'Arristote & S. Paul,

& de Plutarque, qui comparent un Roiaume à un corps humain & a ses membres. . . . Vous, qui etes Roi, etes le chief d'or avec tous ceuz de votre sang Roial: car en vous est valeur & autorité; & dessous vous sont trois Estats, c'est assavoir de Chevalerie, de Clergie, & de Bourgeoisie, qui sont signifiés par les trois autres parties de cette statue. Et en autre similitude sont figurez par les trois fleurs de lis d'or en votre écu d'azur & celestiel. Estat de Chevalerie est comparé a la poitrine, & aux bras qui sont d'argent pour leur vigueur; et semble que le ventre ne fasse point de labeur, mais il nourrit les autres membres, selon l'introduction que fit un Orateur, laquelle je passe.

"Estat de Bourgeoisie, & les bons marchands & laboureurs, est figuré par les jambes qui sont de fer, & par les pieds qui sont partie de fer & partie de terre, pour leur labeur & humilité en servir & obeir. Nous avons par ainsi quatre parties principales en ce Roiaume. Le Roi qui est le chief d'or, ou est valeur & autorité, Chevalerie ou est vigueur pour confondre adversité: Clergie ou est clameur de verité, Bourgeoisie ou est labeur & humilité: Le Roy a vertu dominative par Justice, Chevalerie la vertu defensive, par force, Clergie a vertu illuminative par prudence, Bourgeoisie a vertu substantative ou portative par attrempance. Et selon ces quatres vertus appropriées aux quatre vertus Cardinales, se peuvent appliquer les quatre points de la reformation du Royaulme qui tant de fois ont été proposés & sans fruit jusques icy. . . .

"Je pourroye cecy declarer pour montrer les erreurs & l'ignorance qui ont été ez Philosophes, & Roys payens; qui se sont entramis bailler loys & regles pour gouverner la chose publique, comme Platon, Socrates, & Tulle, & autres. Car au moins ont tous failly en ce point, qu'ils ne mettoient point la fin de leur gouvernement en Dieu, mais en vaine gloire, ou renommée, ou a autre fin temporelle, & terrienne, comme le declare S. Augustin, Libro V. *De Civit.* & ailleurs *in quadam Ep.* (Cf. the *Epistle to Volusian*).

"Pareillement dis-je que misericorde doit estre gardée avant justice, & justice avant misericorde. Car l'une sans l'autre est sote et dommageuse. Sy peut on bien reciter les faussetez, les cruantez, les injustices du temps passé, non mie pour les punir toutes, mais pour s'en garder au temps a venir, & estre plus sages & plus avisez, pour mieux recognoistre aussy le mal ou nous avons esté, & la grace que Dieu nous a baillé, et que nous hayons plus la guerre, & aimions paix, sans ce que nous laissions bruler & ordre au feu de male convoitise; mais que nous aimions le bien-commun, le bien de paix, & tendions principalement que la vie du roy civile & politique soit sans denuement. *Rex in sempiternum vive.*⁸

⁸ The original French of the *Vivat Rex* is printed in a *Recueil d'Estat*, by one Toussaint Quirel, Paris, 1561, just before the States General of Blois, where

Gerson is closely followed by Christine de Pisan in a group of compositions, somewhat repeating each other,—a good thing two and three times over!—addressed to different members of the royal family, as hope of redress prompted appeal to the aged Duc de Berri, the Duke of Burgundy, and the young Louis, Duc de Guienne. There is the *Lamentacion*, first I think, the *Livre des faits des armes et Chevalerie*, probably next, presenting serious problems for her Latin, but enormously stimulating her mind to its own *idées générales* by those of Vegetius and Valerius Maximus, and by Livy's pictures and arguments. She seems to read Cicero, too, at this time, showing the way to Alain Chartier's prose eloquence and large *doux-coulant* structure—the least scholastic so far in French—by her *Livre de Policie* and her *Livre de Paix*. If her fame for a it is the sixth entry, separately paged. The volume is in the Library of the Sorbonne, and is valuable as a whole for the tradition taken up by Bodin's *République*. Cf. Dupin, vol. iv, col. 583 ff., Antwerp, 1706, for his Latin translation of the French, which is not from the same MS. apparently as the *Receuil*, or we have there perhaps a slightly modernized text. The argument of the *Vivat Rex* of 1405 is resumed and partly repeated in the *Rex in sempiternum vive* of 1413 (*Opera omnia*, vol. iv, 657 ff.) given in French by Dupin. The first is the great defence of the *menu peuple* against royal tyranny, *pour complaire aux fumeurs*, "la bonne vie spirituelle depend de prosperité convenable de la vie corporele & civile"; its third part, "en laquelle sera parlé de la vie du Roy spirituelle & divine, laquelle se garde en l'union de l'ame avecques Dieu," is the prime direct source, I think, for the *Commun Proufit* of Robert Ciboule, "*Si charité regnoit partout*, Charité, dis-je, qui quiert non pas son propre profit, honneur & gloire, mais ce qui est plaisant a Dieu & proufitable au bien-commun."

All of Christine de Pisan's political writings were known in England; Caxton printed the *Livre de Policie* (Cambridge University Library, Kk. 1, 5) from Harl. MS. 4410, Brit. Mus. I owe the Cambridge reference to my friend, Miss H. E. Allen. It seems significant that it is between the *Policie* and the closely related *République* of Bodin, translated in 1606 by Richard Knolles, that English Constitutionalism developed, curiously bifurcating into extremes, away from *mesure*, with a special English inability to keep the unity in complexity and the philosophic integrity of the French theory, into the Divine Right monarchism of the Cavaliers, and the democracy of the Roundheads. The idea of a Responsible Head, hereditary King or elected President, is still perhaps too metaphysical for most English minds. Elizabeth is perhaps the one English ruler who had a vital sense, or enjoyed the sense in others, of the possibility of this idea, its inherent limitations as its privileges. The House of Orange missed the second, as that of Hanover, the first. The Neo-Platonism of the *Faerie Queen* is not to be fully and intelligently understood except in relation to the political system bound up with it, just as in his day and generation André Chénier demands and deserves that one try to see the implicit coherence of his poetic and political activity, or Lamartine's justifying of the one by the other.

hundred years in both France and England somewhat amazes those who find her lacking positive genius, the serious pertinence of the substance for all serious persons, the ease with which she could be read, and the excellent copies of her works provided, are no slight explanations. If it is not unfair to compare Gerson to Mill, Christine, "the first man of letters in Paris" as Gaston Paris put it, is comparable to the whole body of English politico-moral essayists in the wake of Mill in Victorian England, Liberals or Radicals, deriving from France about as she derives from Italy. We all know what we owe to them.

The burden of her remonstrance to her old patron, the Duc de Berri, is that the very fundamentals of Aristotle's conception of the State and man's duty in it have been forgotten. There is something of the dismay of Carlyle's *Latter Day Pamphlets*,—Christine's tears are the feminine equivalent perhaps of the obstreperous despair of the bookman to find that wisdom, in the form of counsel, has not saved the recipients: they have known the right and they have not done it:⁹

"Seulette a part et estraignant a grant paine les lermes qui ma vue troublent et comme fontaine affluent sur mon visage, tant que avoir puisse espace de escrire ceste lasse complainte dont la pitié de l'eminent meschief me fait d'ameres gouttes effacier l'escripture, je m'esbahiz & en complaignant dis-je:

"Comment peut ce estre que cuer humain, tant soit la fortune estrainge, si puist ramener homme a nature de tres devorable incivile beste. Ou est doncques la raison qui li donne le nom d'animal raisonnable? . . . Que sont devenuz les clers yeulx du noble entendement¹⁰ qui par nature & longue coustume vous faisoient ouvrir par conseil de preudes hommes de juste conscience dont . . . vos peres de la congregation francoise soulz lesquels ayolz seullent estre gardéz, deffendéz et nouriez les multitudes des enfans de la terre jadis be-neurés, ou convertie en desolacion de pitié."

With this as a point of departure Christine returns, apparently, to the same funds of information and reflection she had used for her *Life of Charles V*, and notably to Gilles of Rome, as well as to

⁹ Cf. Harl. MS. 4605, Brit. Mus., and MS. Fr. 605, Bib. Nat. (from which the citation is taken). The English MS. is perhaps the original, and I regretted too late that I had not made my transcript from it.

¹⁰ Cf. Gerson: *Vision*, MS. Fr. 1797. The literary *merveille paienne* for the whole movement originates here.

the purely didactic or encyclopaedic compilation of her own, *Le Livre de faiz d'armes et de chevalerie*,¹¹ in which she says, "a l'ayde de Dieu propose . . . declairier," . . . "au plus plain et entendible langage que je pourrais," "chose non accoutumé et hors usage a femme qui communement ne se sceust entremettre ne mes de quenouille, fillaces, et choses de manaige."

The work was commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy, yet there is, I think, a somewhat curious, and perhaps disquieting, note in the invocation to Minerva. One is reminded of Harriet Martineau coming up to London with her project of "Tales of Political Economy"; and the spirit of the dedication has its prophecy of Joan of Arc,—on the side precisely where she encountered the prejudice or the sanity of her day.¹²

But the reaction with Christine's *Policie* is as reasonable as the times in any sort allowed. She turns from exhortation to education, with a reminiscence of Averroës, remarkable both in itself and for the mental liberty and the learning attested; a fundamental sympathy in psychological doctrines was stronger apparently than orthodox theological anathemas then in vogue against "the Boëthius of Arabian philosophy."

"Si m'est mie doubte que par bons exemples & saiges amonestemens souvent veoir et oyr en enfance, peuvent bien estre cause de faire devenir l'homme excellent en toute vertu. Et semblablement par mauvaise doctrine peut estre conduit a la voye de perdition. Car Averroës au second livre de Physiques dit que homme peut acquerir une seconde nature. C'est assavoir par longue accoustumance de bien ou de mal."¹³

Whether Christine seized the notion for herself or through Gerson's development of it,¹⁴ or whether it is but another commonplace

¹¹ MS. Fr. 24864, Bib. Nat.

¹² Cf. *Chroniques de Monstrelet*, ed. J.-A.-C. Buchon, Orleans, 1875, p. 600, ch. LVII. "Laquelle Pucelle Jeanne espace de temps chambriere en une hôtellerie, et estoit hardie de chevaucher chevaux et les mener boire, et aussi de faire appertiser et autres habiletés que jeunes filles n'ont point accoutume de faire."

¹³ MS. Fr. 1198, fol. 9vo; Bib. Nat., Paris.

¹⁴ *De Parvulis ad Christum trahendis; Opera Omnia*, ed. Dupin, Antwerp, 1706, vol. iii, col. 279.

Cf. also, *Epostulatio ad potestatis publicas adversus corruptionem juventutis per lascivas imagines et alia hujus modi*, vol. iii, col. 291:

"Tradiderunt politizantes Philosophi praecipuam semper in omni Republica

of schools and pulpits, this "force of habit which Aristotle calls a second nature," and which Gerson backs up by reference to profane poets and both Averroës and Augustine, its place is vital in Christine's own mental development and to the understanding of her didacticism, as in that of Pascal's apologetics. It is simply one of the logical corner stones of the larger, of our American Constitutionalism, in the part that is Classic French,—all men are created equal, but education is compulsory. The paradoxical strength of the Augustinian psychology of equity and natural law, truly informing organic functions, is possibly in this counter stressing of habit, this second nature, *la coutume, notre mère*, by which with Pascal, our first nature itself is seen as merely the parents' habit, so that 'election' itself becomes a matter of association and education, and moral liberty is wrested from determinism itself,¹⁵—the "environment" of our current terminology.

Christine de Pisan does not introduce the same high argument without even more than her accustomed self-deprecations, with, however, a certain confidence also in that she is not going beyond the bounds of natural reason. There is, I think, no need to question the sincerity of both moods, even taken together:

"O vertu, chose digne et deifiée, comment n'ose-je vanter de parler de toy quant je congnois que mon entendement ne te seroit pas bien au vif comprendre ne exprimer? Mais ce me conforte et donne hardement que je te sens si benigne que il ne te deplaie pas se je parle de toy, non mie es plus subtiles choses mais seullement es parties que je puis concepvoir et comprendre."

There follows her purpose to address the "trois genres d'estat,"

debere sollicitudinem adhiberi circa pulchram & aptam constitutionem puerorum, & assuefactionem eorum ad virtutes. Hinc dictum est ab Aristotle:

Non parum refert, juvenum sic, vel sic assuefacere cum consuetudo fit alia natura.

The comment of Averroës on Aristotle's Physics would have been accessible to Gerson in a MS. preserved at the Collège de Navarre, 75 (cf. Renan: *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, Paris, 1861, p. 207). This was probably the Latin translation made in the thirteenth century by Michael Scott.

¹⁵ Cf. Milton: *Of Education*: "The end, then, of learning is, to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection."

"selon la sentence de Plutarque, qui en une epistre envoyée a Traien l'empereur compara la chose publique a ung corps ayant vie. Auquel le prince ou les princes tiennent le lieu du chief, en tant qu'ilz sont ou doivent estre souverains, et de eulx doivent venir les singuliers establissemens, tout ainsi comme de l'entendement de l'homme sourdent et naissant les souverains oeuvres que les membres achevent. Les chevalliers et les nobles tiennent le lieu des mains et des bras . . . Car ainsi que les mains deboutent les choses nuisibles doivent ils metre arriere & degetter toutes les choses malfaisans et inutiles. Les autres gens du peuple sont comme le ventre les piez et les jambes . . . Et ainsi comme les jambes et piez soutiennent le fais du corps humain, semblablement tous les autres estas."

The real force of her work is, however, in the third part, touching "L'université du commun peuple," with a special delicacy, but also with a classic firmness as to the need for the sort of upper house control which our own Senate, but still more that of France, is constituted to supply. She has no faith in proletarian democracy; the Italian cities are the terrible examples.

It is here that Christine raises the same questions, as the author of the *Life of Boucicaut*, first broached in her *Mutacion de Fortune* (MS. Fr. 604, fol. 160 ff.), which she repeats in the *Livre de Paix*, as to the different forms of government:

"De la difference de plusieurs peuples."¹⁶

Autres se gouvernent par leur anciens . . . et en autres lieux gouverne le menu peuple & sont establis par années un nombre de

¹⁶ Cf. Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris*, I, ii, 2. Omnes nationes, quae unicinae sunt, nimio calore siccitas, amplius quidem sapere, sed minus habere sanguinis ac propterea constantiam ac fiduciam comminus non habere pugnandi, quia metuunt vulnera qui exigium sanguinem se habere noverunt, etc.

One may compare Bodin's *République*, Livre V, "Du reglement qu'il faut tenir pour accomoder la forme de *République* à la diversité des hommes: & le moyen de congnoistre le naturel des peuples."

Bodin cites Baldus, the fourteenth century Italian political theorist, and it may well be that he is a prime source for Christine de Pisan's *Livre de Policie*. Bodin's references to "Boulogne la Grasse" suggest the possibility, or more, that he used her work directly, however, as he pretty surely knew and used Gerson's without acknowledgment. The relations of Bodin and Montesquieu on this subject, and of Montesquieu and Cabanis, *L'Influence des climats sur les habitudes morales*, have been exposed. But the cumulative effect of the long Classic tradition on Taine, operating even through his by no means entirely benevolent dealings with the doctrinaires of various "moments and milieus," remains one of the curious psychological chapters of modern intellectual history.

gens de chascun mestier. Et croy bien que tele gouvernance ne soit mie proufitable a la chose publique & aussi ne la voit on quieriez durer ou que elle soit commencée; ne la pais, tant qu'elle y est, accroistre, ne vivre en pais; & la raison y est bonne, mais je laisse de plus en dire pour cause de brieveté. Et ainsi fut gouvernée Boulongne la Grasse. Cy avoit trop a faire de parler a chascun peuple particulierement."

This last reserve has promise for both the weak and the strong side of French Classic politics: one will be able to read easily, and unable to forget, the Preface, for instance, to Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*: one will wish that more facts were there. We come now in Christine's book to an apotheosis of France, following the inevitable appeal to Aristotle's *Politics* (third book) recommending the *seigneurie d'un*.

"Je tiens le peuple de France sur tout beneuré, le quel dès son commencement, qui fut de l'issue des Troyens, a este gouverné non mie de princes estrangers, mais de ceulx meismes qui sont issus de hoir en hoir de ceulx qui tousiors les ont seignourés. . . . Et pour celle cause est ce amer la grace de Dieu que sur tous les pais & royaumes du monde le peuple de France est le plus naturel & de meilleur amour et obeissance a leur prince, laquelle chose est singuliere & tres especiale vertu & grant loenge a aulx, et en desservent grant merite."

Scripture (Rom. VIII; Tit. III; Pt. II, Matthew XII, etc.) is cited in recommendation of continued humility, even if princes are evil:

"Et encore au propos du loyal peuple de France envers leur prince pour la quele bonté et merite, je tiens, *a Dieu les sauves* de . . . It amounts to a kind of refutation of these two elements in his triune formula—or rather of what has been used, not as the constructive generalization it really is, but as the formula it is not—in favor of *race* or type alone! This last may be, as Walter Bagehot saw it, "the greatest commonplace in the world"; like other Classic *lieux-communs*, it would seem to have its element of universal truth,—to be a Fixed Idea, in the Platonic, more than in the ordinary current use of this term! One need not exaggerate or take with unclassic literalness this conception, which is fitted to the "characteristic"—if this is not to beg the question,—expressions of a people, art and government, general manners crystallized into social forms, of course, more than to chance, elementary phases. Obvious as this is, or would seem to be to cultivated observers, it seems necessary to repeat fairly often that criteria of this kind may be used without the user, commonly a fairly discriminating person, being in the least unaware of the exceptions that test the rule, natural divergence and variety,—Taine's own "torrent éternel des événements et la mer infinie des choses."

pluseurs perilz, que ainsi doie estre loyal tout subget envers son prince et que mal viengne de faire le contraire."

This important matter disposed of,—no mere academic question certainly at the moment,—she turns to address the various classes of the commonalty, "et premierement des cleres estudians es sciences." . . . "c'est m'entente aux estudians sicomme a l'université de Paris ou autre part."

"O gent bien conseillée, o gent eureuse, je dy a vous les disciples d'estude de sapience, qui par grace de Dieu et bonne fortune ou de nature estes appliquez a enreschier la haultesse de la clere rejoissant estoile, c'est assavoir science, prenez diligemment ce tresor, venez de celle clere et sains fontaine, emplissez vous d'icelle plaisant refec-tion."

With such developments Christine illustrates the text she takes from "Saint Augustin ou livre de la Cité de Dieu ou XX^e chappitre," who "dit que les philosophes dient que vertu est la fin de bien et mal humain. C'est a dire que la felicité humaine est en estre vertueux." . . . "Et de ceste joye et felicité faisoient les anciens philosophes figurer & paindre l'ymage en tele maniere. Elle estoit en guise d'une tres belle et delicate royne qui en une chaire royale seoit, et les vertus seoient a terre environ elle et on visage le regardoient pour attendre ses commandemens et a elle servir & obeir. Et elle commandoit a prudence qu'elle enqueist diligemment comment elle peust longuement regner et estre saine et en estat seur. Elle commandoit a justice que elle feist ce qu'elle devoit et gardast les lois a fin que paix feust. Elle commandoit attemprance que elle previsist vins et viandes et aultres choses dilettables tant & si atemprement que par en prendre plus que raison aucune chose nuisible ne lui venist. Et ainsi par ceste descripcion peut on entendre que estre vertueux n'est autre chose fors avoir en soy toutes les choses qui tirent a bien et qui retraient et tirent en sus de mal et de vice."

Not without some complexity of process and form Christine makes her way to the four cardinal virtues and Socratic ethics: one may forgive some prolixity of method for the sake of the goal, and the evidence of a thinking mind that takes its own where it finds it and works out necessary relations afresh. There are more than scattered hints of Descartes here, and the essence, as it were, of Malebranche—an intimation of the line of French ethical speculation which is always semi-political, and in this truly classic, down to

Renouvier. His Neo-Criticism, with its ethical bias, and its mystical complement, its superficial turgidity as it sweeps both wide and deep in the complex modern consciousness, its extraordinary basic unity, fulfils in some sort the promise of Christine's *Livre de Policie*. Aesthetically one may either prefer something simpler or perhaps more concrete and colored; but this thought as such is really of the centre; it rebukes in part, it also both constrains and inspires.¹⁷

This is certainly the end and object of the more academic and pietistic *Livre du commun proufit* of Robert Ciboule, Gerson's last significant direct disciple, who takes up tacitly Alain Chartier's aspiration for an enlightenment supported by religion,—*Entendement* sustained by Faith, when in the *Quadrilogue invectif* the conclusion of the whole matter is that of France:

“Je ne veuil vos excusations & deffenses plus longuement escouter, ne vos discordez et descharges l'ung vers l'autre; ne gist pas la ressource de mon infortune se non en tant que chascun se doit appliquer a son chastoy plus que a viturpere de son prouchain. Mais l'affection du bien-publique peut estraindre voz desordonnances singuliers, *se les vountés se contraignent en ung mesme desir de commun salut.*”

Finally, the remaining need is for moral instruction, for beginning once again at the beginning, so patiently the Chancellor of Paris sets to work:

“Le bien-commun, qui peut a tous profiter est plus desirable et doit estre preferé au bien privé et particulier. Car, comme dit Monseigneur Saint Denis, *Bonum quanto communem tanto divinum*, Tant que bien est plus commun, de tant il est plus divin et plus prouchain de Dieu qui est commun a tous et universel principe et cause de toutes choses, proviseur et gouverneur de toutes ses creatures, selon ce que Notre Seigneur, vray Dieu et vray homme, dit en l'evangelle, que il fait luire son soleil sur les bons et les malvaiz & errouse de sa pluye les justes & injustes. Pour ce nous avons que cherité est une latitude de dilection a tous. Et tant est, est plus grande que elle se extent a plusieurs. A ceste fin je suis meu transcrire & d'escire ceste presente & commune exhortacion qui pourra

¹⁷ Cf. Charles Renouvier: *La Science de la Morale*. Bib. de Phil. Contemporaine, Paris, 1908, vol. I, ch. VII. “La solidarité personelle et la doctrine des moeurs,” p. 24 ff.

Cf. also Gabriel Séailles: *La Philosophie de Renouvier; Introduction à l'étude de Neo-Criticism*, Paris, 1905.

estre par la grace de Dieu utile a gens de plusieurs estatz, hommes & femmes, joennes et vieulx, clers et laiz, continens et marriez, vierges et veufves, religieux et seculiers, prelatz et subgetz. Et ne me doit on pas attribuer se aulcun bien on y treuve. Car on me attribuoit ce qui n'est pas de moi ne a moi qui que suis celuy qui pren, ou puis et en la fontaine, l'eaue pour la distribuer aux autres, et n'ay pas fouy le puis ne la fontaine. Ce sont les sains docteurs qui ont labouré a fouir et a querir la veue des eaues vivans. Et Notre Seigneur leur a ouvert ses tresors desquielx la unie liqueur de sapience est a grant habitude pour abbreuver et facier ceulx qui ont soif et desir de parvenir a la gloire de paradis."

It will clearly be question of the same "holy doctors" invoked by Christine de Pisan, following Gerson's general lead and instruction, those uniting a profitable, reasonable "devotion with *scientia*," the more practical sort of ethical theory, such being the true means to true Wisdom. Extremes of deliberate contemplation must not too generally be sought, though it must be remembered that this may be good in itself, and that practical virtue is hardly possible even, alone. This is in the Victorine vein, and we do not miss the regular Augustinian-Victorine *point d'appui*: "Très parfaite et plaine Justice est aimer Dieu de tout le cuer, adherer de toute volenté a luy qui est souverain bien . . . O tu doncques, creature raisonnable, considere et entens bien diligemment que tu es créé & formée par le conseil de la sainte trinité et par l'operacion de la majesté . . . car ja soit ce que tu soies appellé ung homme ou une femme toutevoie tu as du pere et du filz et du saint esprit, trois dignitez, c'est assavoir entendement, volenté et memoire. Et ces trois choses sont designées en l'evangelle soubz autres paroles,"—the Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, of course, completing the four of which we have heard so much. Therefore,—what is the force of Ciboule's really ingenious but not tortured argument, summarizing Hugo and Richard of St. Victor with a good deal of pretty modern synthetic talent, "Pense non pas seulement a ton salut, mais aussi du proufit et prosperité de plusieurs." The great hindrances will be found in the carnal sins, and gluttony, avarice and sensuality are set forth under the double colors that mark the psychological school,—their offence to the dignity of the soul as a soul—according to Macrobius and Hugo, in the first instance, in the second, their anti-social nature and action. There is very little of paradise or of punishment; even in the matter

of the great menace, *orgueil*, the point made is its power to prevent or to detract from "*la digne chose*, donne toy a Dieu et il se donne a toy, et quelle chose peut estre plus digne que la haultesse et excellence de la divinité, soit en heritage et en possession de si fraelle creature comme tu es" (fol. 70).

That this is written in the generation when even the Reforming Councils of Constance and Pisa, burning Huss, are yet saturated with his *Lex Dei*, when the ecclesiastical and monastic, no less than the political, constitutionalism of Pierre d'Ailly and Gerson is in the air, no one can overlook in the work of their disciple; but the foreshadowing of Jansenism, in its most searching accuracy and broadest conception, is what is bound to hold the attention of the student of French Classical Literature and later French social-politics. The dignity of man and his weakness,—this is what above all remains to the French mind of critical fibre as the legacy of St. Augustine, and we see why the "psychological portrait" is, as Taine saw it, "our supreme need and talent." It begins, this need and this talent, with the moral picture of man as man, and the State is this portrait enlarged. When it does not present a faithful likeness it is promptly and, if need be, radically altered, and, if,—a commonplace of social observation—there is often no moral disturbance corresponding to the scope of the material change—as the Englishman sees it—it would seem to be because morally there is rather adjustment than alteration. Our doctrinaire Declaration of Independence did for us precisely this. Ciboule's pietism shows already how this humane sanity is managed even at the darkest moment of the Hundred Years War,—in restressing the common advantage. The final mystical mood has its poignant quality, *L'oroison de l'ame soy complaignant a Dieu a l'encontre de la cher*,—"tu es misericorde qui ne confonds pas ceulx qui retournent a toy, mais les recois."

Is this such another appeal as that of Gerson (*Vivat Rex*, p. 16, see note 8 supra): "He, Dieu, las! trop mieulx vaudroit mourir de mille mors, que tels maux endurer, meure qui doit mourir, si en fera quitte sans telle langueur de douloureux tourment. Dieu, qu'est cecy? O ciel, O Justice, O Pitié, & ne trouvera on qui aime le bien-commun, qui se expose pour la vie publique du Roi & du Royaume?"—the plain appeal that would seem to lie more directly and immediately behind the Bonne Lorraine and the universal char-

ity of her mission than any other agency excepting only the diffused figure for the higher understanding, the word and conception, *entendement* itself. Or is Ciboule's tract a kind of consolation after the tragedy of Rouen, a preparation of the public mind for the Trial of Revision and the new sobriety of hard-won victory—over themselves? One lacks the data needed for dating almost completely, though Gerson's *Mystic Theology* seems to contribute, which would pretty surely bring the *Commun Proufit* at least as late as 1425. If, as I think, the *Consolation Internelle* also has its influence, and supposing no acquaintance with this likely before "publication," it could fall possibly between 1440 and 1455, after rather than before, the *Livre de Sainte Meditation en congnoissance de soy-mesmes* of 1442. The difference of manner is marked enough to make one fancy a considerable difference of time or of situation, but in which direction it is curiously hard even to make a supported suggestion. My impression, perhaps unanalyzable, as quite without anything approaching external 'evidence,' is of a date pretty close to that of the *Consolation des trois vertus* of Alain Chartier,—within a few years, that is, of the *Consolation Internelle*, one way or other, say 1435 or 1425, not inconceivably 1431, in the profound prostration following Gerson's death and that of the Maid. Had the author something with which to reproach himself, along with the rest,—want of the fortitude of an absolute humility and charity like theirs? He has all the sick fatigue of the harassed, of Christine weeping "onze ans en abbaye close," of Alain Chartier's personal melancholy—I mean rather his accent than his more or less conventional expressions; he has also just the closely worked doctrine and the purely religious soar of the "Cantique melodieux que fait Entendement des louanges & sublimité de la Foy, & de la production d'icelle":

" Tu vins du haut firmament
 Pour donner soulagement
 A humain Entendement,
 Et oster l'empeschement
 Du charnel encombrement
 Qui trouble le jugement
 Par son imperfection,
 Et met son entencion
 En argumentacion.

.

Mais par ta provision
 Nous croyons sans vision
 Jusques a la fruition
 De sa majesté benigne."

The School of Notre-Dame holds together by the personal sincerity, the imaginative intensity, and the public spirit with which it handles the Christian-Stoic *lieux-communs*; its *Visions* fall within a few years of each other; its Economics and its Consolations group themselves similarly, occasioned by the same public situation in each case. Robert Ciboule is half way in the *Commun Proufit* between these last two genres, and tentatively, then, I consider this work as his essay of adherence to the Cause and Party of the Commonweal.¹⁸

Doubtless, as with Pascal, the poignancy of their social criticism has something that a few years ago would have seemed more lacking in intellectual *mesure* than it may to-day, with "destruction, miseres,

¹⁸ This paper has been mainly condensed from my thesis, "Christine de Pisan and the Victorine Revival," presented at Radcliffe College, in the department of Comparative Literature, in 1912. It is a satisfaction to express at this time my sincere thanks to the Harvard Professors, Mr. E. S. Sheldon, Mr. W. H. Schofield, and Mr. C. H. C. Wright, who read it there, as well as to other teachers at home and in Paris, and to the kind editors, and friends who have helped me with critical advice, encouragement, or suggestion. Miss H. E. Allen led me to include Ciboule, struck by the titles of his works as she chanced on them in the Paulin Paris MS. catalogue, and their bearing on my subject. Ciboule had slipped from my attention after an early, passing notice of his connection at Notre-Dame with the Chartiers.

If, however, a moral belongs to such studies as are summarized here, it is certainly that "the common wave of thought" is a pretty universal matter, itself a kind of *bien-commun* at any period. Thought does not exist *in vacuo*, nor thinkers in isolation. One apprehension of truth confirms another; one clue is evidence for the next. No one of us who read early Sainte-Beuve's *Port-Royal*, whether in France or in America, could fail to be always influenced by it,—and Sainte-Beuve here derives both in his substance and in his conception of it, from Daunou and the doctrinaires peculiarly. If my own interest in intellectual mysticism began, as far as expression is concerned, with an early Bryn Mawr undergraduate essay on Richard Holt Hutton, and an effort to see him in relation to Clough and Bagehot, Newman and Martineau, I had already browsed in *Port-Royal*, and grown up on Taine. Taine's *Letters* made me chiefly expect the present conflict—of equity and force in a dress of "national characteristics," as in the days of St. Augustine and Boëthius—as inevitable. At the same time they promised the ultimate reconciliation, the final sobriety of mutual recognition of complements, which must be our common hope, and hope of a new commonweal, to-day,—Aristotle's "right rule of life invested with strength."

angoisse & desolation, estre plus fers que bestes muettes, piller, ronger jusques aux os, sans y laisser raffle ni raffle. Voire & quels usages, mais abuz, ords & vilainies!" Yet, doubtless, as with Pascal, their appeal is made out of faith in others as *creatures raisonnables*, made indeed in the image of God, austerities having their place in the demonstration, as revealing the lower estate of corporal things. Service, active or pedagogic, to the State, finds here its obligation and sanction, that through it is reached, in the cultivation, comprehension, and the voluntary self-devotion of the parts in the whole, the Mind of God:

"De Dieu te faut souvenir,
Paine et cure soustenir,
A rien vain ne te tenir,
Ton sens trop ne soustenir."

A certain new sense may be seen for some of the famous *Pensées*, which have been generally regarded almost wholly in isolation, if not romantically, as lyrical cries,—*Console-toi, tu ne me chercherais pas si tu ne m'avais trouvé*,—in care perhaps for the *patrie*, the image of the Celestial Country, but also of the Divine Providence, Justice and Truth. It would seem as if the work of French political experiment and criticism, of French psychology and logic, had been to analyze out from Latin materializing tradition, and to preserve from Teutonic destruction, the vision of the Academy, with the charity of Galilee.

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CHRÉTIEN'S EREC AS A CORNELIAN HERO

IN vol. V, No. 2, of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*,¹ Professor Sheldon has proposed an ingenious interpretation of Erec's harsh treatment of Enide. Asking the question: "Of what fault was Enide guilty in Chrétien's eyes," Professor Sheldon argues that it is her evasiveness in answering her husband (vv. 2526 ff.). Such equivocation leaves Erec in doubt as to her sincerity, and this uncertainty is intolerable to him. At any cost he must learn the truth.

This is the only part of Professor Sheldon's article which I wish to discuss. As Professor Sheldon has said, "any attempt to find out what was in the poet's mind must be more or less conjectural, and only a certain degree of probability can be obtained." It is the purpose of this paper to suggest an interpretation, surely less subtle than that of Professor Sheldon, but which may meet approval as being possibly more comprehensible to Chrétien's contemporaries, because more obvious, and even to the poet himself.

Among the minor doubts which may have entered Erec's mind, Professor Sheldon mentions this: "Are those who blame him as having lost his former prowess really right? Has he indeed lost something of that prowess in the idle and relaxing life he has been leading? He must justify himself in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of his detractors." It is this theory which I wish to examine here. I shall base the discussion, as Professor Sheldon does, on Chrétien's poem, without reference to probable or possible sources.

We first meet Erec in vv. 82 ff., where he is described in the usual manner as a perfect knight.

"De la Table Reonde estoit,
Mout grant los an la cort avoit.
De tant come il ot esté
N'i ot chevalier plus loé;"²

¹ I take pleasure in thanking Professor Sheldon for invaluable criticism of my manuscript. My colleagues, Professors Casis and Villavaso, and my friends, Professors Schoepperle and Cerf, have given helpful suggestions. None are in entire agreement with me, and I must assume all responsibility.

² I cite from Foerster's small edition of 1909.

In vv. 539 ff., we find Enide thus described by her father :

“Onques Deus ne fist rien tant sage
Ne qui tant fust de franc corage.
Quant je ai delez moi ma fille,
Tot le mont ne pris une bille.”

Conventional as this description is, the last line is not without interest, since Enide was to become all in all for her husband as she had been for her father. In v. 836 Erec declares that she is second to none in *franchise* and *enor*.

Doubtless these qualities are so universally ascribed to all heroes and all heroines that little importance can be attached to them. One might argue that Erec is rudely awakened from his absolute trust in Enide's *franchise* by her subsequent prevarication. But Chrétien has scarcely given sufficient indication of such an attitude on the part of his hero to warrant us in assuming it as the main cause of his subsequent action.

Let us continue to follow the characters as described by the poet. In vv. 1347 ff., Erec insists on taking his lady-love to Arthur's court in the simplest possible attire, and bluntly opposes the wishes of her friends in the matter (vv. 1374-8). We may note: (1) Erec is given to abrupt expression of his will,—the same trait characterizes him throughout,—and (2) he has a distinct sentiment of the *quid deceat quid non* of chivalry.

Erec distinguishes himself by the conquest of the hawk and the overthrow of the discourteous knight (vv. 837 ff.), and again in the tourney at Tenebroc. In vv. 2263-4, we read :

“Or fu Erec de tel renon
Qu'an ne parloit se de lui non.”

Less than two hundred lines further on, we read :

“Mes tant l'ama Erec d'amors
Que d'armes mes ne li chaloit,
Ne a tornoiemant n'aloit,
N'avoit mes soing de tornoier ;
A sa femme aloit donoier.”
(vv. 2434-38).

The poet insists on this and on the fact that the change in Erec did not pass unnoticed nor uncriticised by others (vv. 2443 ff. and 2459 ff.).

Enide, hearing of this calummy, or let us say criticism, is grieved, but refrains from speaking of it to her husband. The poet says:

“De ceste chose li pesa,
Mes sanblant feire n'an osa;
Car ses sire an mal le preïst
Assez tost, s'ele li deïst.”

(vv. 2469-72).

What is the cause of this timidity? In her avowal to Erec, she says:

“Ja plus ne le vos celeraï;
Mes je criem bien, ne vos enuit.”

(vv. 2542-3).

Do these lines not imply that she fears to grieve him? Is this fear intensified by any vague suspicion harboured by herself that the criticism is really justified? In her speech preceding Erec's awakening (if Professor Sheldon's theory of how much was heard be correct), she says:

“Bien me devoit sorbir la terre,
Quant toz li miaudre chevaliers,
Li plus hardiz et li plus fiers,
Li plus frans et li plus cortois,
Qui onques fust ne cuens ne rois,
A del tot an tot relanquie
Por moi tote chevalerie.
Donques l'ai je honi por voir;
Nel vossisse por nul avoir.”

(vv. 2498-2506).

Doubtless she is here repeating, perhaps indignantly, the criticism she has heard. Still she is hurt by it,—witness her tears and the “Con mar i fus!” of line 2507. Again line 2505 seems to imply that she at least asks herself whether she is really guilty. For a moment, then, she accepts the charge as true and is ready to question

whether Erec's knighthood has suffered through her love. In verses 3108 ff., she reproaches herself with *orguel* and *sorcuidance*, which would seem to confirm the theory that she had been a little worried, at least by this criticism. The immediately following lines are these :

“Savoir pooie sanz dotance
Que tel chevalier ne mellor
Ne savoit l'an de mon seignor.
Bien le savoie, or le sai miauz ;
Car je l'ai veü a mes iauz,
Que trois ne cinq armez ne dote.
Honie soit ma langue tote,
Qui l'orguel et l'outrage dist,
Don mes cors a tel honte gist.”

(vv. 3110-3118).

Surely these lines do not imply that Chrétien's Enide is conscious of having habitually shown pride in her relations with her husband. She is thinking of a sentiment already expressed to Erec in her avowal :

“Recreant vos apellent tuit.
Cuidiez vos donc qu'il ne m'enuit,
Quant j'oi dire de vos despit ?
Mout me poise, quant l'an le dit ;
Et por ce m'an poise ancor plus
Qu'il m'an metent le blasme sus ;
Blasmee an sui, ce poise moi,
Et dient tuit reison por quoi,
Que si vos ai lacié et pris
Que tot an perdez vostre pris,
Ne ne querez a el antandre.”

(vv. 2555-2565).

And she herself advises him to change his manner of life so as to give the lie to this criticism. This sentiment, then, she later calls pride (v. 3117),—pride doubly wounded by the reproach addressed at once to her husband and to herself. She treats this pride as culpable since it has hurt Erec, and accuses it of having led her into a momentary infidelity to her love, since she has allowed herself to

be touched by something outside that love. The last statement is justified by the proverb "*Tant grate chievre que mal gist*" (v. 2588) and the immediately following regrets of Enide.

Professor Sheldon cites the important passage (vv. 2493-2543), where Erec forces from Enide the avowal of her trouble. Her hesitation is perfectly natural, but her prevarication irritates the bluff sincerity of her husband. In vv. 2566 ff., she begs him to change his manner of life and justify himself. Have we not ground for supposing that her faltering answer, terminated by this, perhaps unexpected, prayer, leads Erec to the belief that she half agrees with his critics? I have tried to show (vv. 2505, 2588 ff., and 3110-3118) that the poet gives us a hint, in the reproaches Enide addresses to herself, that such a belief on Erec's part is not unfounded. Let us suppose that it is not, at least in regard to a passing sentiment—Enide's remarks prove that there was nothing more,—and that Erec feels that she doubts, or has doubted him; or at least that he is hurt by her request that he justify himself. If his wife doubts him, he may almost doubt himself: at any rate he must feel the imperious need of proving himself and of amply justifying himself in his own eyes and in hers. His answer, in verses 2576-2577, even more cut than usual, would seem to support this interpretation:

"Dame! fet il, droit an eüstes,
Et cil qui m'an blasment ont droit."

If now we suppose that Erec does not harbor any suspicion that his wife doubts his valor,—and Chrétien has not said that he does,—it is in the eyes of his critics that he would justify himself, for his own honor and for that of his wife. She has said that she was doubly hurt. Then the *droit an eüstes* refers to the end of her avowal, vv. 2566 ff., and Enide is not guilty of any fault either in Erec's eyes nor in those of Chrétien. I prefer the first explanation, but I believe that my main thesis can stand in either case.

Accepting then this first explanation, I would agree with Professor Sheldon in so far as to say that Enide's prevarication does irritate Erec (as it strengthens his belief of her doubt of him), but I do not believe that it is to be taken as the chief cause of his subsequent action.

Erec bids his wife prepare herself to ride at once, and adds:

" Si vos vestez
De vostre robe la plus bele,
Et faites metre vostre sele
Sor vostre mellor palefroï!"

(vv. 2580-83.)

We see, from vv. 2680-81, that Enide does not understand his purpose, but obeys silently. Erec refuses all other company (vv. 2719 ff.), and forbids Enide (vv. 2769 ff.) to speak to him or warn him of any danger. In vv. 2916 ff., he treats her as his squire, giving to her charge the horses he has just won. His purpose seems to be to have her with him, clad in her richest attire, and yet go about his knightly business as he might have done if quite fancy-free. It is in such a fire that he would try his mettle.

Jealousy on the part of Erec may have been in the source of the poem. That Chrétien discarded this element, if it were in his source, is indicated by verse 3304, where he is at pains to state that his hero is not jealous, and by verses 3384 and 3416-17, where the reader is expressly warned against believing that Enide gives any cause for jealousy. In verses 3464-5, the poet insists once more on her good faith and loyalty. In fact the purpose of the incident here narrated would seem to be to combat any lingering notion of infidelity on Enide's part:

"Or ot Erec que bien se prueve
Vers lui sa fame leaumant."³

(vv. 3486-87).

In the same tenor is the incident in verses 4607 ff., where Erec swoons, and Enide, though believing herself a widow, refuses any consolation from the count (vv. 4710 ff.).

Passing now to Erec's reconciliation speech, we read:

"Ma douce suer!
Bien vos ai del tot essaïee!

³ These lines seem to be rather the author's *avis au lecteur* than any implied need on Erec's part of such assurance.

Ne soïiez de rien esmaïiee.
 Qu'or vos aim plus, qu'ains mes ne fis
 Et je resui certains et fis,
 Que vos m'amez parfitement.
 Tot a vostre comandement
 Vuel estre des or an avant,
 Aussi con j'estoie devant.
 Et se vos rien m'avez mesdite,
 Jel vos pardoning tot et claim quite
 Del forfeit et de la parole."

(vv. 4920-31).

These verses seem to indicate that Erec had felt the need of *testing* his wife's love.⁴ If, as I have tried to show, Chrétien does not regard Erec as jealous, nor as having any cause to be, these lines would tend to strengthen my hypothesis that Erec believed that his wife doubted his valor, and even that her love for him was lessened by this doubt. Again in verse 5257, we read: "Or ont lor amor rafermee," which would seem to indicate that there had been a weakening in their love. The only cause indicated by the poet from which such a weakening could come is the scene of the avowal. In vv. 5288 ff., Erec accepts the company of Guivret which he had previously refused. Must we not understand that his purpose in undertaking his lonely pilgrimage has been accomplished?

To sum up my conclusions as to just what led Erec to submit himself and his wife to such an ordeal: If we take Chrétien's poem as it stands, and refuse, as far as possible, to read anything between the lines (interpretation of the rather insufficient data of Chrétien is obviously necessary), the following explanation seems to me the most reasonable. Enide's *forfet* was in the distrust of her lord's prowess,—distrust either real or implied in the *parole*, "Con mar i fus!" Erec's resentment at this, at least implied, distrust, was aggravated by Enide's attempted dissimulation. But Erec does not wish so much to punish his wife as to prove to himself, to her and

⁴ Cf. also, vv. 5138-40:

"Or ne li set que reprochier
 Erec, qui bien l'a esprovee;
 Vers lui a grant amor trovee."

to all others that the reproach addressed to him is unfounded. Far from being a hindrance to his prowess, her love is rather his strength. His valor before his marriage was uncontested; slander would have it that his union with Enide had made him effeminate. His answer is to accomplish still greater deeds in company with her alone, while treating her as a squire. The last proof of her love is in vv. 5528 ff., where she refrains from any effort to keep him from the most dangerous of his exploits. He is grateful for her silence and says:

"Douce dame! ancor ne savez,
 Que ce sera, ne je nel sai.
 De neant estes an esmai!
 Mes bien sachiez veraiemant:
 S'an moi n'avoit de hardemant
 Fors tant con vostre amors me baille,
 Ne doteroie je sanz faille
 Cors a cors nul home vivant."
 (vv. 5852-59).

His force, then, is in her love, but it must be a love that no slander can shake.

The bitterness which a reproach of the kind addressed to Erec had for knights is shown in *Ivain* by the verses quoted by Foerster at the head of the small edition of 1909.

"Seroiz vos or de çaus
 Qui por lor fames valent mains?
 Honiz soit de sainte Marie,
 Qui por anpirier se marie!
 Amander doit de bele dame,
 Qui l'a a amie ou a fame,
 Si n'est puis droiz que ele l'aint,
 Que ses los et ses pris remaint."

And to escape such a reproach, Ivain leaves his lady-love. Erec is already slandered, and has found another way to justify himself.

If the above interpretation may be accepted, Erec becomes in some measure a Cornelian hero, and Corneille owes something to

the ancient spirit of chivalry as well as to the iron willed titans of the sixteenth century. Of course there is a profound difference in the attitude of the two men toward the passion of love. Corneille is the poet of the generation who were to make the Fronde. His ideal hero is the one whose will dominates passion, making it subservient to other ends, or even excludes it. Chrétien is the court poet of love and chivalry, touched with the mysticism of the medieval poets in his attitude toward love. From it comes the inspiration of all noble action, and the lover must be worthy of love. "Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore." But like the Cornelian heroes, Erec perceives that uncontrolled passion may lead astray; it must be guided and kept to its own highest ideal; it must inspire and not efface his knighthood. Erec is then a Cornelian hero, in that he refuses to be dominated by the passion of love to the detriment of his duty, or be it, his *gloire*, as a knight. He would say with Agésilas:

"Un roi né pour l'éclat des grandes actions
Dompte jusqu'à ses passions,
Et ne se croit point roi, s'il ne fait sur lui-même
Le plus illustre essai de son pouvoir suprême."

The influence of the romances of chivalry on the seventeenth century heroic novel is well recognized. If the above interpretation of Chrétien's poem is justifiable, then the heroic drama too owes something to the spirit of knighthood.

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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD SPANISH DŽ AND Ž

WHILE studying some standard Ladino (Judæo-Spanish) texts of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, I was struck by the fact that all these texts used two different phonetic signs for the transcription of one and the same sound. I found, namely, that Ladino in order to transcribe the old Spanish DŽ sound, resorted to both the Hebrew ג (guimel) and ז (zain), with respective raphes. This seemed to me both strange and suspicious. Indeed, why should the Jews that were expelled from Spain have had recourse to two entirely different letters to render the Old Spanish DŽ? It seemed to me so much the more suspicious, because of the fact that only scholarly Jews busied themselves with the translation of Hebrew texts into Ladino, and they must have had a certain reason for using now a ג (guimel), now a ז (zain) in order to render one and same Spanish DŽ. I turned then to Leghorn texts, that very often differ widely from those published in Vienna or in the Balkan Peninsula in general, and I found the same strange phenomenon.

I examined then Foulché-Delbosc's "Transcription Hispano-Hébraïque" and I found the above-mentioned fact stated without any comment. "ג, quand il se prononce DŽ représente soit *g* devant *e, i*, soit *j*. Ex.: אנג'ל angel—judio—גוריאן, גוריאן juez, etc. ז se prononce DŽ et représente *j* ou *g* devante *e, i*. Ex.: אוריוה oreja, איוה (h)ija, מוירer mujer קונסיוה consejo."¹ Foulché-Delbosc, as I said, and as we have just seen, merely stated the fact without any comment; he did not ask himself at all why it was that in אנג'ל angel, for instance, a ג (guimel) was used and in אוריוה oreja a ז (zain). Perhaps Foulché-Delbosc considered it a certain carelessness, or negligence in writing.

I decided, however, to look more carefully into the matter. I took up the famous Shaffer Bible translation² and the Leghorn

¹ Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue Hispanique*, I, 27 ff. I quote only a few of his examples.

² Vienna, 1838.

text of the *Allegria de Purim*; picked out a number of words that contained a DŽ sound, and made up the following list:

ǰ used	ȝ used
ajuntar	mujer
gente	viejo
justicia (half learned) ^a	espejo
judio	acojer
gemido “	consejo
angel	tajo
vergel [French]	mejor
joyas—(probably Provençal)	oreja
juzgar	hijo
gerenancia	aconsejarse
jura	ojos
junto	oveja
gigante	paja
justo	espojo
gentil	trabajar
general	vantajo
juez	ajeno
juego	gela (illi & ellum)
gentio	rejo
junto	recojer
jugar	sorteja
justitad ⁴	

Examining carefully each word, and bringing it back to its original Latin source, I found to my gratification, for I expected something of the kind, that ǰ and ȝ were not put arbitrarily for DŽ, now in one word, now in another, but that they were kept distinctly asunder, and were used for Old Spanish DŽ in different classes of words, coming from different Latin sources. I found, namely, that ǰ (guimel with a raphe) stood always where Latin had initial *j* followed by a back vowel, mostly *u*; or *g* before *e*, *i*. And that the Ladino ȝ (zain with a raphe) took always the place of the Latin or Vulgar Latin combinations *gl*, *ly*, *cl*, etc. In other words, I found

^a All those *half learned words* are not so in the treatment of their initial sound.

⁴ I could have increased the list infinitely.

that the Vulgar Latin initial *y* followed by a *u* was expressed in Ladino by a *ɰ*, and Vulgar Latin *ly* (the Polish barred *l*) coming from the intervocalic combinations, *cl*, *gl*, *ly* by a *ɿ*.

The next thing that I had to do, was to see, whether in modern Ladino *ɰ* and *ɿ* were pronounced alike. Unfortunately, I could avail myself only of two texts in which a phonetic transcription of the Ladino was given. Professor Leo Wiener's "Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula"⁵ and Pulido Fernández's "Los Españoles sin Patria."⁶ Now in both these works, I found *gente*, *judio*, *juzgar*, *joya*, *general*, *jurar*, etc., transcribed as *džente*, *džudio*, *džoya*, *džuzgar*, *džurar*, *dženeral*, *džentil*, and so on. On the other hand, words like *hijo*, *orejo*, *ojo*, *paja*, *ajeno*, *mejor*—I found transcribed as *ižo*, *ožo*, *paža*, *aženo*, *mežor*, etc. The thing then became very plain, *ɰ* stands in Ladino for *DŽ*, *ɿ* for *ž* without any preceding dental. Foulché-Delbosc simply recorded spellings and did not investigate the sound relations.

Now, however, a new question was raised. Was it also the case in Old Spanish? Had Old Spanish also had a *DŽ* sound coming from the Latin initial *j* before *u*, or *g* before *e*, *i*; and a *ž* sound coming from the Latin intervocalic *ly*, *cl*, *gl*, etc.? And if so, how should we explain that strange phenomenon?

Baist⁷ warns against the use of Ladino material for the study of Old Spanish sounds. He speaks, however, in very general terms and does not support his warning by even one concrete example. General statements without any illustrations prove nothing. In my opinion Ladino is Old Spanish of the fifteenth century; it has the same distinctions between *ç* and *z*, between *d* and *d*, between *ch* and *sh*, the same treatment of *b* and *v*, of *l* and *ll*,—in short the same essential characteristics that Old Spanish has. Why shouldn't we then admit the double treatment of *j* before *u*, and *g* before *e*, *i*, on the one hand and the combinations *ly*, *cl*, *gl*, etc. on the other?

We have, however, other testimony to the same effect. Cuervo

⁵ *Modern Philology*, vol. 1, No. 2, October, 1903.

⁶ The book is not a scholarly book, it is a political, so to speak, proclamation, demanding government action in the way of bringing back Jews into Spain. It contains a number of curious letters from many Sephardim (Eastern Jews).

⁷ *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. phil.*, vol. 2, pp. 28 ff.

in his remarkable article on Old Spanish spellings and pronunciation,⁸ quoting various grammarians as to the pronunciation of *j* in Old Spanish, says: "La Util y Breve Institution, (1555), enseña que la '*j*' assi se had de pronunciar, como quando es consonante a los *latinos*, (which means Italians) como Julius, Julio,⁹ y como los franceses pronuncian Je, Jamais, assi los Hespáñoles, viejo, ojo, jamas.!" (Jamas is according to my opinion, a borrowed word, cf. Old Spanish and Ladino *ya*, I found no other example of *j* before *a* giving in Old Spanish *ž* or *Dž*. The *Util y Breve Institution* quotes jamas pronounced like jamais.) *La Gramatica de la Lengua Vulgar de Espana* (1559) no repara en pequeñeces y da nuestra *g*, *j* por igual a la Francesa de gemeau, gisant, James, Ja, Jehan, y a la Italiana de generoso, giorno."

Professor J. M. D. Ford, in his exhaustive study of the "Old Spanish Sibilants"¹⁰ expresses the same doubts, as to the pronunciation of *j* before *u*, and *g* before *e*, *i*, in Old Spanish. "The grammarians," he says, "Valdes (1540), Ulloa (1553), and Casas (1570), compare *j* and *g* (*e*, *i*) to the Italian *g* (*e*, *i*); the *Util y Breve Institution* (1555) asserts an equivalence with the French *j*, the *Gramatica de la Lengua Vulgar de Espana* (1559) with both the French *j*, and *g* (*e*, *i*) and the Italian *g* (*e*, *i*)."¹¹

The grammarians then account for a double pronunciation of *g*, *j*, now as the Italian *g* in *giorno*, now as the French *j* in *jour*. They gave both pronunciations because both were current in Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They could not naturally account for the reason of that double pronunciation (in the fifteenth century philological sciences were at their very beginnings) or make clear distinctions between the different classes of words.¹² These testimonies added to the actual Ladino pronunciation of *g*, *j* (only initial and only *j* before *u*, *g* before *e*, *i*) prove, according to my opinion, that Old Spanish knew both pronunciations and was subject to the above distinctions.

⁸ *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 2, pp. 21 ff.

⁹ Djulius, djulio, initial *j* before *u*. He does not give even one example of intervocalic *ly*.

¹⁰ *Studies and Notes in Phil. and Literature*, vol. 7, 1900.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 154 ff.

¹² Note that the *Util y Breve Institution* brings *viejo*, *ojo*, as having the same sound as the French *je*, *jamais*.

How should we, however, account for these two pronunciations? What were their Vulgar Latin sources? This, it seems to me, can easily be answered. We must assume two different Vulgar Latin *y*'s (just as Schwan-Behrens does for Old French, *Gram. Franç.*, 1913, pp. 121 ff.). A *y* coming from Latin *j*, *g* before *e*, *i*, and *dy* which was very strong with a certain dental palatal element, always initial, and another *y* coming from a palatalized consonant plus *l*, which was very weak, being always intervocalic with no stop before it, and sounded like *ly* (in the French word *fil*le). In their respective developments in Old Spanish, the strong *y* gave *Dž*, and the weak, the pure palatal *ž*. So that Old Spanish never knew the *Dž* sound in such words as *hijo*, *paja*, *hoja*, etc. It was only late in the sixteenth century that the *Dž* and *ž* became confused, developed into *sh*—whence modern *j*.¹³

It would be perhaps interesting to find out whether the Old Spanish result of *j* before *u*, and *g* before *e*, *i*, could rime with that of *cl*, *gl*, etc. As far as Ladino is concerned, I could avail myself only of one text in rimes, "The Complas de Purim," and there the *ž* and *Dž* never rime.

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¹³ Professor J. D. M. Ford called my attention to the fact that in Spanish America and in certain Spanish dialects the pronoun *yo* is pronounced *džo*, the adverb *ya* is pronounced *dža*, etc., which is another illustration of the Spanish tendency to develop a dental-palatal of *y* before *u* at the beginning of a word.

A PLEA FOR THE SICILIAN POETS

THE poets who, at the court of Frederic II, first made Italian the vehicle for consciously artistic lyric poetry have long been the object of somewhat scant regard on the part of historians and students of Italian literature. Judged in comparison with the splendor that followed, or made to appear the mere apers of Provençal forerunners, they have been, as it were, indicted on the counts of lack of originality, monotony of idea, poverty of technique; and the resultant verdict has been, on the whole, unfavorable. An opinion supported by weighty names and a long period of acceptance often seems to command assent rather than to require examination. It has frequently been the habit of those concerned with Italian literature to concentrate attention on certain of its greatest figures, to study them even to the point of satiety, and largely to ignore whatever lies between. As a result, standards are created which can scarcely be met by writers to whom circumstances or native genius have been less kind, and which prove quite inapplicable to a period of initiation. That the Sicilian poets should somewhat fail before such standards is neither surprising nor conclusive. Moreover, even if we grant that they (like others) accepted the models which their age furnished them, we may fairly ask where else the imitation of Provence was followed by results so astonishing as the burst of poetry which closed the thirteenth century. A development so prompt and so great raises the suspicion that perhaps these humble predecessors were not, after all, quite so incompetent as the usual estimate would lead us to suppose. It therefore seems profitable to inquire whether the counts on which this unfavorable estimate is based may not, if scrutinized, be susceptible of a milder interpretation.

Before going further we may well decide to just what persons our intended plea is to apply; for no small amount of confusion has been caused by the extension of the term *Sicilian* to cover all Italian lyric anterior to the *dolce stil nuovo*. This extension, tho it may claim the authority of Dante, is after all arbitrary and mis-

leading. The circle of poets which centered around Giacomo da Lentino has traits of its own, by no means identical in all respects with those shown in the movement initiated by Guittone d'Arezzo. If the retrospective glance of Dante found Giacomo and Bonagiunta much alike, we are not compelled to assume that he thought them indistinguishably similar, much less that we are, on his supposed judgment, bound to think so. If the individuality of the Sicilian school is susceptible of demonstration, we shall not assist the process by confusing its work with what came after. Be it understood, then, that I apply the term only to such persons (whether or not *native* Sicilians) as we know to have been connected with the Imperial court, and hence readily responsive to its intellectual attitudes and ideals. A considerable body of documentary evidence, drawn partly from archives, partly from rubrics or position in manuscripts, renders their identification sufficiently certain for our needs.¹ To the group of poets thus defined, and consisting chiefly of members of the court of Frederic II, the ensuing plea is restricted.

To estimate aright the accomplishment of these men, we must first dismiss abstract considerations, and look directly at the conditions which they had to face. The Italian vernacular was still chaotic and hesitant at a time when other kindred tongues could boast a long and varied development; when Provençal, in particular, had provided for neighboring lands new types of lyric, and even a literary language. Scattered attempts to write lyrics in Italian may have been made at a comparatively early date; but we have no reason to suppose that any marked degree of success attended them, or that they availed to establish a genuine tradition. In a word, the capacities of Italian as a vehicle for lyric were practically untested; and the first task which fell to these new poets was to explore and test them. A ready means to this end would be the attempt to reproduce certain of the effects already attained by the

¹ The material is conveniently collected by Professor Langley in *The Extant Repertory of the Sicilian Poets*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, n. s. XXI, pp. 454-520. From his list of poets I should remove no. 12, Guglielmo Beroardi, and from his list of canzoni nos. 13, 25, 38, 59, and 60. The third and fourth of these are probably Beroardi's; the connection of the others with the Sicilian school remains to be demonstrated.

poets of Provence; and it was an easy step for the hasty critic to conclude that these Italian essays were so immediately dependent on this source as to lose all claim to originality, and to deserve no especial notice.

More recent and careful researches, however, have shown that this conveniently simple view of the matter must be largely modified. Provençal influence in Italy, strong as it was, was far more active in the northern than in the southern part; the court of Frederick II seems not to have been a centre of troubadour activity, but rather the reverse. It has always been apparent that the technical form of the Italian poems could not wholly be explained in terms of Provençal practice, despite the number of features obviously (and very naturally) taken over. Of late the exhaustive study of Professor Wilkins² has shown that the technique of the Sicilian poets is based on an intelligent selection of features derived not only from the troubadours, but from the minnesinger, without reliance on any single set of models—that it is not a dull copy, but an alert adaptation.

It is likewise true that direct borrowings on a large scale from Provençal are, in this earlier period, surprisingly rare, reducing themselves, in fact, to two cases. The first of these, Giacomo da Lentino's *Troppo son dimorato*, has been called³ a copy of Perdigon's *Trop ai estat mon bon esper no vi*. At most, however, it is a free variation—neither a literal translation nor a close copy, for the metrical form is quite different, and the most striking figures of speech are not transferred. Gaspary himself admits that the Notary may have had no more than a vague recollection of his supposed original—scarcely a basis for a charge of servile dependence on it! At a considerably later date we do find Chiaro Davanzati closely following this same Provençal poem, with a method and a result so different from Giacomo's as to be obvious at a glance⁴—and to serve as an example of the danger of arbitrarily confusing the practice of dissimilar periods. The other case, Moscati's *Umile core fino e amoroso*, does show a fairly close follow-

² *The Derivation of the Canzone*, in *Modern Philology*, XII, pp. 527 ff.

³ See Gaspary, *Sicilianische Dichterschule*, pp. 34-35, for discussion and parallel passages.

⁴ Both texts are conveniently given by Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, pp. 97-98.

ing of a Provençal original, which, however, it recasts in a wholly different metrical form with a skill which proves that the development of technique had already proceeded far. When we recollect that beside these two canzoni there are some eighty for which no definite original has been alleged, we perceive the rashness of the assumption that Provençal influence accounts for everything.

The Sicilian poets, in short, did precisely what others have done under similar circumstances—that is, they selected from the available work of their predecessors various features of form and content, which they proceeded to reshape into a new vehicle appropriate to their own intention. They did just what, for instance, the early Tudor poets of England did, and are praised for doing. Indeed, if we consider the extent to which Wyatt and Surrey translated or narrowly paraphrased Petrarch, and the closeness with which they followed the prosody of their models, we may feel that the procedure of the Sicilians is not in very urgent need of defense. Certainly it is far removed from slavish imitation; and that it had models, and used them intelligently, is hardly fair ground for contempt. Are we to demand of these writers a wholly novel range of ideas and emotions, in addition to the shaping of a new literary language out of the welter of dialects, and the development of a technique appropriate to that language? Their success in this latter regard is sufficiently attested by the fact that they largely fixed the form of the canzone for succeeding generations; not to mention the added contribution of the sonnet,⁵ probably the most important single invention in the whole field of modern prosody. With so much to their credit, why should we expect the Sicilians to accomplish what other poets, similarly situated, neither achieved nor are blamed for failing to achieve? Why single out for condemnation a school which did well what it was most important that it should do?

It is possible to argue, without excessive risk of paradox, that the limited range of the Sicilian poets constitutes, in its place, less a defect than a merit. That the limitation exists is evident; their poems are devoted almost exclusively to themes of love, with none of those excursions into the field of current events so frequent in the

⁵ See the recent valuable paper of E. H. Wilkins, *The Invention of the Sonnet*, in *Modern Philology*, XIII, pp. 463-494.

Provençal *sirventes*. The neglect of this latter form, definite and accessible as it was, is perhaps an added proof that the Sicilians were by no means hide-bound imitators of what they found before them. The limitation must be frankly regarded as deliberate; not as casual, nor due to accidents of transmission. And can we say that the choice was wholly a mistaken one? If we recollect that these poets had to find not only themselves but their entire technique, may it not be that concentration on a somewhat limited field facilitated a closer attention to form, with a consequent gain in ultimate mastery of it? To me this seems the more reasonable view of the matter.

The complaint of resultant monotony, moreover, may easily be exaggerated. Aside from the fact that all poetry that deals with love must present a fundamental likeness by reason of the limited number of experiences and emotions with which it deals, we must not demand of this earlier poetry a psychological subtlety not attained till some generations after. If we take this poetry as it stands, comparing it neither with Petrarch nor with some imagined antecedent, "più ricca di elementi francesi, ma più spontanea e varia,"⁶ we shall find a considerable range, from the simple lyrical motive, directly presented, to those pieces of a more abstract and meditative cast in which Giacomo, in particular, shows the tendency aptly defined by Cesareo⁷ as "disinterested speculation." Here is the opening of a poem of the simple, lilting type:

Dolce cominciamento
Canto per la più fina
Che sia, al meo parimento,
D'Agri infino in Messina;
Cioè la più avenente.
"O stella rilucente,
Che levi la maitina,
Quando m'apar davanti,
Li tuo' dolci sembianti
M'incendon la corina."

⁶ The phrase is Bertoni's (*Il Duecento*, p. 62); a reality corresponding to it does not yet appear.

⁷ *La Poesia Siciliana*, p. 283. Azzolina's discussion of Giacomo's position (*Il Dolce Stil Nuovo*, p. 133) deserves attention on this point.

Here, again, is a stanza of the more abstruse and reflective type:

Non dole c'agia dollia,
Madonna, in voi amare;
Anti mi fa allegrare
In voi pensare—l'amorosa vollia.
Con gioi' par ke m'accollia
Lo vostro innamorare,
E per dolce aspectare
Veder mi pare—ciò ke mi s'orgollia.
Ma d'una cosa mi cordollio,
K'eo non so in veritate
Ke voi sacciate—lo bene k'eo vi vollio;
A ciò mi dollio.
Non posso dir di cento parti l'una
L'amor k'eo porto a la vostra persona.

Both of these are the work of the same man, Giacomo; do they suggest excessive similarity, whether of conception or of execution?

It must likewise be remembered that no small part of the pleasure given by these writers is to be found in their handling of metre. Topics which are in themselves very similar assume markedly different shapes when handled in different stanza-forms, and with metrical variations. It should also be noted that almost none of these earlier metrical schemes are duplicates; and that certain prosodic devices later disused, such as the combination of dissimilar metrical movements, and the nine-syllable verse, were skilfully employed. In this stanza from Rinaldo d'Aquino, for instance, we find a charm not easily paralleled in the firmer, but sometimes more rigid, metres of subsequent times:

In amoroso pensare
Ed in gran disianza
Per voi, bella, son miso;
Sì k'eo non posso posare,
Tant' agio tempestanza;
Vostro amor, ke m'à priso,
Al core tanto coralmente
Mi distringe e distene
La vollia e la spene,

E donami martire,
 K'eo nol poria mai dire
 Come m'avete preso fortemente.

Surely such fertility of metrical invention is hardly good ground for indifference or contempt.

The case of the opposition, if calmly scrutinized, is thus seen to be by no means so formidable as one might think. Lack of originality? Yes, in part; but perhaps no greater than is natural in a body of writers coming rather late into the general medieval current, and yet before the vast codifying works of the later schoolmen had put all learning at the disposal of the layman. Monotony of idea? Again true in part; but mitigated by the considerations already set forth. Poverty of technique? Here dissent must be open and absolute. Any reader who finds in the musical alternation of iambic and trochaic lines in Rinaldo d'Aquino, or in the lucidity with which Giacomo leads his thought through the mazes of internal rime, indications of technical deficiency, must be singularly blind to what constitutes skilful handling of metre.

Let us now add, in extenuation, that it has been much easier for the average reader to encounter the unfavorable judgments so frequent in the literary histories than to correct them by an attentive and unprejudiced inspection of the actual poems. This state of affairs is due to the simple fact that no complete edition of the poems exists. The manuscripts on which our knowledge of their text depends have, indeed, been printed; but not every reader has the opportunity, or the patience, to construct for himself a critical edition. Moreover, of the volumes of selections in which various poems appear, not one contains texts which can be implicitly relied on. Monaci's *Crestomazia* provides rather materials for discussion than the results of it; Butler's *Forerunners of Dante*, the most available volume for English-speaking readers, gives us texts based on a wholly insufficient control of the sources, and often defaced by arbitrary editing. Hence, except for the specialist who is willing to compile a text by his own efforts, access to the entire body of Sicilian poetry is practically denied—a condition contrasting strongly with the care bestowed on Provençal poets of secondary, or even less, importance. In view of these facts, a brief discussion

of the requirements of a satisfactory edition may serve as appendix to our vindication.

Our primary sources for the Sicilian poems are three—the manuscripts Vaticano 3793 (V), Palatino 418 (P), and Laurenziano Rediano 9 (L). Each of these⁸ is measurably independent of the others, and each stands at the end of a considerable line of transmission, the stages of which we can neither define nor number with exactness. There is nothing in the manuscripts as we have them to suggest that any single compilation of Sicilian poems served as their source, or even that definite groupings of an individual poet's work had to any extent previously been made. In V, for example, we find certain poems of reasonable authenticity inserted outside of their normal place, if not anonymous as well; a fact strongly suggesting that the compiler of the codex came upon them incidentally, and inserted them in a vacant space, perhaps well removed from the group to which they really belonged.⁹ It is also true that poems by the same author in the same manuscript, may have very different antecedents. Thus, in Rinaldo d'Aquino's *Poi le piace k'avanzi suo valore*, P and V are substantially in agreement on readings, the variants being chiefly orthographic; whereas in his *Venuto m'è in talento* the same two manuscripts give us versions so different as almost to constitute two distinct poems. It is hard to believe that the scribe of V can have had a single source for the two canzoni in question; and the same problem, tho perhaps in no other case so sharply, repeatedly occurs.

Hence the text of every individual poem is, or may be, a problem in itself. Even when a given manuscript (which may be any one of the three) offers the most satisfactory version of a given piece, there is no guarantee that another may not, in several passages, yield a preferable reading, or even correct a corruption. A blind faith in any single manuscript, such as editors have long shown in V by reason of its early publication and great bulk, is no longer possible. What we urgently need is a fresh and thorough investigation of the state of the text of each poem, no doubt with

⁸ For bibliography of publications, see Langley, *op. cit.*, pp. 464 ff.

⁹ See especially nos. 3, 19, and 69 in Langley's list. It will be recalled that in V's grouping (partly geographical, partly chronological) the Sicilian poems come first.

the consequent discovery that the same manuscript is of very different validity in different parts. It is not my intention here to discuss these problems, minute and complicated as many of them are; but I desire to record a conviction that the value of P has often been gravely underestimated, and that more respect for its readings should be shown by future editors. Take, for instance, Piero delle Vigne's *Uno piagente sguardo*, V's version of which is adorned with several downright perversions of P's sound readings, as the following selected parallels show:

P	V
18: E tucte l'altre gioi' de lo bel viso.	E tutte l'altre belleze de lo bello viso.
24: Unde al cor agio mortal feruta.	Ond'eo ricipetti una mortale
45: Ben faria cento millia la giornata.	feruta. Bene faria contro aumiliata.

The entire number of similar cases is by no means small; and if P is manifestly right in them, why are not readings in it which seem preferable to those of the other manuscripts to be frankly accepted? Yet such a course has not been consistently followed; nor have the divergences of attribution in the several manuscripts been made the subject of collective and attentive study.

Clearly, then, all the information in regard to the Sicilian poems which the manuscripts afford has yet to be completely utilized. That information may be grouped under three heads, the first of which presents no serious problems, while the second and third obviously do:

1. Poems attributed to an author by the concordant testimony of two or more manuscripts, or by a single manuscript which we have no reason to question; the "Sicilianity" of their authors being guaranteed preferably by external evidence (archives or tradition), or, in a few cases, by position in manuscript or by internal evidence.

2. A certain number of poems attributed by different manuscripts to different members of the Sicilian group, the conflict of evidence being perhaps soluble by combining a study of the trustworthiness of each manuscript with the internal evidence of the poems themselves.

3. The possibility that certain anonymous canzoni are, on internal evidence, attributable to the Sicilian group, since there are many such anonymous pieces, and early work might well lose the name of its author in transmission.

Before the questions raised by the second and third classes¹⁰ can be settled, we must study the attested work of the school as a whole, and that of each member of it, endeavoring to see what individual traits of style, metre, and vocabulary each poet shows, and not arbitrarily denying the possibility of such individual qualities. When this has been accomplished, we can progress into the more doubtful regions, remembering, however, that the evidence is often conflicting or deficient, and that certain problems, such as that of the original dialect of the poems, must, in the present state of our knowledge, remain practically insoluble. Only by this necessary but neglected labor can we hope to reach a clear understanding of what the Sicilian school really was, and of what it really achieved. I, for one, feel that they well deserve such exertion in their behalf.

It seems to me that we may fairly conclude that the extenuating circumstances adducible in favor of the Sicilian poets are neither few nor unimportant. When we have dismissed the confusion that would make them responsible for all the lapses of Guittone and his school; when we have sympathetically perceived their real situation as initiators of a new movement in literature, and the skill with which they met it; when we have grasped the need of a more scientific text of their work—then we shall be better able to read that work with close and appreciative attention, to find that much of it can be read with pleasure as poetry, and to distinguish the individualities of its several authors. Thereby we shall, I think, derive a greater respect for these poets who, quietly but solidly, laid the foundations on which the edifice of Italian lyric was so soon to rise.

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¹⁰ It may be noted here that a poem is almost never ascribed to authors of distinctly separate periods, so that one kind of difficulty may be left out of account.

REVIEWS

The Salon and English Letters; Chapters on the Interrelations of Literature and Society in the Age of Johnson, by CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER, Professor of English Literature in Yale University. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. 8vo, pp. ix, 290.

In these days of narrow specialties a book with a title that denotes broad cultural interests attracts at once attention and suspicion, and this is particularly true of literary studies. Nothing, for instance, can be more informing or more enjoyable than well done work on the intellectual interrelations between one country and another. On the other hand any one, in this country at least, whose interest is professedly in comparative literature, particularly in an academic situation, is likely to be one who is superlatively ignorant of all literatures. Professor Tinker of Yale is a professor of English and the title of his book, *The Salon and English Letters; Chapters on the Interrelations of Literature and Society in the Age of Johnson*, suggests a theme which calls for an extended acquaintance with several literatures, and an evenly balanced judgment on the widely diverse social conditions of two countries.

One may begin by quarrelling with the sub-title of Professor Tinker's book. The classical literature of France was eminently social, resting as it did upon a community of thought and sentiment existing between the writers of that time and their readers. Literary men found a refuge in, and formed part of the group of wits and fashionables, as restricted in their numbers as in their interests, of which—to cite Taine¹—"le courant des pensées est un joli ruisseau de médisance mondaine, de galanterie ou de philosophie amusante," who gathered in the salons of ladies, distinguished more generally for their social tact and political influence, than for their moral or intellectual qualities. The same affinities between writers and their readers existed in that period of English literature known as the age of Queen Anne. The poets and essayists only voiced the knowledge and sentiments of their small public, who were pleased to find in a language more happily expressed than their own, the average good sense of their contemporaries. If literary men fared well in England, as well as in France, in the early part of the eighteenth century, on account of the generous patronage of the ministers of the crown, it was in this same period that "English woman lost what was probably the best chance she ever had to reestablish the feminine patronage of letters which distinguished the age of Elizabeth," as is well stated by Professor Tinker (99). What is noticeable in the first half of the eighteenth century in England is just the lack of this female element in society, which brought with it the habit of calling in the afternoon, and gathering for social intercourse in the evening, where the ball of conversation and bantering was lightly tossed to and fro, a social status of which the outcome was a certain mental acuteness and elegance, which gave that untranslatable *esprit fin* to

¹ *Nouveaux Essais de Critique et d'histoire* (1865), 68.

French literature of the same epoch. To look for such social conditions and their literary results in the masculine and independent literary English society of the end of the eighteenth century, seems at the start to be a paradox, and to center such a movement around the rugged Johnson, is what some would call a quaint conceit.

Professor Tinker has divided his book into three parts: "The French Salon" (pp. 1-80), "The English Salon" (pp. 81-214), and "The Social Spirit in English Letters" (pp. 215-284). The first part, which deals with the wider problems—the rise of the salon, the interrelations of the members of French and English literary society—is that on which the greatest emphasis should be laid, even if Professor Tinker devotes fewer pages to it than to the second part. But that may be the fault of the author and not of the subject. An introductory chapter notes the parallelism of English literary clubs and of French salons, and the interrelations between the representatives of both. It can not be said that the author writes on these matters out of a fullness of knowledge, or with any particular perspicacity. One finds gathered together a few notes, jotted down in the author's readings, upon the influence of English ideas on French literature and customs in the second half of the eighteenth century. The mild statement (p. 14): "Anglomania was thus more than a passing fashion; it was but the superficial evidence of a respect for English philosophy of life which Frenchmen had taken more seriously than had the English themselves," represents at its best the author's conception of that influence which, as Brunetière has well put it:² "n'a pas agi par infiltration, pour ainsi parler, comme autrefois l'influence espagnole, mais par substitution d'un nouvel idéal à l'ancien." If Professor Tinker in his discussion of the subject fails to refer to Buckle's famous paragraph,³ "the curious and perhaps unique development of the theory that an historian is bound to insert in his book the whole evidence on which his conclusions are based,"⁴ and does not cite from the masterly study of *Texte on Rousseau and cosmopolitanism*, it must be on account of that familiarity with them which breeds contempt, but both Professor Tinker's work and its readers suffer from the omission. Because Gibbon, who as a purblind "King's friend" saw nothing but a picayune affair in the American Revolution at its climax, did not anticipate the French Revolution, Professor Tinker is surprised (p. 11) at the "failure of English authors to come into full sympathy with the French doctrine of the hour," and see the results of the theories discussed in salons. It was the exceptional, perspicacious Frenchman or Englishman, such as D'Argenson or Lord Chesterfield, who did foresee any such cataclysm as a result of imported liberal views, added to distressing social and financial conditions. In distinguishing practise from theory, Voltaire showed himself just as conservative, when he ordered his servants from the room when Condorcet and D'Alembert were advocating an aggressive atheism, as he did not wish to be robbed or murdered, as Johnson, when he thought he gave a crushing blow to Mrs. Macaulay's arguments for human equality, when he requested her footman to sit down with her (p. 10).

The second chapter, on the origins and characteristics of the salon, begins

² *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française*, 314.

³ *History of Civilization*, vol. I, ch. xii; ed. N. Y., 1897, I, 517-526.

⁴ G. O. Trevelyan, *George III and Charles Fox*, II, 174.

the history of the subject several centuries too late, when it places its beginnings in the courts of the Renaissance, where Professor Tinker looks for the "remote original." This "remote original" must be sought in the Provençal courts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the original home of the social predominance of women and of chivalric love. The subjects of conversation in these circles have survived in the numerous *jocs partis* and their French analogues, the *jeux partis*; and the same social phenomenon and its literary results are pictured in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, the first of a long series of literary presentations of such Italian coteries, of which the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione is alone known to Professor Tinker. Coming to speak of the French salon, Professor Tinker says of Voiture that "his position reminds us now of the medieval jester, now of Beau Nash, the King of Bath" (p. 25). The second comparison is just, but one wonders what are our author's ideas of either the medieval jester or of Voiture to make such a statement. Again (p. 25), if Madame Geoffrin was the daughter of a valet de chambre, even of a princely house, and the wife of a valet de chambre, and Madame Necker was the daughter of a Swiss parson, it is no proof that "the salons are proud to represent a democracy of genius." The first of these ladies, as Sainte-Beuve has well put it, "ne nous apparaît que déjà vieille," and kept her origin modestly and well concealed, and her husband, as well as the great Necker, belonged to "la haute finance," which was allowed to take its place in the ranks of French society beside "la haute noblesse" as early as under the Regency. Malherbe, far from being "a kind of poet laureate" (p. 27) at the Hotel de Rambouillet (p. 27), was already an old man when that salon was in its initial development, and the serious taste of his poetry was discredited by the *précieuse* taste of Voiture and others who frequented it. It is quite true that the salon of the eighteenth century had gone beyond preciosity (p. 29); Professor Tinker does not seem to realize that Mlle. de Lespinasse is a child of the cosmopolitan movement in France and a forerunner of romanticism.

The third chapter, on the eighteenth century salon, may be judged by one phrase which sums it up (pp. 37-38): "Thus the salons developed a looseness of morals and a so-called freedom of thought which their exponents were fain to regard as a splendid audacity. Such ideals are still dear to a certain class of writers chiefly composed of minor poets," a statement which incidentally reveals the author's detailed knowledge of what he is writing about and his broad point of view. The fourth chapter on "English authors in Parisian Salons" forms a sad contrast both for the massing of information and the conclusions, with what Texte has written on the same subject. It is enough to say that here, as elsewhere in the first part of his book, the essential introduction to the whole, the author's information is commonplace, and as far as concerned French literature often erroneous.

Since Professor Tinker has failed to understand the French salon and the place held in it by Englishmen, and the ideals they represented, both on account of his imperfect acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and his limited intellectual outlook, a very hasty view of the second part of his book, "The English Salon," will suffice. There is a hurried sketch of the earlier English salon, beginning with the Elizabethan, which had as its model the Italian Renaissance type. The author accepts without question the flimsy theory in regard to "a system of courtly love . . . introduced hot from France" in the reign of

Charles I; he touches on the coteries devoted to Mrs. Katherine Philips and Mrs. Aphra Behn, and the real French salon introduced into London by Hortense, Duchess of Mazarin, incidentally showing in a phrase in regard to the last mentioned his extraordinary idea of the French salon and manners: "The fascination of the merry Monarch and the death of a favourite lover after a duel fought with an infatuated nephew, bring her love affairs out of the Platonic atmosphere, so essential to salons, into the realm of ugly realism." The chapters upon "Conversation Parties and Literary Assemblies," "The Bluestocking Club," "The London Salon," "Blue Stockings as Authors," "Mrs. Montagu as a Patron of the Arts," only show an acquaintance with the obvious literature on the subjects discussed, and set forth this commonplace information in no new light. The statement in the chapter on "Results":

"Thus the salon, judged by classical methods, must be said to have failed. It was born out of its due time. Had the position of woman in the English literary world permitted it to flower fifty years earlier, there might have been a different story to tell. As it is, we must be content to study it as an interesting attempt to domesticate a foreign institution and as a revelation of certain significant features in English literary life. Conceived in its strictest sense, it is difficult to claim for the salon more than this" (p. 213),

reminds one of the author of the natural history of Iceland, who devoted a chapter to snakes to say there were none. The third part of the book, "The Social Spirit in English Letters" with its subdivisions on "Johnson and the Art of Conversation," "Walpole and the Art of Familiar Correspondence," etc., may fulfill the promise of the sub-title of the book, but they have nothing to do with the main subject of the book, which attracts others than those whose peculiar interest is in English literature of the age of Johnson.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

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Le Lai de l'Ombre, par Jean Renart, publié par Joseph Bédier. Société des anciens textes français. Paris, 1893. Pp. xlv, 95.

This volume has recently appeared, but bears the date 1913 and was completed many months before the commencement of the present war. Mention, however brief, of the volume should be made in these pages, because of the unique value of the Introduction for future editors of texts. It has been known for several years that M. Bédier was carrying on some experiments concerning the possibility of reconstructing an original from a number of variations. The necessity of brevity obliged him to say nothing of these experiments in his Introduction, hence I make no attempt to describe them here, nor do I stop to draw attention to the new evidence offered that Jean Renart was also the author of *l'Esoufle* and *Guillaume de Dôle* (p. xi ss.).

Pages xxiii-xlv (du Classement des Manuscrits) are a revelation, and are perhaps destined to cause a complete change in our methods of classifying manuscripts. M. Bédier begins by justifying the genealogical tree of the seven MSS. as he determined it in his edition of the poem in 1890. This "tree" was of course constructed according to the method of Lachmann. It divided the family into two branches, *x* and *y*. The editor, vaguely dissatisfied with the method of

Lachmann, as many of us have been, had the curiosity to examine eighty such "trees," and found that seventy-eight presented a family of two branches only. This seemed to him surprising, suspiciously so: "il serait merveilleux que le temps, en toute occasion et s'agissant d'une œuvre littéraire quelconque de notre moyen âge, se fût acharné à en détruire toute copie qui ne dérivait pas soit d'*x*, soit d'*y*, et que ce fût là une 'loi' constante de l'histoire de la transmission des textes." He concludes that one is in the presence of phenomena which take place in the mind of editors, rather than of facts of literary transmission, and that a considerable number of editions of Old French texts have been based on classifications which are in part erroneous. He then justifies all of several classifications which might be proposed for the seven MSS. of the *Lai de l'Ombre*, and concludes: "Bref, nous renonçons à proposer un classement de nos manuscrits: non pas qu'il soit difficile d'en proposer un, aussi recevable que la plupart de ceux qu'ont employés en tant d'éditions tant de critiques, mais au contraire parce qu'il est trop facile d'en proposer plusieurs."

This being true, how will he construct his text? He selects MS. *A*, not that he considers it the nearest to the original, but because this MS. offers a logical, consistent text, whose grammatical forms are very "French," whose orthography is simple and regular. Furthermore, this MS. presents relatively few individual readings, hence the editor will more rarely be tempted to make corrections. In many editions, the reader cannot tell what belongs to the author and what to the editor: "Pour nous, nous avons tâché de collaborer avec Jean Renart le moins possible. Nous n'offrons au lecteur rien que le texte d'un bon manuscrit, réparé seulement dans les quelques cas ci-dessus énumérés. L'archéologue Didron a dit un jour cette sage parole: 'Il faut conserver le plus possible, réparer le moins possible, ne restaurer à aucun prix.' Ce qu'il disait des vieilles pierres doit s'entendre aussi, croyons-nous, de nos beaux vieux textes."

R. W.

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Raymond T. Hill of Yale University has been promoted to an assistant professorship in French.

Mr. Charles Edouard Muller, late of the University of Minnesota, is assistant professor of French at the University of Manitoba.

At the University of Maine, the department of Romance languages has been divided into the department of French and the department of Spanish and Italian, Dr. J. B. Segall and Dr. A. P. Raggio being the respective chiefs.

At Harvard University, beginning with 1916, Spanish will be accepted in lieu of either French or German for admission, both under the old and the new plan of admission.

The Association of Modern Language Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland have proposed an aural and oral test for admission to college. It is reported that Hamilton College, Columbia College and Barnard College have adopted the aural test, and that Cornell University and the College of the City of New York will adopt the essential features of the new plan. Information can be obtained from Professor W. A. Hervey of Columbia University.

Professor Kr. Nyrop has recently published two admirable little volumes: *Philologie Française*, 2^e édition, Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1915; and *Frankrig*, 3^e édition, same publishers and date.

Professor Rollo W. Brown of Wabash College has just published at the Harvard University Press what will be found to be one of most valuable and suggestive books of recent years: *How the French Boy Learns to Write*.

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Modern Language Association took the form of a Union Meeting. The Association met at Cleveland, on December 28, 29, 30, as the guest of Western Reserve University and the Case School of Applied Science. The following officers were elected: President, J. Douglas Bruce, University of Tenn.; Vice-Presidents, E. C. Armstrong, Johns Hopkins University, C. B. Wilson, University of Ia., Louise Pound, University of Neb.; Secretary-Treasurer, W. G. Howard, Harvard University; Chairman of the Central Division, W. H. Hulme, Western Reserve University; Secretary of Central Division, Bert E. Young, Vanderbilt University; Editorial Committee, M. B. Evans, Ohio State University, G. L. Hamilton, Cornell University, J. L. Lowes, Washington University; Executive Council, the officers named above and G. O. Curme, Northwestern University, O. F. Emerson, Western Reserve University, James Geddes, Boston University, T. A. Jenkins, University of Chicago, J. A. Lomax, University of Texas, W. A. Neilson, Harvard University, H. K. Schilling, University of Cal.

The American Dialect Society held its annual meeting at Cleveland. The following officers were elected: President, J. W. Bright; Vice-President, J. M. Manly; Secretary, P. W. Long; Assistant Secretary, Paul W. Carhart; Treasurer, G. D. Chase; Editing Committee, E. S. Sheldon, C. H. Grandgent and the Secretary.

Sad news has just arrived of the death on February 2, at Boston, of Professor Freeman Marshall Josselyn, late professor at Boston University.

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